Moralizing Supernatural Punishment and Reward Reviewed Data Tables

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Key Terms

Moralizing religion (MR). Refers to clusters of beliefs and practices postulating a system of supernatural punishment and reward for morally salient behavior, where such systems are primarily concerned with the way humans interact with other humans, rather than how they interact with supernatural forces.

Moralizing supernatural punishment and reward (MSP). Refers to the presence of moralizing beliefs and practices in any degree, whether enforced by supernatural agents or non-agentic forces (e.g. karmic principles).

Moralizing supernatural concern is primary (MSCP). The principal concerns of supernatural agents or forces pertain to cooperation in human affairs (rather than the behaviour of humans toward the supernatural realm, for example by discharging ritual obligations)

Moralizing enforcement is certain: Moralizing supernatural punishments and/or rewards are certain and predictable (rather than arbitrary or capricious)

Moralizing enforcement is broad: Moralizing supernatural punishments and/or rewards enforce norms across a broad range of moral domains (instead of just a few domains)

Moralizing enforcement is targeted: Moralizing supernatural punishments and/or rewards are targeted specifically at culpable individuals (instead of the whole group)

Moralizing enforcement of rulers: Moralizing supernatural forces or agents punish and/or reward rulers

Moralizing religion adopted by elites: The elites of the polity subscribe to moralizing supernatural punishments and/or rewards

Moralizing religion adopted by commoners: The commoners of the polity subscribe to moralizing supernatural punishments and/or rewards

Moralizing enforcement in after life: Moralizing enforcement in afterlife: punishment is delayed until after the death of the transgressor

Moralizing enforcement in this life: Moralizing enforcement in this life: punishment occurs during transgressor's lifetime

Moralizing enforcement is agentic: Moralizing enforcement is administered by a supernatural agent, such as a deity or spirit (as opposed to an impersonal supernatural force, such as karma).

Latium

Moralizing concern is primary	**3600 BCE-510 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Written sources from the Early Republic (e.g. The Twelve Tables) as well as sources from neighboring cultures and from subsequent Roman culture suggest that the gods were at no period primarily concerned with morality (Liebeschuetz 1979: 39). We are inferring similar beliefs backwards till the Copper Age. **509 BCE-283 CE: ABSENT** Offenses the Romans thought were punished by the gods include: (1) direct affront to a deity such as thieving from the sanctuary or omitting a required rite; (2) violations of *fides*, such as breaking oaths or a wide range of less formal agreements; (3) incest; (4) kin murder, at least from 200 BCE on; and (5) unjust war. This suggests that the Roman gods were interested in only certain types of moral transgressions, and that they did not distinguish these from transgressions against the gods themselves. Such beliefs persisted up until the spread of Christianity. (Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54) **284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Transition to Christianity. (on spread through empire, see e.g. Fox 1986, Galvao-Sobrinho 1995) **395 CE-1800 CE: PRESENT** Christianity as dominant ideology (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE). (Odahl 2013; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**3600 BCE-510 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** The use of the oath, or conditional self-curse with the gods as witnesses and guarantors, is attested in most cultures of the Mediterranean and Near East through their earliest written sources (Larson 2021 forthcoming; Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 148, 245). Ancient oaths typically involved either an explicit or implicit threat of this-life punishment, but the certainty punishment for oathbreaking could be sidestepped in various ways including ambiguous wording or expiation (Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 247; Van Slyke 2005: 183) We are inferring that this form of MSP (at a minimum) existed in Bronze and Copper Age Latium. **509 BCE-265 BCE: ABSENT** Fragments of laws attributed to the legendary kings as well as the Twelve Tables attest that a limited range of offenses against parents or patron-client reciprocity made an individual's life forfeit to the gods, but the exact mechanism of the gods' vengeance was unclear (ter Beek 2012: 29). For the Twelve Tables see Vol. III of *Remains of Old Latin* in the Loeb Classical Library (= Lucilius 1938). The information about oaths cited for 3600-510 also applies here. **264 BCE-394 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Some authors (e.g. Plautus, *Rudens*; Vergil, *Aeneid*) suggest gradual emergence of belief in certain punishment for transgression. Overall, we consider this as a long transition period between a time where MSP was not thought to be certain, to a time when, following conversion to Christianity, it was. **395 CE-1800 CE: PRESENT**

	Christianity as dominant ideology (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE).
	(Fox 1986; Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**3600 BCE-510 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Inferred continuity with later periods.
	509 BCE-283 CE: ABSENT
	Allusions to divine punishment in authors of Republican Rome cluster heavily around offenses against *fides*, especially perjury, together with sexual offenses, offenses against parents, and murder; such crimes threatened harm to the social order and the *pax deorum* (Liebeschuetz 1979: 41-44; Gaughan 2010: 9, 20). In some cases, these crimes required religious expiation (e.g. Livy 8.18.11). Later, the afterlife punishments included in Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.724-51) suggest that a broader range of transgressions could be punished, especially those which threaten the social order, but Vergil still emphasizes offenses against kin and those who abuse formal relationships of reciprocity. A highly moralizing author of the early Imperial period mustered only a few examples of direct punishment, including one case of murdering guests (Valerius Maximus *Mem*. 9.2 ext. 3).
	264 BCE-394 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.
	(on spread through empire, see e.g. Fox 1986, Galvao-Sobrinho 1995)
	395 CE-1800 CE: PRESENT
	Christianity as dominant ideology (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE).
	(Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**3600 BCE-265 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European language families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers has deep roots in Indo-European culture; this implies at least some targeted punishment dating to prehistoric times (Weiss 2017).
	Both targeted and group punishment are mentioned in the literature; During the Early and Middle Republic, strong social anxiety attached to prodigies portending divine anger in the form of military defeat, civil discord and plagues. While such prodigies were only intermittently tied to interpersonal behavior rather than ritual violations, available evidence suggests that group punishments were expected more often than individual ones (Levene 1993: 8).
	For offenses other than perjury, we consider this period a transition from a time when the latter belief was more prevalent to one where it was less so.
	264 BCE-1800 CE: PRESENT
	Roman literature of this period singles out legendary examples of targeted MSP, e.g. Livy's description of the punishment of Tullia and Tarquinius Superbus and Ovid's description of the reward of Claudia Quinta. During the Late Republic and Early Imperial periods, Lucretius and Vergil both describe individual afterlife punishments; meanwhile, less emphasis was placed on prodigies and individual divine punishments are listed as prodigies (Rüpke 2018: 152-3; Obsequens, *Prodigiorium Liber* 70, cited in Rasmussen 2003: 42). Following conversion to Christianity in the early 4th century CE, belief in targeted punishment persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well.

	(Livy 1.48, tr. Foster 1919; Vergil *Aeneid* 6, tr. Fairclough 2007; for Ovid, see e.g. Leach 2007: 4-5; on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**3600 BCE-265 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Much historical evidence from adjacent cultures (e.g. *Iliad* 3.245-301; Sommerstein and Torrance 2014) points to the ancient use of oaths in treaties and interstate alliances, and thus by rulers. Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers has deep roots in Indo-European culture (Koch 1992, Haudry 1993, Lújan Martinez 1997: 193-196, Weiss 2017).
	264 BCE-1800 CE: PRESENT
	Livy gives examples of the punishment of kings, including Titus Tatius (1.14, punished with violent death for placing personal preference over justice), and Tarquinius Superbus with his wife Tullia (1.48, punished for kin-murder and usurping the throne). Additionally, Livy describes punishment of leaders' decisions to wage unjust war and mistreat opponents (Livy 5.21 (Camillus, punished by his eventual downfall) and 9.1-5 (the Roman state and consuls punished with military disaster at the Caudine Forks for unjust treatment of foes). While Livy's descriptions of these legendary and semi-legendary events cannot be taken as reliable historical facts, it is likely that the attitudes he expresses can be inferred at least from the Middle Republic onward. Plutarch repeatedly alleges divine punishment for rulers who behaved immorally (Brenk 1977: 256-75) Following conversion to Christianity in the early 4th century CE, belief in MSP of rulers persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well.
	(On conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**3600 BCE-510 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Livy (1.21) adduces the governance of earliest Rome according to promises and oaths. While Livy's assessment is based on legendary material, the historical use of oaths by elites throughout the ancient history of Latium, including its prehistory, is highly likely given the pervasiveness of the institution through the Mediterranean and Near East, especially for treaties (Sommerstein and Torrance 2014; Larson 2021 forthcoming), and the likelihood of the oath as an Indo-European inheritance (Haudry 1993, Luján Martínez 1997, Weiss 2017).
	509 BCE-394 CE: PRESENT
	Historian Livy (64/59 BCE-12/17 CE) reflects the moral discourse of his time in suggesting that King Tarquinius Suberbus' downfall resulted from his family's moral transgressions, including his wife's murder of her own father. More generally, contemporary written sources describing instances of MSP suggest that those who were able to produce and consume such sources largely embraced these beliefs, though there is also evidence that, from the Late Republic onward, a portion of the elite could be described as skeptical or agnostic.
	(Livy 1.48, tr. Foster 1919; Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.15–16, tr. Keyes 1951)
	395 CE-457 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity (likely later for elites than for rulers--Emperor Constantine converted in 312 CE).
	(Fox 1986; Odahl 2013)
	493 CE-1800 CE: PRESENT

	Christianity as dominant ideology.
	(on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**3600 BCE-510 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers may have deep roots in Indo-European culture (Haudry 1993; Luján Martínez 1997, Weiss 2017), suggesting it is more likely to have been present in this region at this time.
	509 BCE-394 CE: PRESENT
	Oaths in general use and expectation of divine anger for offenses by patron against client are attested in the Twelve Tables during the 5th century BC (Lucilius [Twelve Tables] 1938: 8.21 and Unplaced Fragment 6). The law favoring clients suggests that the client classes subscribed to this view, not merely the elites.
	The comedies of both Plautus and Terence, highly popular on the Roman stage, include moralizing sentiments and claims of divine surveillance, reward and punishment (e.g. Plaut. *Rudens* 1-30, Ter. *Adelphi* 703-5).
	During the late Republic, Lucretius commented upon widespread fear of afterlife punishments (e.g. *De Rerum Natura* 1.104-111), while Catullus expressed views appealing to widely-shared understandings of the gods' role in morality (e.g. *Carm*. 76.1-6).
	Offenses the Romans thought were punished by the gods include: (1) direct affront to a deity such as thieving from the sanctuary or omitting a required rite; (2) violations of *fides*, such as breaking oaths or a wide range of less formal agreements; (3) incest; (4) kin murder, at least from 200 BCE on; and (5) unjust war.
	(Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54)
	395 CE-457 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity (likely later for commoners than for rulers--Emperor Constantine converted in 312 CE).
	(Fox 1986; Odahl 2013)
	493 CE-1800 CE: PRESENT
	Christianity as dominant ideology.
	(on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**3600 BCE-265 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	In early Greek culture, afterlife beliefs were diverse, but many people expected afterlife punishments for interpersonal offenses from the fifth century onward (Larson 2012: 256-7). The Romans would have absorbed these ideas as their religion was syncretized with Greek religion. While later Etruscan afterlife beliefs included many frightening "demons," it is unknown whether these administered punishment (De Grummond 2006: 232-233).
	264 BCE-1800 CE: PRESENT
	In *On the Nature of Things*, Lucretius (c. 99–55 BCE) writes (1.111) that, because of religious authorities including priests and poets, the people "fear that death brings punishment without end" (*aeternas … poenas in morte*), suggesting that popular belief in afterlife punishment for transgressions was encouraged by priestly figures and/or poets. Later, in the *Aeneid*, Vergil describes a cycle of punishment, purification, and ultimately reincarnation after death for all but the most virtuous.There is debate over how widespread the fear of afterlife

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>punishment was, but the scorn heaped on such fears by elites suggests a divide between popular belief and the views of the educated. In the early fourth century CE, Christianity became the dominant religion. It also features belief in MSP after death.

(Lucretius, tr. Ferguson Smith 2002; Vergil 6, tr. Fairclough 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Moralizing enforcement in this life</td><td>3600 BCE-265 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

The use of the oath, or conditional self-curse with the gods as witnesses and guarantors, is attested in most cultures of the Mediterranean and Near East through their earliest written sources. Ancient oaths typically involved either an explicit or implicit threat of this-life punishment, such as the destruction of the perjurer and his family line. For example, the oath of the Roman *fetialis* when declaring war required him to utter "the most dreadful imprecations against himself and Rome" if his declarations were untrue (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Rom. Ant. 2.72.7). Although not limited to speakers of Indo-European languages, oaths appear to be an Indo-European inheritance (Haudry 1993, Luján Martínez 1997, Weiss 2017). We are inferring that this form of MSP (at a minimum) existed in Bronze and Copper Age Latium.

264 BCE-1800 CE: PRESENT

From the middle Republic on, sources (Plautus, Terence, Catullus) attest both traditional belief in the punishment of perjurers and other perpetrators of impious interpersonal offenses with critiques and rationalizing explanations by educated elites (Cicero, Lucretius). Traditional Roman belief held that any sort of abnormal event (*prodigium*) indicated divine displeasure and meant that the anger of the gods had been awakened by something—usually a ritual offense but sometimes also moral transgressions (Livy 8.18.11). If left unexpiated, prodigies portended military defeat, civil discord, plagues and the like (MacBain 1982).

Following conversion to Christianity in the early 4th century CE, belief in MSP in this life persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well.

(on portents, see e.g. Rasmussen 2003: 42–43; on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Moralizing enforcement is agentic</td><td>3600 BCE-265 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

To the limited extent that it involved interpersonal transgressions, the system of prodigy expiation employed during the Republic required the identification of individual gods to whom ritual appeasement could be offered (MacBain 1982); among gods responsible for MSP during the Republic, Jupiter is most often mentioned as an oath and boundary god (e.g. Polybius 3.25, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.74.3). We are also inferring belief in agentic MSP back to the Bronze and Copper Age, given the likelihood that oaths guaranteed by gods are an Indo-European inheritance of Italic peoples (Weiss 2017).

264 BCE-1800 CE: PRESENT

Written sources of all periods mention either individual gods, or unnamed singular or plural divine agents ("the god"/*deus,* "the gods"/*di*: Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 3.90) as the sources of MSP, as opposed to impersonal forces. Afterlife punishments were represented as the result of judges such as Minos (e.g. Cicero *Tusculan Disputations* 6.1.10; Vergil *Aeneid* 6.431-2). Such beliefs persisted up</td></tr>
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	until the spread of Christianity. Following conversion to Christianity in the 4th century CE, belief in agentic MSP, as it was a feature of the new religion as well.
	(Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54; on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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Paris Basin

Moralizing concern is primary	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	No known polytheistic religion of the pre-Christian era in Europe displays primary concern for interpersonal morality. We infer similar beliefs backwards as far back as the Bell Beaker period.
	(For a synoptic survey of ancient polytheisms see Johnston [ed.] 2004 together with Watts 2013.)
	26 BCE-283 CE: ABSENT
	The observations about ancient polytheism generally lacking primary concern for interpersonal morality also apply here. Roman ideological influence extended across Gaul during this period (particularly the South, but also in the Paris Basin). Offenses the Romans thought were punished by the gods include: (1) direct affront to a deity such as thieving from the sanctuary or omitting a required rite; (2) violations of *fides*, such as breaking oaths or a wide range of less formal agreements; (3) incest; (4) kin murder, at least from 200 BCE on; and (5) unjust war. This suggests that the Roman gods were interested in only certain types of moral transgressions, and that they did not distinguish these from transgressions against the gods themselves. Such beliefs persisted up until the spread of Christianity. Widespread adoption of Christianity grows from 284 CE-394 CE.
	(Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54. On the spread of Christianity through the Roman Empire, see e.g. Fox 1986)
	284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.
	(on spread through empire, see e.g. Fox 1986, Galvao-Sobrinho 1995)
	395 CE-1788 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE).
	(Van Dam 2003; for MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**3200 BCE-325 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Too little is known about prehistoric Celtic beliefs to form an inference regarding the certainty of moralizing enforcement.
	324 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Ancient oaths in adjacent cultures of the Mediterranean typically involved either an explicit or implicit threat of this-life punishment, but the certainty of punishment for oathbreaking could be sidestepped in various ways including ambiguous wording or expiation (Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 247; Van Slyke 2005: 183). Due to the common Indo-European ancestry of the oath practice (e.g. Haudry 1993, Luján Martínez 1997), we infer the same for the Celtic peoples in the Paris Basin.
	Several Classical authors write that the Druids (and therefore the Gauls) believed in transmigration of the soul after death, and Valerius Maximus in particular writes that the Gauls think that repaying loans can be postponed to the next life. None of these sources refers to punishment: indeed, they attribute Celtic lack of fear of death to this belief. While the perceptions of Classical authors may be skewed, what evidence exists points away from certain enforcement. We are inferring the lack of this MSP trait backwards to

	300 BCE, the approximate date of the earliest known references to the Druids, especially as certainty of moralizing enforcement is absent in neighboring polytheistic cultures such as the Greek and Italic/Roman.
	(For Druidic beliefs regarding transmigration of souls, see Diodorus Siculus 5.21-28, tr. Oldfather 1939, Caesar 6.14.4, tr. Edwards 1917, Valerius Maximus 2.6.10, tr. Bailey 2000, Pomponius Mela 3.2.19, tr. Romer 1998. For evidence of the Druids see Diogenes Laertius *Lives* Book 1 prologue, citing Aristotle and Sotion.
	26 BCE-394 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Paris Basin is part of Roman Empire during this period. For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding. For Roman culture, some written sources (e.g. the *Aeneid*) suggest gradual emergence of belief in certain punishment for transgression. Overall, we consider this as a transition period between a time where MSP was not thought to be certain, to a time when, following conversion to Christianity, it was.
	(Vergil *Aeneid* 6, tr. Fairclough 2007)
	395 CE-1788 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE).
	(Van Dam 2003; for MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**3200 BCE-283 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on current knowledge, broad moralizing enforcement is absent from most pre-Christian polytheistic cultures, especially in Europe. We are inferring this absence backwards to the Bell Beaker period and forward until the widespread adoption of Christianity.
	Caesar describes the Gauls taking oaths but does not provide other evidence of MSP in the region.
	For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding the period of the Roman Empire, while acknowledging that Roman practices and beliefs were not necessarily applicable to the full population. The afterlife punishments included in Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.724-51), widely adopted as a school text, suggest that a broader range of transgressions could be punished, especially those which threaten the social order, but Vergil still emphasizes offenses against kin and those who abuse formal relationships of reciprocity. A highly moralizing author of the early Imperial period mustered only a few examples of direct punishment, including one case of murdering guests (Valerius Maximus *Mem*. 9.2 ext. 3).
	(For a synoptic survey of ancient polytheisms see Johnston (ed) 2004 together with Watts 2013. For Caesar's descriptions of oaths, see e.g. *Bell. Gall.* 1.3, 1.30, 6.12, 7.2, tr. Edwards 1917.)
	284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.
	(On the spread of Christianity through the Roman Empire, see e.g. Fox 1986)
	395 CE-1788 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE).
	(Van Dam 2003; for MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers has deep roots in Indo-European culture. Part of this inheritance is the understanding of the oath as a conditional self-curse in which harm will come to the individual perjurer. The common Celtic vocabulary for swearing and oaths is strong evidence that the practice existed in the prehistoric common ancestor of the Celtic languages (John Koch, pers. comm. to Jennifer Larson, 2/2/21; see Koch 1992, Koch and Fernández Palacios 2017, Tovar 1980-2). **26 BCE-1788 CE: PRESENT** Direct evidence begins with Caesar who often describes Gauls as taking oaths. (For Caesar's descriptions of oaths, see e.g. *Bell. Gall.* 1.3, 1.30, 6.12, 7.2, tr. Edwards 1917; on Indo-European beliefs, see also Haudry 1993, Lújan Martinez 1997: 193-196.) For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding the period of the Roman Empire, while acknowledging that Roman practices and beliefs were not necessarily applicable to the full population. The afterlife punishments included in Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.724-51), widely adopted as a school text, suggest that punishment was targeted to individuals. Belief in targeted MSP for perjury was also a general feature of Roman religion (e.g. Plautus *Rudens* 1-30, *Captivi* 313-15). Roman literature singles out legendary examples of targeted MSP, e.g. Livy's description of the punishment of Tullia and Tarquinius Superbus and Ovid's description of the reward of Claudia Quinta. (Livy 1.48, tr. Foster 1919; Vergil *Aeneid* 6, tr. Fairclough 2007; for Ovid *Fasti* 4.305-26 see e.g. Leach 2007: 4-5.) Following conversion to Christianity in the early 4th century CE, belief in targeted punishment persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well. (On spread of Christianity, see e.g. Fox 1986; for conversion to Christianity, see Lim 1999: 196; for MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Much historical evidence from adjacent cultures (e.g. *Iliad* 3.245-301; Sommerstein and Torrance 2014) points to the ancient use of oaths in treaties, and thus by rulers. Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers has deep roots in Indo-European culture. The common Celtic vocabulary for swearing and oaths is strong evidence that the practice existed in the prehistoric common ancestor of the Celtic languages (John Koch, pers. comm. to Jennifer Larson, 2/2/21; see Koch 1992, Koch and Fernández Palacios 2017, Tovar 1980-2). **26 BCE-1788 CE: PRESENT** The first direct evidence comes with Caesar, who describes Gallic rulers and elites as taking oaths, suggesting the belief that the gods could punish them if they were forsworn.

	This MSP trait was also a feature of Roman religion and Christianity. (For Caesar's descriptions of oaths, see e.g. *Bell. Gall.* 1.3, 1.30, 6.12, 7.2, tr. Edwards 1917; on on Indo-European beliefs, see also Haudry 1993, Lújan Martinez 1997: 193-196; for an example of MSP of a ruler in Roman sources, see e.g. Livy 1.48, tr. Foster 1919; on spread of Christianity, see e.g. Fox 1986)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Much historical evidence from adjacent cultures (e.g. *Iliad* 3.245-301; Sommerstein and Torrance 2014) points to the ancient use of oaths in treaties, legal proceedings and other activities conducted by elites. Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers has deep roots in Indo-European culture. The common Celtic vocabulary for swearing and oaths is strong evidence that the practice existed in the prehistoric common ancestor of the Celtic languages (John Koch, pers. comm. to Jennifer Larson, 2/2/21; see Koch 1992, Koch and Fernández Palacios 2017, Tovar 1980-2). (On Indo-European beliefs, see also Haudry 1993, Lújan Martinez 1997: 193-1960.) **26 BCE-1788 CE: PRESENT** Caesar describes Gallic rulers and elites as taking oaths, suggesting the belief that the gods could punish them if they were forsworn. For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding the period of the Roman Empire, while acknowledging that Roman practices and beliefs were not necessarily applicable to the full population. This MSP trait was also a feature of Roman religion. For example, the historian Livy (64/59 BCE-12/17 CE) reflects the moral discourse of his time in suggesting that King Tarquinius Suberbus' downfall resulted from his family's moral transgressions, including his wife's murder of her own father More generally, contemporary written sources describing instances of MSP suggest that those who were able to produce and consume such sources largely embraced these beliefs, though there is also evidence that, from the Late Republic onward, a portion of the elite could be described as skeptical or agnostic. (Livy 1.48, tr. Foster 1919; Cicero, *De Legibus* 2.15–16, tr. Keyes 1951). (For Caesar's descriptions of oaths, see e.g. *Bell. Gall.* 1.3, 1.30, 6.12, 7.2, tr. Edwards 1917. For other examples of elite MSP among Romans, see e.g. Livy 1.14, 5.21, 9.1-5, tr. Foster 1919.) This MSP trait continues during the spread and establishment of Christianity. (On the spread of Christianity, see e.g. Fox 1986)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** The common Celtic vocabulary for swearing and oaths is strong evidence that the practice existed in the prehistoric common ancestor of the Celtic languages (John Koch, pers. comm. to Jennifer Larson, 2/2/21). That both the Irish and Welsh stories involve a submerged taboo avoidance of a word for 'oath' (Proto-Celtic *lugyom*) that sounded too much like the leading god's name *Lugus* also suggests that the vocabulary and practices were deeply embedded (John Koch, pers. comm. to Jennifer Larson, 2/2/21; see also Koch 1992, Koch and

	Fernández Palacios 2017, Tovar 1980-2). Such a linguistically embedded practice suggests a broader usage of the oath.
	(On Indo-European beliefs, see further Haudry 1993, Lújan Martinez 1997: 193-196)
	26 BCE-1788 CE: PRESENT
	In addition to the existing cultural presence of punishment for perjury, MSP adopted by commoners was also a feature of Roman religion. Roman ideological influence extended across Gaul (particularly the South, but also in the Paris Basin). For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding the period of the Roman Empire, while acknowledging that Roman practices and beliefs were not necessarily applicable to the full population. Murder of kin and violations of *fides*, such as breaking oaths or a wide range of less formal agreements, were moral transgressions believed to be punished by the gods in traditional Roman religion. Following conversion to Christianity in the 4th century CE, belief in MSP persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well.
	(Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54; on spread of Christianity, see e.g. Fox 1986)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**3200 BCE-325 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Too little is known to infer the presence or absence of this trait in prehistoric times.
	324 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Several Classical authors write that the Druids (and therefore the Gauls) believed in transmigration of the soul after death, and Valerius Maximus in particular writes that the Gauls think that repaying loans can be postponed to the next life. None of these sources refers to punishment: indeed, they attribute Celtic lack of fear of death to this belief. We are inferring the lack of this MSP trait backwards to 300 BCE, the approximate date of the earliest known references to the Druids, especially as certainty of moralizing enforcement is absent in neighboring polytheistic cultures such as the Greek and Italic/Roman.
	(For Druidic beliefs regarding transmigration of souls, see Diodorus Siculus 5.21-28, tr. Oldfather 1939, Caesar *Bellum Gallicum* 6.14.4, tr. Edwards 1917, Valerius Maximus 2.6.10, tr. Bailey 2000, Pomponius Mela 3.2.19, tr. Romer 1998. For earliest literary testimony of the Druids see Diogenes Laertius *Lives* Book 1 prologue, citing Aristotle and Sotion.
	26 BCE-283 CE: PRESENT
	For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding the period of the Roman Empire, while acknowledging that Roman practices and beliefs were not necessarily applicable to the full population. This MSP trait was a feature of popular Roman religion, cited as a common belief by Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura* 1.111). In the *Aeneid*, widely used as a school text in the Roman Empire, Vergil describes a cycle of punishment, purification, and ultimately reincarnation that virtually all human souls experience after death.
	(Vergil *Aeneid* 6, tr. Fairclough 2007)
	284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.

	(On spread through empire, see e.g. Fox 1986)
	395 CE-1788 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity (Emperor Constantine converts in 312 CE).
	(Van Dam 2003)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Comparisons of oath formulas across a broad range of Indo-European families suggest that belief in MSP against oath-breakers has deep roots in Indo-European culture. Part of this inheritance is the understanding of the oath as a conditional self-curse in which harm will come to the individual perjurer or his family in this life. The common Celtic vocabulary for swearing and oaths is strong evidence that the practice existed in the prehistoric common ancestor of the Celtic languages (John Koch, pers. comm. to Jennifer Larson, 2/2/21; see Koch 1992, Koch and Fernández Palacios 2017, Tovar 1980-2).
	26 BCE-1788 CE: PRESENT
	Caesar often describes Gauls as taking oaths. Because comparative evidence of oath-formulas in adjacent cultures and as an Indo-European inheritance regularly involves this-life punishments, it seems most likely that the Gauls believed oath-breakers would be punished in this life.
	(For Caesar's descriptions of oaths, see e.g. *Bell. Gall.* 1.3, 1.30, 6.12, 7.2, tr. Edwards 1917. For oath-formulas in Indo-European cultures involving this-life punishment see Haudry 1993; for Greek culture see Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 13 and for the Roman *fetialis* see Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Rom. Ant*. 2.72.7.)
	For the purposes of this paper, we emphasize the state-sponsored religion when coding the period of the Roman Empire, while acknowledging that Roman practices and beliefs were not necessarily applicable to the full population. This MSP trait was a feature of popular Roman religion. Under the Empire, Roman ideological influence extended across Gaul (particularly the South, but also in the Paris Basin). Widely disseminated Roman authors attest traditional belief in the punishment of perjurers and other perpetrators of impious interpersonal offenses (Catullus *Carm*. 30; 64.135; 76.1-6, 19-20) as well as critiques and rationalizing explanations by educated elites (Cicero *De Legibus* 2.15-16, Lucretius *De Natura Deorum* 3.82-91). Traditional Roman belief held that any sort of abnormal event (*prodigium*) indicated divine displeasure and meant that the anger of the gods had been awakened by something—usually a ritual offense but sometimes also moral transgressions (Livy 8.18.11). If left unexpiated, prodigies portended this-life punishment in the form of military defeat, civil discord, plagues and the like (MacBain 1982).
	Following conversion to Christianity in the 4th century CE, belief in MSP in this life persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well.
	(On the spread of Christianity, see e.g. Fox 1986))
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**3200 BCE-27 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	The evidence of Indo-European linguistics (e.g. Haudry 1993) indicates that an automatic, non-agentic process of punishment for broken oaths was envisioned in the earliest period. However, a Celtic god *Segomū, *Segomonos is attested for Southwestern France by the first century CE and is thought to be cognate

with Roman Semo Sancus, a martial god of oaths and treaties (Weiss 2017). Luján Martínez (1997: 193) argues that "the consecration to the gods of a person who takes an oath" is of Indo-European origin and cites an Irish oath formula implying a deity as guarantor (195). Additionally, Koch (1992: 252) cites a consensus that the pan-Celtic god Lugus was "originally and etymologically the god of the oath." In prehistoric Celtic cultures, both agentic and non-agentic processes appear to have been present.

26 BCE-1788 CE: PRESENT

Ca. 50 BCE, Caesar often describes Gauls as taking oaths, suggesting the belief that the gods punished oath-breakers. While he does not specify the oath-gods used, it is highly likely that the oaths included divine guarantors such as Lugus, who is believed to have been originally an oath-god (Koch 2012). Agentic MSP, including agentic punishment for perjury, was also a feature of Roman religion and Christianity.

(For Caesar's descriptions of oaths, see e.g. *Bell. Gall.* 1.3, 1.30, 6.12, 7.2, tr. Edwards 1917; for agentic MSP among the Romans, see e.g. Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54; on spread of Christianity, see e.g. Fox 1986)

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Page content with header and table

Iceland

Moralizing concern is primary	**930 CE-1000 CE: ABSENT** Though the gods promoted certain prosocial behaviors, literary sources often depicted them as fickle and amoral; e.g. in the poem *Hávámal*, Odin provides advice as to the most efficient ways to kill an enemy, seduce a woman, or steal property, and cautions people from being too trusting of their friends, also revealing that he himself broke an oath he'd sworn to the giant Suttungur. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019: 13-14) **1001 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Christianity, which features MSCP. (Durrenberger 1988: 239; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**930 CE-1000 CE: ABSENT** Literary sources depict gods as both punishing antisocial behaviors (e.g. Odin withdraws protection from King Geirrödr, guilty of inhospitality, in the poem *Grímnismál*) and recommending antisocial (or potentially antisocial) behaviours (e.g. Odin advising on best methods of killing enemies, stealing property, or seducing women in the poem *Hávámal*), suggesting no clear system of pattern. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019: 11-14) **1001 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Christianity, which features certain MSP. (Durrenberger 1988: 239; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**930 CE-1000 CE: ABSENT** Norse gods mostly punished the breaking of oaths and transgressions against hospitality. (Raffield, Price and Collard 201: 11-14) **1001 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Christianity, which features broad MSP. (Durrenberger 1988: 239; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**930 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Whenever literary sources describe gods as punishing antisocial behaviors, they always target individuals (e.g. King Geirrödr, in the poem *Grímnismál*) rather than groups. Belief in targeted MSP persisted after conversion to Christianity in the 11th century, as it was also a feature of the new religion. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019 for Norse religion; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**930 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Literary sources describe gods as punishing antisocial behaviors include tales where royalty is punished (e.g. King Geirrödr, in the poem *Grímnismál*); the belief that rulers were not immune to MSP persisted after conversion to Christianity, as it was a feature of the new religion as well. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019: 11 for Norse religion; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**930 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Mythical allusions in West Norse skaldic poetry and religious iconography from across Scandinavia suggests that Norse mythical traditions were well known among both commoners and elites. Moreover, there were a number of different contexts where elites and commoners gathered for collective worship. And though MSP was not a primary concern for Norse gods, they still promoted certain prosocial behaviours and punished certain antisocial ones. Conversion to Christianity, also a moralizing religion, began around 1000 CE. (on the broad adoption of Norse religion among both elites and commoners, see e.g. Nordberg 2018, Nordberg 2019: 364, note 61; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**930 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Mythical allusions in West Norse skaldic poetry and religious iconography from across Scandinavia suggests that Norse mythical traditions were well known among both commoners and elites. Moreover, there were a number of different contexts where elites and commoners gathered for collective worship. And though MSP was not a primary concern for Norse gods, they still promoted certain prosocial behaviours and punished certain antisocial ones. Conversion to Christianity, also a moralizing religion, began around 1000 CE. (on the broad adoption of Norse religion among both elites and commoners, see e.g. Nordberg 2018, Nordberg 2019: 364, note 61; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**930 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Literary sources (written in the Christian era but based on pre-Christian lore) descriptions of warriors being rewarded in Valhalla, and a region of the afterlife where those guilty of the worst crimes (including murder, the breaking of oaths, and adultery) were tormented; belief in MSP in the afterlife persisted after conversion to Christianity, as it was a feature of the new religion as well. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019: 11 for Norse religion; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**930 CE-1000 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Literary sources include stories in which gods punish people in this life (e.g. Odin withdraws protection from King Geirrödr, guilty of inhospitality, in the poem *Grímnismál*), but examples are sufficiently few that it is not clear to extent this belief was present. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019: 11) **1001 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Christianity, which features MSP in this life. (Durrenberger 1988: 239; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**930 CE-1380 CE: PRESENT** Literary sources only describe gods as punishing or rewarding humans, never an impersonal force; belief in agentic MSP persisted after conversion to Christianity, as it was a feature of the new religion as well. (Raffield, Price and Collard 2019: 11 for Norse religion; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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Upper Egypt

Moralizing concern is primary	**4400 BCE-2901 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Predynastic iconography (e.g. depicting the subjugation of enemies and wild animals) may reflect a preoccupation with the notion of order triumphing over chaos, but this might or might not have an ethical dimension. However, the concept of *ma'at* (order, including in a moralising sense) is attested in the next period. Therefore, we infer that this period saw a long, gradual transition from religious beliefs that did not include this trait, to ones that did. (on Predynastic beliefs, see Kemp 2018: 89-97, Hendrickx 2011; on earliest attestations of *ma'at*, see Goebs 2007: 276) **2900 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** King seen as appointed by the gods as earthly guarantor of *ma'at* (order, including in a moral sense). Earliest written attestation of both *ma'at* and its connection to the kingship dates to the Second Dynasty. Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSCP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features MSCP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features MSCP as well. (on tie between king and *ma'at*, see Assmann 2006, Lichtheim 1992, Morris 2010: 216, and Silverman 1995; on earliest attestation of *ma'at*, see Goebs 2007: 276; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**4400 BCE-1567 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Predynastic iconography (e.g. depicting the subjugation of enemies and wild animals) may reflect a preoccupation with the notion of order triumphing over chaos, but this might or might not have an ethical dimension. Earliest written attestations of the concept of ma'at (meaning order, including in a moralising sense) date to the Second Dynasty, in the early third millennium BCE. Later, Old Kingdom biographical texts dating from the last quarter of the third millennium BCE suggest the belief that one could expect punishment or reward both in this life and after death, but it is unclear whether punishment or reward were thought as certain, especially as some of these texts suggest that one could litigate with opponents in the afterlife or between the deceased and the living, which is a different matter from divine judgement. The same can be said for early second-millennium sources such as the Coffin Texts. However, one can argue that there is an implied moral content to these litigations. Moreover, sources of the second millennium such as the *Dialogue of Ipuur and the Lord of All* (likely dates to after 1750 BCE) reproach the creator god for neglecting humanity. However, the *Book of the Dead*, the New Kingdom text that formalized afterlife beliefs, including

	certain MSP, likely derived from previous sources. Therefore, we consider the late third to mid second millennium as a long, gradual transition period from a time when MSP may not have been thought of as certain, to one when it was (within reason). (on Predynastic beliefs, see Kemp 2018: 89-97, Hendrickx 2011; on earliest attestations of *ma'at*, see Goebs 2007: 276; for relevant Old Kingdom texts, see Lichtheim 1992: 10-11, Strudwick 2005; on Coffin Texts, see Faulkner 1973-1978; on the *Dialogue of Ipuur and the Lord of All*, see Parkinson 1997: 185; on earlier roots to certain key formulae of the *Book of the Dead*, see Anthes 1954) **1550 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** Concept of certain moralizing judgement after death formalized in chapter 125 and chapter 30 of the *Book of the Dead*, in the New Kingdom period, though it likely pre-existed this text. Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features certain MSP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features certain MSP as well. (on *Book of the Dead*, see Quirke 2013; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**4400 BCE-2901 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Predynastic iconography (e.g. depicting the subjugation of enemies and wild animals) may reflect a preoccupation with the notion of order triumphing over chaos, but this might or might not have an ethical dimension. However, the concept of *ma'at* (which included belief in broad MSP) is attested in the next period. Therefore, we infer that this period saw a long, gradual transition from religious beliefs that did not include this trait, to ones that did. (on Predynastic beliefs, see Kemp 2018: 89-97, Hendrickx 2011; on earliest attestations of *ma'at*, see Goebs 2007: 276) **2900 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** King seen as appointed by the gods as earthly guarantor of *ma'at* (order, including in a broad moral sense). Earliest written attestation of both *ma'at* and its connection to the kingship dates to the Second Dynasty. Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and

	Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features broad MSP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features broad MSP as well.
	(on *ma'at*, see Assmann 2006, Lichtheim 1992, Morris 2010: 216, and Silverman 1995; on earliest attestation of *ma'at*, see Goebs 2007: 276; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**4400 BCE-2351 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Some archaeological evidence for belief in the afterlife, and for continuity of belief with later periods, but it remains unclear whether individuals were thought to experience targeted MSP, either in this life or the next.
	(on early evidence for beliefs and practices surrounding death, see e.g. Midant-Reynes 2000, Stevenson 2015)
	2350 BCE-1567 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Old Kingdom sources are compatible with belief in targeted judgement after death, notably late Fifth and Sixth-Dynasty tomb inscriptions in which the deceased claims to have followed *ma'at* in life, suggesting the individual's expectation of reward and/or avoidance of punishment in the afterlife. Some of these insciptions, as well as others, also say that the deceased acted ethically so that it go well for them before the great god.
	(for relevant Old Kingdom texts, see Lichtheim 1992: 10-11, Strudwick 2005)
	1550 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	During the New Kingdom, the concept of targeted reward/punishment after death was formalized in the *Book of the Dead*.
	Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features targeted MSP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features targeted MSP as well.
	(on *Book of the Dead*, see Quirke 2013; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**4400 BCE-2017 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]**
	It is unclear whether the ethical concept of *ma'at* (which included MSP targeted at rulers) existed in Predynastic times. Even if the concept already existed at this time, there is no clear evidence that it was accompanied by the belief that MSP could target rulers. Similarly, though iconography including the Narmer Palette

	suggests divine approval of the king's demonstration of loyalty to his polity by defeating the polity's enemies, as well as the belief tat the king depended on the gods, it is unclear whether the king was thought to be directly rewarded or punished for his actions. Therefore, we are considering this as a long transitional period from a time when kings may not have been thought to receive MSP, to one where they definitely were.
	(on Predynastic beliefs and Narmer Palette, see Kemp 2018: 89-97; on earliest attestations of *ma'at*, see Goebs 2007: 276)
	2016 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	Earliest clear attestations of belief that kings were also subject to MSP may be found in texts such as *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* and *The Teaching for King Merikare*, which date to the Middle Kingdom.
	Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features targeted MSP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features targeted MSP as well.
	(on *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* and *The Teaching for King Merikare*, see Parkinson 1997: 212-234; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173, Fischer-Bovet 2015, Manning 2012; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**4400 BCE-2351 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]**
	Predynastic iconography (e.g. depicting the subjugation of enemies and wild animals) may reflect a preoccupation with the notion of order triumphing over chaos, but this might or might not have had an ethical dimension. Earliest written attestations of *ma'at* date to the Second Dynasty.
	Earliest written attestations of elites claiming to have followed *ma'at* in life date to the late Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. Therefore, we infer that this period saw a long, gradual transition from religious beliefs that did not include this trait, to ones that did. It may also be that, as inscriptions grew longer, it became more possible to include more ethical content.
	(on Predynastic beliefs, see Kemp 2018: 89-97, Hendrickx 2011; on *ma'at*, see e.g. Assmann 2006; on its earliest attestations, see Goebs 2007: 276)
	2350 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	As noted above, the earliest written examples of elites claiming to have followed *ma'at* in life may be found in funerary inscriptions dating to the Sixth Dynasty.

	Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features targeted MSP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features targeted MSP as well. (for relevant Old Kingdom texts, see Lichtheim 1992: 10-11, Strudwick 2005; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**4400 BCE-1721 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1700 BCE-1551 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, likely written around 1800 BCE features, as its protagonist, a small-time farmer and trader who proclaims general morality and has supernatural agency in the background of his thought. Such a text would likely best be set in a context in which ordinary people could have such thoughts, fictional and exaggerated though it is. However, it is worth noting that it is difficult to point to direct evidence for commoners adopting MSP beliefs until the New Kingdom. (on *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*, see Parkinson 1997) **1550 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** The earliest direct evidence for MSP beliefs among peasants dates to the New Kingdom, with widespread use of heart scarabs in burial contexts, including modest ones. Heart scarabs were amulets tied to beliefs surrounding judgement in the afterlife. Much later, Egyptian commoners came to embrace other moralizing religions, most notably Christianity in late antiquity, and Islam from the medieval period onwards. (on heart scarabs, see e.g. Cooney 2008, Vanlathem 2001; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**4400 BCE-2351 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Based on apparent elements of continuity in burial practice, it is possible that belief in the afterlife (and therefore also MSP in the afterlife) already existed at this time. However, there is no scholarly consensus on this question. This period may have seen a gradual transition from religious beliefs that did not include MSP in the afterlife, to religious beliefs that did. (see e.g. Bárta 2011; Midant-Reynes 2000; Smith 2017: 22; Van De Mieroop 2011: 24; Moreno García 2019: 34-36; Baines 1991: 151)

	2350 BCE-1567 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT Old Kingdom sources are compatible with belief in judgement after death, notably Fifth- and Sixth-Dynasty tomb inscriptions in which the deceased claims to have followed *ma'at* in life, suggesting expectation of reward and/or avoidance of punishment after death. (for examples of such texts, see Lichtheim 1992: 10-11) **1550 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** Concept of moralizing judgement after death formalized in *Book of the Dead*, in the New Kingdom period, though it likely pre-existed this text, which includes formulae that have been traced back to the Middle Kingdom. Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features MSP after death. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features MSP after death as well. (on *Book of the Dead*, see Quirke 2013; on the origin of key formulae it includes, see Anthes 1954; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**4400 BCE-2351 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **2350 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** Late Old Kingdom texts from the last quarter of the third millennium BCE suggest the belief that those who were attacked by snakes or crocodiles might learn, after death, that it had been a consequence of improper behavior; however, the only given example of improper behavior is the desecration of tombs. Texts written in this period, such as *The Teaching for King Merikare*, frame catastrophes as righteous punishment by the god: "He has killed His enemies and He has destroyed His children / for thinking to make rebellion". Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features MSP in this life. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features MSP in this life as well.

	(quote from Parkinson 1997: 226; on relevant Old Kingdom texts, see Strudwick 2005: 253, 260, 437; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**4400 BCE-3301 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **3300 BCE-2651 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Iconography and allusions to deities in elite names suggests belief in a broad range of gods. The fact that the earliest written attestations of belief in ma'at date to this period suggest that perhaps these gods engaged in MSP. (for gods in this period, see e.g. Hornung 1982: 33-49, Kemp, Boyce and Harrell 2000; for early evidence for ma'at, see Goebs 2007: 276; Kemp 2018: 89-97) **2650 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** King seen as appointed by the gods as earthly guarantor of *ma'at* (order, including in a moral sense). 'The (Great) God' was thought to judge people after death (though some scholars interpret this god as being the king). Religious practice and theology remained mostly unchanged under Persian rule between the 6th and 4th centuries BCE, although there is a general dearth of sources for this period (J. Baines, personal communication, June 3, 2019). During the period of Greek rule, traditional Egyptian notions of MSP likely coexisted with Greek beliefs, and indeed social identities and boundaries between Greeks and Egyptians grew increasingly blurred from the 2nd century BCE on. Egyptian and Greek culture persisted under Roman rule, until Christianity spread across the empire. Christianity features agentic MSP. From the 7th century CE on, the region was ruled by a succession of Islamic polities. Islam features agentic MSP as well. (on kings as guarantors of *ma'at*, see Morris 2010: 216, Silverman 1995; on early evidence for evidence of divine tribunals in afterlife, see Assmann 2005: 136; on Persian rule, see Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2006; on Hellenistic period, see Vandorpe 2010: 171-173; on Roman rule, see Frankfurter 1998: 7; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on early Islam in Egypt, see Bowman 1986 and Bosworth 1996; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Inland Niger Delta

Moralizing concern is primary	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN**
	Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones.
	1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152).
	1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT
	The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs including MSCP (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN**
	Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones.
	1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court

	of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152).
	1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT
	The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN**
	Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones.
	1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152).
	1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT
	The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN**
	Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones.
	1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]

	Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152). **1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT** The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN** Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones. **1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152). **1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT** The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN** Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally.

	Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones. **1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152). **1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT** The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN** Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones. **1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152). **1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT** The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN** Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human

	individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones, either in this life or the afterlife.
	1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152).
	1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT
	The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN**
	Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones, either in this life or the afterlife.
	1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152).
	1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT

	The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**250 BCE-1077 CE: UNKNOWN** Extrapolating from historical Mande contexts, R. McIntosh (2000) argues that, in pre-Islamic times, human communities in the Niger Inland Delta likely followed norms that demanded moral reciprocity both between human individuals and between human communities and the landscape (see also McNaughton 1988: 15-21). It is also worth noting that prominent sites such as Jenné-jeno have not yielded evidence of a vertical social stratification (MacDonald 2013; R.McIntosh 2005), suggesting perhaps an ideology that promotes cooperation, and therefore perhaps prosociality more generally. Overall, however, the present evidence, both archaeological and ethnographic, does not seem sufficient to infer the presence or absence of belief, at this time, in supernatural entities or forces who monitored intra-human interactions, punishing antisocial behaviors and rewarding prosocial ones. **1100 CE-1410 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Transition and eventually conversion to Islam (Levtzion and Spaulding 2003: 24-25), which is a highly moralizing religion. Note that, in the 14th century, when traveller Ibn Battuta visited the Mali Empire, he wrote that, despite his profession of Islamic faith, "the emperor also remained faithful to certain pagan customs" and "unorthodox practices", suggesting that "[a]part from the presence of Arabs and the slight Muslim veneer, what happened at the court of the mansa differed very little from what might have been seen at the courts of non-Muslim kings, for example those of Mossi" (Niane 1984, 152). **1493 CE-1818 CE: PRESENT** The fact that Timbuktu had emerged as an important center of Islamic scholarship at the start of this period (Saad 1983: 34-38) suggests that Islam was firmly established in the region. Islam features the full set of MSP beliefs (Yaran 2007: 23-24, 43-44).

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Ghanaian Coast[1]

Moralizing concern is primary	**1501 CE-1894 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The Akan believe that both their supreme god (Nyame) and lesser deities (abosom) monitor the moral quality of human behavior. However, the Akan also acknowledge that both Nyame and the abosom are often slow to address injustices, even when these are particularly egregious, operating on an entirely different time scale than humans. Even the most "hot-headed" deity, Densu, whose reaction to injustices is thought to be swiftest, may only address wrongs after repeated prompting. Moreover, wrong-doers and transgressors may successfully bribe or appease the abosom through offerings and sacrifices. (Ephrimi-Donkor 2010: 8, 57-58) **1895 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP traits including MSCP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014). Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1501 CE-1894 CE: ABSENT** The Akan acknowledge that both Nyame and the abosom are often slow to address injustices, even when these are particularly egregious, operating on an entirely different time scale than humans. Even the most "hot-headed" deity, Densu, whose reaction to injustices is thought to be swiftest, may only address wrongs after repeated prompting. Moreover, wrong-doers and transgressors may successfully bribe or appease the abosom through offerings and sacrifices. (Ephrimi-Donkor 2010: 8, 57-58) **1895 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014). Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**1501 CE-1894 CE: PRESENT** For the Akan, both the gods and the ancestors specifically punish "stealing, pre-marital sex, murder, incest, having sexual intercourse in the bush, adultery and suicide" (Anderson 2013: 167). Proverbs such as "man is not a palm-tree that he should be self-sufficient", "the right arm washes the left arm and the left arm washes the right arm" and "life is mutual aid" suggest that fairness and reciprocity were rewarded as well (Gyeke 2011). Indeed, "altruistic deeds, acts of kindness, periodic throwing of parties, etc." were all thought to be good for warding off evil (Ephrim-Donkor 2010: 58).

[1] Because of the drastic changes brought by the slave trade, the presence of Christian missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries, and large-scale urbanization and immigration, it is difficult to generalize about religious beliefs and morality among the inhabitants of the Ghanaian Coast in this period (Rebecca Shumway, pers. comm., February 2021). Note, also, that the "Akan" ethnonym only became established in the late 19th century.

	1895 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1501 CE-1894 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** According to the Akan, transgressions (*musu*) may endanger the transgressor's entire community, though in the case of minor transgressions it seems that the individual transgressor was thought to be the sole target of supernatural ire (Ephirim-Donkor 2010: 57-58). **1895 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1501 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** Punishment for the behavior of a single individual is meted out to "the offender and the entire society" (Anderson 2013: 167); this presumably includes rulers. Rulers, though they had some religious and spiritual authority, were not exempt from punishment or removal from office by their human advisors (Rebecca Shumway, pers. comm. to Pieter François, February 2021), so it is likely that their transgressions could also be punished by gods and ancestors. British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1501 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** The Akan beliefs about moralizing enforcement by gods and ancestors described in this table were shared by elites and commoners (Rebecca Shumway, pers. comm. to Pieter François, February 2021). Some elites and commoners adopted Christianity, another moralizing religion, from around 1800 onwards, and generally practiced it alongside traditional spiritual systems (Rebecca Shumway, pers. comm. to Pieter François, February 2021). British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.

Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1501 C-1914 CE: PRESENT** The Akan beliefs about moralizing enforcement by gods and ancestors described in this table were shared by elites and commoners (Rebecca Shumway, pers. comm. to Pieter François, February 2021). British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1501 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** Though one's longevity and therefore achieved status in life plays a significant role in one's fate after death, the Akan also believe that those who lived "less than an ideal life", in a moral sense, are barred from ever reincarnating or becoming an ancestor (Ephirim-Donkor 2010: 15-16). British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1501 CE-1914 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Anderson (2013, 167) suggests that the gods could punish "the offender and the entire society" via "drought, infertility and sicknesses". However, the Akan also believe that both their supreme god (Nyame) and lesser deities (abosom) are often slow to address injustices, even when these are particularly egregious, operating on an entirely different time scale than humans. Even the most "hot-headed" deity, Densu, whose reaction to injustices is thought to be swiftest, may only address wrongs after repeated prompting. Moreover, wrong-doers and transgressors may successfully bribe or appease the abosom through offerings and sacrifices. (Ephrimi-Donkor 2010: 8, 57-58) British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1501 CE-1914 CE: PRESENT** Gods and ancestors are responsible for MSP (Ephirim-Donkor 2010: 8). British Empire (Christian, therefore full MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) occupied region in 1895. Note that Christianity had already begun spreading through region in the late 18th century, however, and that the region had not been entirely immune from the influence of Islam (Silverman and Owusu-Ansah 1989), another moralizing religion.

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Southern Mesopotamia

Moralizing concern is primary	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5500 BCE-2351 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data—in particular, the existence of temples—from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2350 BCE-540 BCE: ABSENT
	Written sources demonstrate that though Mesopotamian gods were thought to monitor certain aspects of morality, they were equally interested in correct ritual performance. Some Mesopotamian thinkers grappled with the question of the "righteous sufferer", i.e. the person who experiences misfortune despite morally upstanding conduct.
	(see e.g. Lambert 1996[1963])
	539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSCP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSCP was present based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSCP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-144 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Though Alexander persecuted Zoroastrianism following his conquest of the region, his successors, the Seleucids demonstrated greater tolerance toward local faiths, and did not impose Greek beliefs on their subjects. We are therefore coding this as a period of transition from a time when the main moralizing religion in the region was almost stamped out, to its re-establishment.
	(on Alexander's persecution of Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31; on Seleucid rule, see Kosmin 2013)
	143 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	Zoroastrianism likely firmly established, given the passing of several century since its first appearance in the region. The region was then conquered by an Islamic polity in the 7th century CE, which led to gradual Islamization of the population. Islam features MSCP.

	(on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5500 BCE-2351 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour. (for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48) **2350 BCE-540 BCE: ABSENT** Throughout this period, Mesopotamian thinkers grappled with the question of the "righteous sufferer", i.e. the person who experiences misfortune despite morally upstanding conduct. (see e.g. Lambert 1996[1963]) **539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was certain in Zoroastrianism at this time, based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **312 BCE-144 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Though Alexander persecuted Zoroastrianism following his conquest of the region, his successors, the Seleucids, demonstrated greater tolerance toward local faiths, and did not impose Greek beliefs on their subjects. We are therefore coding this as a period of transition from a time when the main moralizing religion in the region was almost stamped out, to its re-establishment. (on Alexander's persecution of Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31; on Seleucid rule, see Kosmin 2013) **143 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** Zoroastrianism likely firmly established, given the passing of several century since its first appearance in the region. The region was then conquered by an Islamic polity in the 7th century CE, which led to gradual Islamization of the population. Islam features certain MSP. (on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

Moralizing enforcement is broad	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5500 BCE-3000 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk period, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2900 BCE-2150 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transition from time where this aspect of MSP was likely absent, to one where it is attested as present.
	2112 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT
	Earliest texts pointing to broad supernatural concern with morality date to the Late Sumerian/Isin Larsa period (2100 BCE-1830 BCE), where hymns and prayers cast deities as defenders of the "good and just" in general and punishers of "the unrighteous, evil, oppressor, [...] the informer,/the arrogant, the agreement-violator".
	(quotes from Kramer 1956: 53-55)
	539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was broad in Zoroastrianism at this time, based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1838: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Among the Greeks, gods were traditionally believed to punish transgressions against hospitality, the breaking of oaths, and the withholding of certain types of reciprocity, though the "Confession Inscriptions" of the Hellenistic era also suggest that local gods punished slander, theft, adultery, and personal injury, suggesting a relatively broad range of punishable behaviors. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers (and, as noted above, Zoroastrianism features broad MSP), who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Islam also features broad MSP.
	(on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5500 BCE-3000 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. (for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk period, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48) **2900 BCE-2150 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Written oaths from c. 2700 BCE onwards invoking the gods suggest the belief that they punished individual oath-breakers. This suggests a gradual transition towards full establishment of belief in targeted MSP in the next period. (on early oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham, 1997: 45) **2112 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT** Earliest written evidence of explicit belief in MSP targeted at individuals dates to the 22nd century BCE, e.g. a hymn to Enlil describes him as preventing evildoers from escaping by capturing them in his net. (for MSP in Mesopotamian religion, see e.g. Kramer 1956) **539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was targeted based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest belief in targeted MSP, though most transgressions described are ritual rather than moral. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers (and, as noted above, Zoroastrianism features targeted MSP), who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Islam also features targeted MSP. (on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5500 BCE-3000 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable

offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.

(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk period, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)

2900 BCE-1895 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

Earliest written evidence for belief that gods chose rulers to be their stewards on earth. This implies the gradual emergence of the belief that rulers who do not properly fulfill the obligations of their office could suffer divine punishment.

(on rulers as stewards, see Cunningham 2013: 45)

1894 BCE-540 CE: PRESENT

After the third millennium BCE, Mesopotamian sources describe rulers being punished by gods, e.g. when Sargon committed a great evil and Marduk punished him and his lands (e.g., bringing famine to the people as punishment).

(Botsforth 1912)

539 BCE-330 CE: INFERRED PRESENT

Region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.

(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)

312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT

At the beginning of this period this region was under Greek rule. Though Greek mythology includes a number of contradictory representations of the afterlife, Polygnotus' mural described by Pausanias depicts mythical heroes and heroines in Hades, alongside commoner moral transgressors, suggesting that people generally expected the same fate after death. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers, who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Zoroastrianism and Islam both feature MSP.

(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; for examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5500 BCE-3000 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**

	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2900 BCE-540 CE: PRESENT
	From c. 2700 BCE onwards, written documents featuring oaths invoking the gods suggest the belief that they punished individual oath-breakers, at least among elites, who would have been able to both produce and read such documents. Dominant religions in later centuries (most notably, Zoroastrianism and Islam) also featured moralizing elements.
	(on early oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham, 1997: 45)
	539 BCE-330 CE: INFERRED PRESENT
	In the 6th century BCE, the region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)
	312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period this region was under Greek rule. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers, who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Greek religion, Zoroastrianism and Islam all feature MSP, though Greek religion is not fully moralizing.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; for examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5500 BCE-3000 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief.

	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk period, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2900 BCE-2004 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transitional period from a time when commoners are more likely not to have had moralizing beliefs, to one where they did. Note that the custom of swearing oaths to the god was likely established long before the earliest written evidence for it.
	(Postgate 1995: 287)
	2003 BCE-540 CE: PRESENT
	Several texts from the Old Babylonian period onward testify to the fact that commoners had moralizing beliefs, and in particular believed that they could go be punished by the gods for violating oaths. For example, according to the Code of Hammurabi, a shepherd who had lost sheep could swear to the gods that this had been a result of illness or lion attacks, and the flock's owner would have to trust the shepherd's word.
	(Postgate 1995: 279-281)
	539 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Though in this period the region was ruled by a Zoroastrian polity, Zoroastrianism likely did not immediately spread to the population. Instead, we infer that commoners retained moralizing beliefs from the previous period.
	312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest belief in targeted MSP by Anatolian commoners for some interpersonal offenses, though most transgressions described are ritual rather than moral. In this case, the beliefs of commoners in rural areas as revealed by the inscriptions point to local deities who are more strictly moralizing than the state gods, perhaps as a substitute for adjudication of minor/local offenses by the Greek authorities. After the Greeks, the region was once again ruled by Zoroastrian polities (as already noted, Zoroastrianism is a fully moralizing religion), until, in the 7th century CE, it was conquered by an Islamic polity, which led to its gradual Islamization. Islam also features MSP.
	(on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5500 BCE-732 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	The earliest known detailed description of the Mesopotamian afterlife dates to the 7th century BCE. According to it, everyone meets the same miserable fate in the aftrelife. It is not possible to confidently assert that this belief was present in previous period, but given the abundant written, iconographic, and archaeological evidence for continuity in many aspects of religion throughout Mesopotamian history, it seems more likely that the 7th-century manuscripts describe a long-standing vision of the afterlife.
	(for earliest description of afterlife, see Schneider 2013: 65-66)
	729 BCE-540 BCE: ABSENT

	Two manuscripts dating to this period provide the earliest known detailed description of the Mesopotamian afterlife. The description implies that everyone meets the same miserable fate after death.
	(Schneider 2013: 65-66)
	539 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP after death based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Belief in punishment in the afterlife is a feature of Greek religion during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Greek rule was followed by Parthian and then Sasanian rule; both Parthians and Sasanians were Zoroastrians, and as noted above Zoroastrianism includes MSP after death. Finally, the region was conquered by an Islamic polity in the 7th century CE, which led to gradual Islamization of the population. Islam also features MSP after death.
	(for examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**9000 BCE-5501 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5500 BCE-3000 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2900 BCE-540 CE: PRESENT
	Written oaths from c. 2700 BCE onwards invoking the gods suggest the belief that they punished individual oath-breakers. After the third millennium BCE, Mesopotamian sources describe rulers being punished by gods, e.g. when Sargon committed a great evil and Marduk punished him and his lands (e.g., bringing famine to the people as punishment).
	(on early oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham, 1997: 45; on punishment of Sargon by Marduk, see e.g. Botsforth 1912)
	539 BCE-330 CE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally,

	Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP in this life in Zoroastrianism at this time, based on these sources.
	(on early oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham, 1997: 45; on punishment of Sargon by Marduk, see e.g. Botsforth 1912; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in this life Zoroastrianism, see Williams 2017: xii 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral transgressions, and they did so in this life, e.g. through accidents or illness. After the Greeks, the region was once again ruled by Zoroastrian polities (as already noted, Zoroastrianism is a fully moralizing religion), until, in the 7th century CE, it was conquered by an Islamic polity, which led to its gradual Islamization.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**9000 BCE-3000 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	2900 BCE-540 CE: PRESENT
	Written evidence for belief that specific gods punished moral transgressions (in the earliest known texts, the breaking of oaths) dates to the Early Dynastic period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE; Cunningham 1997: 45). Mesopotamian texts describe many specific gods who occasionally enforce MSP, but never an impersonal supernatural force.
	(for agentic MSP in the ED period, see e.g. Cunningham 1997: 45; for Mesopotamian pantheon and MSP, see e.g. Kramer 1956)
	539-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring agentic MSP based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this the region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral

	transgressions. After the Greeks, the region was once again ruled by Zoroastrian polities (as already noted, Zoroastrianism features agentic MSP), until, in the 7th century CE, it was conquered by an Islamic polity, which led to its gradual Islamization. Islam includes agentic MSP.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Susiana[2]

Moralizing concern is primary	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief.
	2675 BCE-540 BCE: ABSENT
	In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour. Indeed, for the rest of this period, up until Achaemenid conquest in 540 BCE, written sources suggest that Mesopotamian gods were thought to monitor certain aspects of morality, they were equally interested in correct ritual performance. Texts from Susa dating to the mid-3rd millennium BCE reveal that the Elamites had a concept of a divine tribunal after death, in which the deceased would be judged by Inshushinak, 'weigher of souls', and his assistants Ishmekarab and Lagamal. However, it is not entirely clear whether the gods judged the dead on the basis of morality, whether everyone was thought to experience this after death, or even which behaviors in life were thought to influence the gods' judgement.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48; on MSCP in Mesopotamia generally, see e.g. Lambert 1996[1963]; on Elamite judgement of the dead, see Carter 2011, 46, Potts 2004, 172-73, Vallat 1998)
	539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSCP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSCP was present in Zoroastrianism at this time based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSCP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-144 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Though Alexander persecuted Zoroastrianism following his conquest of the region, his successors, the Seleucids demonstrated greater tolerance toward local faiths, and did not impose Greek beliefs on their subjects during this period. We are therefore coding this as a period of transition from a time when the main moralizing religion in the region was almost stamped out, to its re-establishment.

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[2] On this table, codes for the period 5100 BCE-540 BCE match those for neighbouring Southern Mesopotamia, as religious developments in this region mostly paralleled those in the other (M. Altaweel, pers. comm., December 21, 2020).

	(on Alexander's persecution of Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31; on Seleucid rule, see Kosmin 2013)
	143 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT
	Zoroastrianism likely firmly established, given the passing of several centuries since its first appearance in the region. The region was then conquered by an Islamic polity in the 7th century CE, which led to gradual Islamization of the population. Islam features MSCP.
	(on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. **2675 BCE-540 BCE: ABSENT** In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour. Between 2250 and Achaemenid conquest in 540 BCE, Mesopotamian thinkers grappled with the question of the "righteous sufferer", i.e. the person who experiences misfortune despite morally upstanding conduct. Texts from Susa dating to the mid-3rd millennium BCE reveal that the Elamites had a concept of a divine tribunal after death, in which the deceased would be judged by Inshushinak, 'weigher of souls', and his assistants Ishmekarab and Lagamal. However, it is not entirely clear whether the gods judged the dead on the basis of morality, whether everyone was thought to experience this after death, or even which behaviors in life were thought to influence the gods' judgement. Later, Mesopotamian thinkers also grappled with the question of the "righteous sufferer", i.e. the person who experiences misfortune despite morally upstanding conduct. (for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48; on MSP in Mesopotamia generally, see e.g. Lambert 1996[1963]; on Elamite judgement of the dead, see Carter 2011, 46, Potts 2004, 172-73, Vallat 1998) **539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was certain in Zoroastrianism at this time based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **312 BCE-144 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]**

	Though Alexander persecuted Zoroastrianism following his conquest of the region, his successors, the Seleucids, demonstrated greater tolerance toward local faiths, and did not impose Greek beliefs on their subjects during this period. We are therefore coding this as a period of transition from a time when the main moralizing religion in the region was almost stamped out, to its re-establishment.
	(on Alexander's persecution of Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31; on Seleucid rule, see Kosmin 2013)
	143 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	Zoroastrianism likely firmly established, given the passing of several century since its first appearance in the region. The region was then conquered by an Islamic polity in the 7th century CE, which led to gradual Islamization of the population. Islam features certain MSP.
	(on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2675 BCE-2251 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transition from a period where the gods likely were only concerned with piety/impiety to one where they were broadly concerned with morality.
	2250 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT
	Earliest Mesopotamian texts pointing to broad supernatural concern with morality date to the Late Sumerian/Isin Larsa period (2100 BCE-1830 BCE), where hymns and prayers cast deities as defenders of the "good and just" in general and punishers of "the unrighteous, evil, oppressor, [...] the informer,/the arrogant, the agreement-violator".
	(quotes from Kramer 1956: 53-55)
	539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was broad based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1925: PRESENT

	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Among the Greeks, gods were traditionally believed to punish transgressions against hospitality, the breaking of oaths, and the withholding of certain types of reciprocity, though the "Confession Inscriptions" of the Hellenistic era also suggest that local gods punished slander, theft, adultery, and personal injury, suggesting a relatively broad range of punishable behaviors. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers (and, as noted above, Zoroastrianism features broad MSP), who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Islam also features broad MSP.
	(on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. Texts from Susa dating to the mid-3rd millennium BCE reveal that the Elamites had a concept of a divine tribunal after death, in which the deceased would be judged by Inshushinak, 'weigher of souls', and his assistants Ishmekarab and Lagamal. However, it is not entirely clear whether the gods judged the dead on the basis of morality. It is also worth noting that notions of the afterlife in neighboring Mesopotamia did not seem to include belief in MSP. This code is partly also based on data from neighboring region, Southern Mesopotamia, where texts from c. 2700 BCE onwards include oaths invoking the gods, suggesting belief that they targeted individual oath-breakers.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk period, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48; for punishment of Sargon by Marduk, see e.g. Botsforth 1912)
	2250 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT
	Earliest written evidence of explicit belief in MSP targeted at individuals dates to the 22nd century BCE, e.g. a hymn to Enlil describes him as preventing evildoers from escaping by capturing them in his net.
	(on Elamite afterlife, see Carter 2011, 46, Potts 2004, 172-73, Vallat 1998; on early Mesopotamian oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham 1997: 45; on MSP in Mesopotamian religion generally, see e.g. Kramer 1956)
	539 BCE-331 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was targeted based on these sources.

	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest belief in targeted MSP, though most transgressions described are ritual rather than moral. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers (and, as noted above, Zoroastrianism features targeted MSP), who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Islam also features targeted MSP.
	(on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2675 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT
	The earliest texts describing rulers as carrying out moralizing enforcement on behalf of gods date to this period in Mesopotamia, suggesting rulers' active involvement in moralizing ideology. However, earliest known examples of texts describing gods punishing rulers for moral transgressions date to after the third millennium BCE.
	(Cunningham 2013: 45; Botsforth 1912)
	539 BCE-331 CE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)

	312 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period this region was under Greek rule. Though Greek mythology includes a number of contradictory representations of the afterlife, Polygnotus' mural described by Pausanias depicts mythical heroes and heroines in Hades, alongside commoner moral transgressors, suggesting that people generally expected the same fate after death. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers, who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Zoroastrianism and Islam both feature MSP.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2012; for examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2675 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT
	From c. 2700 BCE onwards, written documents featuring oaths invoking the gods suggest the belief that they punished individual oath-breakers, at least among elites, who would have been able to both produce and read such documents.
	(on early oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham, 1997: 45)
	539 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	In the 6th century BCE, the region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.
	(quotes concerning Mesopotamian religion from Kramer 1956: 53-55; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)
	312 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period this region was under Greek rule. The Greeks then gave way to Zoroastrian rulers, who were followed by Muslim rulers in the 7th

	century CE, and since then Islam has been the dominant religion in the area. Greek religion, Zoroastrianism and Islam all feature MSP, though Greek religion is not fully moralizing.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2012; for examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2113 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for the Uruk period, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2112 BCE-2029 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	As in Southern Mesopotamia, likely a transitional period from a time when commoners are more likely not to have had moralizing beliefs, to one where they did. Note that the custom of swearing oaths to the god was likely established long before the earliest written evidence for it.
	2028 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT
	Several texts from the Old Babylonian period onward in Southern Mesopotamia testify to the fact that commoners had moralizing beliefs, and in particular believed that they could be punished by the gods for violating oaths. For example, according to the Code of Hammurabi, a shepherd who had lost sheep could swear to the gods that this had been a result of illness or lion attacks, and the flock's owner would have to trust the shepherd's word. Note that Susiana has yielded a number of texts that provide more explicit descriptions of divine retribution for the transgression of oaths than Mesopotamia.
	(Postgate 1994: 279-287)
	539 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Though in this period the region was ruled by a Zoroastrian polity, Zoroastrianism likely did not immediately spread to the population. Instead, we infer that commoners retained moralizing beliefs from the previous period.
	312 BCE-1925: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest belief in targeted MSP by Anatolian commoners for some interpersonal offenses, though most transgressions described are ritual rather than moral. In this case, the beliefs of commoners in rural areas as revealed by the inscriptions point to local deities who are more strictly moralizing than the state gods, perhaps as a substitute for adjudication of minor/local offenses by the Greek authorities. After the Greeks, the region was once again ruled by Zoroastrian polities (as already noted, Zoroastrianism is a fully moralizing religion), until, in the 7th century CE, it was conquered by an Islamic polity, which led to its gradual Islamization. Islam also features MSP.

	(on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5100 BCE-540 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour. Later, descriptions of the afterlife suggest the same fate for everyone, regardless of the moral quality of one's behavior in life. Texts from Susa dating to the mid-3rd millennium BCE reveal that the Elamites had a concept of a divine tribunal after death, in which the deceased would be judged by Inshushinak, 'weigher of souls', and his assistants Ishmekarab and Lagamal. However, it is not entirely clear whether the gods judged the dead on the basis of morality. It is also worth noting that notions of the afterlife in neighboring Mesopotamia did not seem to include belief in MSP. (for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48; for the Mesopotamian afterlife, see Schneider 2013: 65-66; on Elamite afterlife, see Carter 2011, 46, Potts 2004, 172-73, Vallat 1998; on Mesopotamian afterlife, see e.g. Schneider 2013: 65-66) **539 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP after death based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **312 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT** At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Belief in punishment in the afterlife is an occasional feature of Greek religion during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Greek rule was followed by Parthian and then Sasanian rule; both Parthians and Sasanians were Zoroastrians, and as noted above Zoroastrianism includes MSP after death. Finally, the region was conquered by an Islamic polity in the 7th century CE, which led to gradual Islamization of the population. Islam also features MSP after death. (for examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2, Larson 2016: 257, 260-63; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**

	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.
	(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)
	2675 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Written oaths from c. 2700 BCE onwards invoking the gods suggest the belief that they punished individual oath-breakers. After the third millennium BCE, Mesopotamian sources describe rulers being punished by gods, e.g. when Sargon committed a great evil and Marduk punished him and his lands (e.g., bringing famine to the people as punishment). In the 6th century BCE, the region was annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP in this life in Zoroastrianism at this time, based on these sources.
	(on early oaths, see e.g. Gelb et al. 1991, Cunningham, 1997: 45; on punishment of Sargon by Marduk, see e.g. Botsforth 1912; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in this life Zoroastrianism, see Williams 2017: xii 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	312 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral transgressions, and they did so in this life, e.g. through accidents or illness. After the Greeks, the region was once again ruled by Zoroastrian polities (as already noted, Zoroastrianism is a fully moralizing religion), until, in the 7th century CE, it was conquered by an Islamic polity, which led to its gradual Islamization.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2012; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**7800 BCE-5101 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	5100 BCE-2676 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Iconographic and archaeological data from the Ubaid period in Southern Mesopotamia (c. 6500 BCE-4000 BCE, with regional variation) strongly suggests belief that gods primarily rewarded those who provided them with correct ritual worship and suitable offerings. The same can be said for the Uruk period (4000 BCE-3100 BCE), which has also left behind written evidence for this belief. In the Early Dynastic Period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE), praising the gods became a new way to gain their favour.

(for Ubaid, see e.g. Hole 2010: 228-238 and Peasnall 2002: 381; for Uruk and ED periods, see e.g. Cunningham 2013: 41-48)

2675 BCE-540 BCE: PRESENT

Written evidence for belief that specific gods punished moral transgressions (in the earliest known texts, the breaking of oaths) dates to the Early Dynastic period (2900 BCE-2350 BCE; Cunningham 1997: 45). Mesopotamian texts describe many specific gods who occasionally enforce MSP, but never an impersonal supernatural force.

(for agentic MSP in the ED period, see e.g. Cunningham 1997: 45; for Mesopotamian pantheon and MSP, see e.g. Kramer 1956)

539-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring agentic MSP based on these sources.

(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)

312 BCE-1925 CE: PRESENT

At the beginning of this the region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral transgressions. After the Greeks, the region was once again ruled by Zoroastrian polities (as already noted, Zoroastrianism features agentic MSP), until, in the 7th century CE, it was conquered by an Islamic polity, which led to its gradual Islamization. Islam includes agentic MSP.

(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2012; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Zarrinkub 1975; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Konya Plain

Moralizing concern is primary	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1650 BCE-1181 BCE: ABSENT** Among the Hittites, transgressions such as theft, murder (particularly the murder of family members), certain sexual practices, and oath violation were all thought to result in punishment from the gods but moral concern was not primary because many ritual transgressions were also punished, the gods could be persuaded through ritual not to punish transgressions, and morally upstanding behavior was not automatically rewarded. Moreover, everyone was expected to experience the same fate in the afterlife. (Collins 2007, 91, 178-179; Bryce 2002, 139-140, 181-184) **1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs. Overall, the impression conveyed by Urartian iconography and epigraphy is of a religion that served to bolster royal legitimacy rather than promote proper moral conduct (Smith 2000). Haldi, the supreme god, was a warlike deity who supported the king's conquests; both he and the lesser gods required regular animal sacrifices and festivities in their honor (Taffet and Yakar 1998; Zimansky 1995). (on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162) **546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSCP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSCP was present based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSCP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **300 BCE-283 CE: ABSENT** Hellenistic rule, followed by Roman rule. The focus of Hellenistic and later Roman religious practice was not on moralizing punishment. At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confessions Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that local gods mostly punished ritual transgressions. As for the Romans, offenses they thought were punished by the gods include: (1) direct affront to a deity such as thieving from the sanctuary or omitting a required rite; (2) violations of fides, such as breaking oaths or a wide range of less formal agreements; (3) incest; (4) kin murder, at least from 200 BCE on; and (5) unjust war. This suggests that the Roman

	gods were interested in only certain types of moral transgressions, and that they did not distinguish these from transgressions against the gods themselves.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; on Roman MSCP, see Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54)
	284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.
	(Fox 1986)
	395 CE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity. Later, in the 11th century, conversion to Islam, following Seljuk conquest. Both religions feature primary moralizing concern.
	(on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	1650 BCE-1181 BCE: ABSENT
	Among the Hittites, transgressions such as theft, murder (particularly the murder of family members), certain sexual practices, and oath violation were all thought to result in punishment from the gods. However, the gods could be persuaded not to punish moral transgressions through certain ritual procedures. Equally, morally upstanding behaviour was not necessarily rewarded by the gods.
	(Collins 2007, 91, 178-179; Bryce 2002, 139-140)
	1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs. Overall, the impression conveyed by Urartian iconography and epigraphy is of a religion that served to bolster royal legitimacy rather than promote proper moral conduct (Smith 2000). Haldi, the supreme god, was a warlike deity who supported the king's conquests; both he and the lesser gods required regular animal sacrifices and festivities in their honor (Taffet and Yakar 1998; Zimansky 1995).
	(on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162)
	546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was certain based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	300 BCE-283 CE: ABSENT

	Hellenistic rule, followed by Roman rule. The focus of Hellenistic and later Roman religious practice was not on moralizing punishment. At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confessions Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that local gods mostly punished ritual transgressions. As for the Romans, ancient oaths typically involved either an explicit or implicit threat of this-life punishment, but the certainty of punishment for oathbreaking could be sidestepped in various ways including ambiguous wording or expiation (Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 247; Van Slyke 2005: 183)
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012;on Roman MSP, see ter Beek 2012: 29, Lucilius 1938)
	284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.
	(Fox 1986)
	395 CE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity. Later, in the 11th century, conversion to Islam, following Seljuk conquest. Both religions feature belief in certain MSP.
	(on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	1650 BCE-1181 BCE: ABSENT
	During the Hittite New Kingdom (1344–1180 BCE), sins such as theft, murder (particularly the murder of family members), and oath violation (as well as a number of ritual transgressions, such as sorcery, happening upon an impure object or place, or transgressing a taboo) were all thought to result in divine punishment through earthly misfortune (Collins 2007, 91, 178-179; Bryce 2002, 139-140). While MSP was present for specific transgressions, particularly those which insulted the gods, evidence of generalized monitoring and punishment appears to be lacking.
	1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs. Overall, the impression conveyed by Urartian iconography and epigraphy is of a religion that served to bolster royal legitimacy rather than promote proper moral conduct (Smith 2000). Haldi, the supreme god, was a warlike deity who supported the king's conquests; both he and the lesser gods required regular animal sacrifices and festivities in their honor (Taffet and Yakar 1998; Zimansky 1995).
	(on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162)
	546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian

teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was broad based on these sources.

(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)

300 BCE-31 BCE: PRESENT

Throughout this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Among the Greeks, gods were traditionally believed to punish transgressions against hospitality, the breaking of oaths, and the withholding of certain types of reciprocity, though the "Confession Inscriptions" of the Hellenistic era also suggest that local gods punished slander, theft, adultery, and personal injury, suggesting a relatively broad range of punishable behaviors.

(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012)

30 BCE-283 BCE: ABSENT

Among the Romans, allusions to divine punishment in Republic-era texts cluster heavily around offenses against *fides*, especially perjury, together with sexual offenses, offenses against parents, and murder; such crimes threatened harm to the social order and the pax deorum. In some cases, these crimes required religious expiation (as seen e.g. in Livy) Later, the afterlife punishments included in Vergil's *Aeneid* (6.724-51) suggest that a broader range of transgressions could be punished, especially those which threaten the social order, but Vergil still emphasizes offenses against kin and those who abuse formal relationships of reciprocity. Valerius Maximus, a highly moralizing author of the early Imperial period mustered only a few examples of direct punishment, including one case of murdering guests.

(on Roman MSP, see Liebeschuetz 1979: 41-44, Gaughan 2010: 9. 20, Livy 8.18.11, Vergil 6.724-51, Valerius Maximus Mem. 9.2 ext. 3)

284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

Transition to Christianity.

(Fox 1986)

395 CE-1838 CE: PRESENT

Establishment of Christianity. Later, in the 11th century, conversion to Islam, following Seljuk conquest. Both religions feature belief in broad MSP.

(on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	1650 BCE-1181 BCE: PRESENT
	In describing consequences of moral transgressions according to Hittite belief, secondary sources imply both targeted and collective MSP, e.g. by writing that a transgressor who fails to observe ritual penance could pass on resulting impurity to

future generations--so both the individual transgressor and their multiple descendants might be punished.

(Collins 2007: 178-179)

1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs.

(on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162)

546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was targeted based on these sources.

(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)

330 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT

At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest belief in targeted MSP, though most transgressions described are ritual rather than moral. As for the Romans, Roman literature of this period singles out legendary examples of targeted MSP, e.g. Livy's description of the punishment of Tullia and Tarquinius Superbus and Ovid's description of the reward of Claudia Quinta. During the Late Republic and Early Imperial periods, Lucretius and Vergil both describe individual afterlife punishments; meanwhile, less emphasis was placed on prodigies and individual divine punishments are listed as prodigies.

Following conversion to Christianity in the early 4th century CE, belief in targeted punishment persisted, as it was a feature of the new religion as well. Belief in targeted MSP is a feature of both Christianity (which had spread to urban areas across the Roman empire by the late 3rd century CE) and Islam (which came with Seljuq conquest in the late 11th century CE).

(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; on Roman MSP, see Livy 1.48, Leech 2007: 4-5, Rüpke 2018: 152-3, Obsequens, Prodigiorum Liber 70, cited in Rasmussen 2003: 42; on spread of Christianity, see Fox 1986, Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	1650 BCE-1181 BCE: PRESENT

Hittite religious texts (which suggest belief in MSP) tell us more about elite beliefs than about the beliefs of commoners (Collins 2013: 96, 104). These texts include mention of transgressions such as theft, murder (particularly the murder of family members), certain sexual practices, and oath violation.

(Collins 2007, 91, 178-179; Bryce 2002, 139-140)

1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs.

(on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162)

546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

Region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.

(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)

330 BCE-283 CE: PRESENT

At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Though Greek mythology includes a number of contradictory representations of the afterlife, Polygnotus' mural described by Pausanias depicts mythical heroes and heroines in Hades, alongside commoner moral transgressors, suggesting that people generally expected the same fate after death. After the Greeks, the region came to be ruled by the Romans. Livy gives examples of the punishment of kings, including Titus Tatius (1.14, punished with violent death for placing personal preference over justice), and Tarquinius Superbus with his wife Tullia (1.48, punished for kin-murder and usurping the throne). Additionally, Livy describes punishment of leaders' decisions to wage unjust war and mistreat opponents (Livy 5.21, Camillus, punished by his eventual downfall) and 9.1-5 (the Roman state and consuls punished with military disaster at the Caudine Forks for unjust treatment of foes). While Livy's descriptions of these legendary and semi-legendary events cannot be taken as reliable historical facts, it is likely that the attitudes he expresses can be inferred at least from the Middle Republic onward. Plutarch repeatedly alleges divine punishment for rulers who behaved immorally.

(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; on examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, on MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2 [Polygnotus' mural of the afterlife], tr. Jones and Ormerod 1918; on Roman MSP, see Livy 1.14, 1.48, 5.21, 9.1-5, Brenk 1977: 256-75)

	284 CE-394 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Transition to Christianity.
	(Fox 1986)
	395 CE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Christianity. Later, in the 11th century, conversion to Islam, following Seljuk conquest.
	(on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	1650 BCE-1181 BCE: PRESENT
	Hittite religious texts (which suggest belief in MSP) tell us more about elite beliefs than about the beliefs of commoners.
	(Collins 2013: 96, 104)
	1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs.
	(on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162)
	546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)
	330 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Greek religion, Roman religion, Christianity, and finally Islam, all include moralizing beliefs applicable across social classes.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; on examples of MSP in the Greek afterlife, on MSP in the Greek afterlife, see Pausanias 10.28.2 [Polygnotus' mural of the afterlife], tr. Jones and Ormerod 1918; on Roman MSP, see Livy 1.14, 1.48, 5.21, 9.1-5, Brenk 1977: 256-75; on conversion to Christianity, see Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see

	Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1650 BCE-334 BCE: UNKNOWN** Hittite texts tell us very little about the beliefs of the majority, non-elite populace. Later, the region came to be ruled by other polities whose official cults included elements of MSP, but it is unclear whether these spread through the populace. (on what little is known about Hittite commoner religion, see Collins 2013: 96, 104; on spread of Christianity through the Roman empire, see e.g. Fox 1986) **300 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** The "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest belief in targeted MSP by Anatolian commoners for some interpersonal offenses, though most transgressions described are ritual rather than moral. In this case, the beliefs of commoners in rural areas as revealed by the inscriptions point to local deities who are more strictly moralizing than the state gods, perhaps as a substitute for adjudication of minor/local offenses by the Greek and Roman authorities. Eventually, by the 3rd century CE, Christianity became established throughout the region. It remained the dominant religion there until Seljuk conquest in the 11th century, which led to the establishment of Islam as the new dominant religion. Both Christianity and Islam feature MSP. (on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on transition and conversion to Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1650 BCE-1181 BCE: ABSENT** Some Hittite texts depict the afterlife as an eternally miserable experience for all; others suggest that one's fate after death depended on one's status in life; others yet suggest the belief that the afterlife did not differ significantly from this life. (Bryce 2002: 181-184) **1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs. (on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162) **546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP after death based on these sources.

	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	330 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Belief in punishment in the afterlife is a feature of Greek religion during the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Greek rule was succeeded by Roman rule. In *On the Nature of Things*, Lucretius (c. 99–55 BCE) writes (1.111) that, because of religious authorities including priests and poets, the people "fear that death brings punishment without end" (*aeternas … poenas in morte*), suggesting that popular belief in afterlife punishment for transgressions was encouraged by priestly figures and/or poets. Later, in the *Aeneid*, Vergil describes a cycle of punishment, purification, and ultimately reincarnation after death for all but the most virtuous. There is debate over how widespread the fear of afterlife punishment was, but the scorn heaped on such fears by elites suggests a divide between popular belief and the views of the educated. Eventually, Christianity became the dominant religion in the region, until it, too, was replaced, this time by Islam. Both feature belief in MSP after death.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; Lucretius 1.111; Vergil *Aeneid* 6; on spread of Christianity through Roman empire, see and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	No data.
	1650 BCE-1181 BCE: PRESENT
	Among the Hittites, transgressions such as theft, murder (particularly the murder of family members), certain sexual practices, and oath violation were all thought to result in divine punishment through earthly misfortune.
	(Collins 2007, 91, 178-179; Bryce 2002, 139-140)
	1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs.
	(on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162)
	546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP in this life based on these sources.

	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in this life Zoroastrianism, see Williams 2017: xii 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **330 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT** At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral transgressions, and they did so in this life, e.g. through accidents or illness. As for the Romans, sources from the Middle Republic on attest both traditional belief in the punishment of perjurers and other perpetrators of impious interpersonal offenses (Plautus, Terence, Catullus) with critiques and rationalizing explanations by educated elites (Cicero, Lucretius). Traditional Roman belief held that any sort of abnormal event (prodigium) indicated divine displeasure and meant that the anger of the gods had been awakened by something—usually a ritual offense but sometimes also moral transgressions. If left unexpiated, prodigies portended military defeat, civil discord, plagues and the like. Following conversion to Christianity in the 4th century CE, and then to Islam in the 11th, belief in MSP in this life persisted, as it was a feature of both religions. (on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; on Roman portents, see e.g. MacBain 1982; on transition and conversion to Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**9600 BCE-1700 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1650 BCE-1181 BCE: PRESENT** Among the Hittites, transgressions such as theft, murder (particularly the murder of family members), and oath violation were all thought to result in punishment from the gods, as opposed to an impersonal force. (Collins 2007, 91, 178-179; Bryce 2002, 139-140) **1180 BCE-547 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Little information is available about moralizing beliefs (or lack thereof) among the polities that occupied the Konya Plain between the 12th and 6th centuries BCE. Continuity with the preceding period is likely, especially among the Neo-Hittites (c. 12th-10th centuries BCE), so-called because they preserved a number of Hittite cultural traditions, including as regards religious beliefs. (on Neo-Hittites, see Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 160-162) **546-334 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring agentic MSP based on these sources.

	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	330 BCE-1838 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period various Hellenistic kingdoms vied for territory, and all these kingdoms exhibited hybridized beliefs of Persian, Greek, Celtic and/or Roman origin. There are textual examples of agentic MSP in all dominant religions in this region from this moment on, including Hellenistic religion ("Confession inscriptions" describe instances of divine punishment, including some examples of MSP), Roman religion (gods punished e.g. violation of pacts), and Christianity and Islam.
	(on Seleucid period, see Coşkun 2011; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Coşkun 2012; on Roman MSP, see e.g. Liebeschuetz 1979: 39-54; on transition and conversion to Christianity, see Fox 1986 and Odahl 2013; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014; on conversion to Islam, see Aktas 2017; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Middle Ganga

Moralizing concern is primary	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-325 BCE: ABSENT** Sacred Vedic texts suggest that only some transgressions were punished, and most of these were ritual rather than moral (e.g. cutting wood or killing animals without performing the correct sacrifices). (see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158) **324 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs including MSCP. (on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002: 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-325 BCE: ABSENT** Sacred Vedic texts suggest that only some transgressions were punished, and most of these were ritual rather than moral (e.g. cutting wood or killing animals without performing the correct sacrifices). (see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158) **324 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs.

	(on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002: 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-325 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Transitional period from a time when MSP was not broad (early Vedic religion) to one where it was (emergence of Zoroastrianism and karmic religions). Note that in Vedic descriptions of the afterlife suggest that only extreme transgressions (most of them in some way ritual) were punished. (see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158) **324 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002: 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Early Vedic texts suggest that only extreme transgressions were punished, and that punishment was directed at the individual transgressor. Later, around the 4th century BCE, with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, Buddhism became the dominant ideology in the region, and it includes targeted MSP. Buddhism itself was replaced by new forms of Vedic Hinduism (which also included targeted MSP) around 500 CE. Much later, this region was ruled by a succession of polities whose official cults also included belief in targeted MSP (karmic religions, Islam, Christianity). When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs.

	(on MSP in early Vedic texts, see Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002, 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Mention of MSP for particularly egregious transgressions in early Vedic texts suggests adoption of these beliefs on the part of those who were able to write and read these texts, i.e. the elites. Some passages suggest the author's awareness of their own moral faults in the eyes of the god Varuna. Later, around the 4th century BCE, with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, Buddhism became the dominant ideology in the region, and it includes MSP. Buddhism itself was replaced by new forms of Vedic Hinduism (which also includes MSP) around 500 CE. Much later, this region was ruled by a succession of polities whose official cults also included belief in targeted MSP (karmic religions, Islam, Christianity). When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on MSP in early Vedic texts, see Thieme 1960 and Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002, 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Mention of MSP for particularly egregious transgressions in early Vedic texts suggests adoption of these beliefs on the part of those who were able to write and read these texts, i.e. the elites. Some passages suggest the author's awareness of their own moral faults in the eyes of the god Varuna. Later, around the 4th century BCE, with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, Buddhism became the dominant ideology in the region, and it includes MSP. Buddhism itself was replaced by new forms of Vedic Hinduism (which also includes MSP) around 500 CE. Much later, this region was ruled by a succession of polities whose official cults also included belief in targeted MSP (karmic religions, Islam, Christianity). When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on MSP in early Vedic texts, see Thieme 1960 and Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan

	empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002, 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-601 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Transition from non-moralising folk religion to Vedic Brahmanism, which includes moralizing elements (Shrikant Ganvir, pers. comm., February 12, 2021). **600 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Early Vedic texts suggest some moralizing beliefs at the beginning of this period. Later, around the 4th century BCE, with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, Buddhism became the dominant ideology in the region, and it includes MSP. Buddhism itself was replaced by new forms of Vedic Hinduism (which also includes MSP) around 500 CE. Much later, this region was ruled by a succession of polities whose official cults also included belief in targeted MSP (karmic religions, Islam, Christianity). When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on MSP in early Vedic texts, see Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002, 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-325 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Early Vedic texts suggest that only particularly extreme moral transgressions were punished in the afterlife. (see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158) **324 BCE-1803 CE: PRESENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. When this region was conquered by the Delhi Sultanate in the 13th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Delhi Sultanate was followed by the Mughals, for whom Islam remained the official cult. In turn, the Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs.

	(on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 2002: 38-51 and Sanderson 2009; on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire and its collapse, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-325 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **324 BC-1202 CE: ABSENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Much later, this belief persists even through occupation by Islamic and Christian polities, especially MSP as a primary divine concern is a feature of Islam and Christianity, too. (on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) **1206 CE-1803 CE: PRESENT** With conquest by Delhi Sultanate, introduction and spread of Islam, which features the full set of MSP beliefs, though karmic religions retained a significant presence in the region. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam remains the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**7000 BCE-1501 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1500 BCE-325 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Sacred Vedic texts suggests that the gods Mitra and Varuna monitored, punished and rewarded some aspects of moral behavior. (see e.g. Thieme 1960: 307-308, Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158) **324 BC-1202 CE: ABSENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Much later, this belief persists even through occupation by Islamic and Christian polities, especially MSP as a primary divine concern is a feature of Islam and Christianity, too. (on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) **1206 CE-1803 CE: PRESENT** With conquest by Delhi Sultanate, introduction and spread of Islam, which features the full set of MSP beliefs, though karmic religions retained a significant presence in the region. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam remains the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the

	British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on spread of Islam with Delhi Sultanate, see e.g. Habib 2005: 37-44; on the Mughal empire, see Richards 1995; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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Yemeni Coastal Plain

Moralizing concern is primary	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The majority of inscriptions suggest that the gods were thought to punish people because of failure to fulfil ritual obligations with respect to a deity, or because of their infringement of the code of ritual purity; only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities). (Beeston 1948; Ryckmans 1972; Jamme 1962; Maraqten 2006; Multhoff 2008) **378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature MSCP. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSCP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSCP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event. (for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008) **378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature certain MSP. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been

	selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event. In this instance, the people of Marib were believed to have been punished for enslaving their own kin and selling them to foreigners. (for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008) **378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature broad MSP. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event. However, it is worth noting that, in this instance, an entire community suffered punishment, not a specific individual. (for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008) **378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature targeted MSP. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event. However, it is worth noting that, in this instance, an entire community suffered punishment, not a specific individual, which suggests that rulers were likely included. (for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008)

	378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature MSP beliefs. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Inscriptions note claim that landlords and tenants worshipped the same patron de (Hoyland 2001: 140-141) **378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature MSP beliefs. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Inscriptions note claim that landlords and tenants worshipped the same patron de (Hoyland 2001: 140-141) **378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature MSP beliefs. (on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN** No data. **800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event. However, it is worth noting that, in this instance, an entire community suffered punishment in this life, not in the afterlife. (for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008)

378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT

Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature MSP after death.

(on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)</td></tr>

<tr><td>**Moralizing enforcement in this life**</td><td>**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN**

No data.

800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED PRESENT

Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event. However, it is worth noting that, in this instance, an entire community suffered punishment in this life, not in the afterlife.

(for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008)

378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT

Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature MSP in this life.

(on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in this life in Zoroastrianism, see Williams 2017: xii; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)</td></tr>

<tr><td>**Moralizing enforcement is agentic**</td><td>**3500 BCE-801 BCE: UNKNOWN**

No data.

800 BCE-340 CE: INFERRED ABSENT

Only a single known inscription (MB 2002 I-28) describes an instance of divine punishment that may be interpreted as moralistic (the transgression had been selling food to neighbouring communities during bad harvest years, and selling enslaved people from one's own community to other communities), suggesting that this was thought to be a rare event.

(for details on MB 2002 I-28, see e.g. Maraqten 2006, Multhoff and Stein 2008)

378 CE-1805 CE: PRESENT</td></tr>
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	Conversion to Judaism, eventually followed by Christianity. The region was subsequently ruled by the Sasanids, who practiced Zoroastrianism. Finally, Islam became the dominant religion in the region. All these religions feature agentic MSP.
	(on Judaic and Christian period, see Hoyland 2001, 146-147, Segovia 2015, 6-9; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993, 33-41; on the advent of Islam, see Al-Mad'aj 1988; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000, 231-241; on MSP in Judaism, see Rosen 2003; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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Sogdiana

Moralizing concern is primary	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **2000 BCE-751 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSCP being absent in Sogdiana until the emergence of Zoroastrianism, it is more likely that it was absent in all preceding polities because comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) allows for partial reconstruction of the Indo-Iranian religion, which was likely prevalent in this region at this time. This comparison suggests that the god Mithra (one of many in the pantheon) may have been believed to reward honesty and reciprocity and punish those who transgressed against either. But there is limited evidence for other gods monitoring the moral quality of human lives, or for Mithra monitoring any other aspect of morality; moreover, it seems likely that the Indo-Iranians believed that one's fate in the afterlife depended on one's social status in life. (on Mithra, see Thieme 1960: 307-309; on Indo-Iranian religion and Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007) **750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e. that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period. (on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on MSCP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241) **520 BCE-330 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, again because much of what is known about MSCP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSCP was present in Zoroastrianism at this time based on these sources. (on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **300 BCE-249 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Though Alexander persecuted Zoroastrianism following his conquest of the region, his successors, the Seleucids demonstrated greater tolerance toward local faiths, and did not impose Greek beliefs on their subjects during this period. We are therefore coding this as a period of transition from a time when the main moralizing religion in the region was almost stamped out, to its re-establishment. (on Alexander's persecution of Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31; On Seleucid rule, see Kosmin 2013)

	248 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT After the Seleucids, the Greco-Bactrians presided over a region where multiple highly moralizing religions were prominent, coexisted, and were at least partly incorporated in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature belief in MSCP. (on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on religions in the region in the late centuries BCE and early centuries CE, see Harmatta et al. 1994; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993: 33-41; on MSCP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on the advent of Islam, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **2000 BCE-751 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence for the presence or absence of this MSP trait in Indo-Iranian religion, comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) suggests that, though the God Mithra punished or rewarded certain behaviours, Indo-Iranians likely believed that one's fate in the afterlife depended on one's social status in life, and that the gods could be placated through ritual. (on Mithra, see Thieme 1960: 307-309; on Indo-Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007) **750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e., that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behaviour and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period. (on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on challenges reconstructing early Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 10-25) **520 BCE-330 CE: PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, again because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was certain in Zoroastrianism at this time based on these sources. (on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)

	300 BCE-249 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Though Alexander persecuted Zoroastrianism following his conquest of the region, his successors, the Seleucids demonstrated greater tolerance toward local faiths, and did not impose Greek beliefs on their subjects during this period. We are therefore coding this as a period of transition from a time when the main moralizing religion in the region was almost stamped out, to its re-establishment.
	(on Alexander's persecution ofZoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31; On Seleucid rule, see Kosmin 2013)
	248 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	After the Seleucids, the Greco-Bactrians presided over a region where multiple highly moralizing religions were prominent, coexisted, and were at least partly incorporated in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature belief in certain MSP.
	(on the Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on religions in the region in the late centuries BCE and early centuries CE, seeHarmatta et al. 1994; on Sasanian rule, see Nigosian 1993: 33-41; on MSP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on the advent of Islam, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSP inIslam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	2000 BCE-751 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Although there is no direct evidence regarding the presence or absence of this trait in Indo-Iranian religion, comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) suggests that the Indo-Iranian gods were largely interested in aspects of morality tied to honesty and reciprocity.
	(on Mithra, see Thieme 1960: 307-309; on Indo-Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007)
	750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e. that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. Descriptions of the Zoroastrian afterlife (admittedly written much later) suggest that the gods monitored a broad range of moral behaviours. However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period.
	(on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on Zoroastrianism as a religion characterized by MSP, see Malandra 2005, Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on challenges reconstructing early Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 10-25)
	520 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was broad based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	300 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Among the Greeks, gods were traditionally believed to punish transgressions against hospitality, the breaking of oaths, and the withholding of certain types of reciprocity, though the "Confession Inscriptions" of the Hellenistic era also suggest that local gods punished slander, theft, adultery, and personal injury, suggesting a relatively broad range of punishable behaviors. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. After Greek rule, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature belief in broad MSP.
	(on the Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	2000 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Although there is no direct evidence regarding the presence or absence of this trait in Indo-Iranian religion, comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) suggests that the Indo-Iranian gods may have targeted individual transgressors for punishment. Zoroastrianism itself then likely began to emerge in the region in the 8th century BCE, and textual evidence suggests that later forms of this religion included targeted MSP. We have conservatively opted to treat this period as a long transition from a time when belief in targeted MSP was likely absent, to one where it was likely present.
	(on targeted MSP in early Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158; on Indo-Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007)
	520 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was targeted based on these sources.

	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22)
	300 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Among the Greeks, gods were traditionally believed to punish transgressions against hospitality, the breaking of oaths, and the withholding of certain types of reciprocity, though the "Confession Inscriptions" of the Hellenistic era also suggest that local gods punished slander, theft, adultery, and personal injury, suggesting a relatively broad range of punishable behaviors. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. After Greek rule, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature belief in broad MSP.
	(on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	2000 BCE-751 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Although there is no direct evidence of moralizing elements in Sogdian religions until the emergence of Zoroastrianism, it is more likely that they were present in this period, because comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) allows for partial reconstruction of the Indo-Iranian religion, which was likely prevalent in this region at this time. This comparison suggests that, though MSP was likely not primary, the god Mithra (one of many in the pantheon) may have been believed to reward honesty and reciprocity and punished those who transgressed against either.
	(on Mithra, see Thieme 1960: 307-309; on Indo-Iranian religion and Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007)
	750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e. that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period.
	(on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	520 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

	Region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.
	(on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)
	300 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Greek mythology includes a number of contradictory representations of the afterlife, some of which depict rewards and punishments for prosocial behavior. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. After Greek rule, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature MSP.
	(on Greek afterlives, see Larson 2016: 257, 260-63; Pausanias 10.28.2 [Polygnotus' mural of the afterlife], tr. Jones and Ormerod 1918; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on promotion of Buddhism in Kushan polity, see Samad 2011: 83; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	2000 BCE-600 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Although there is no direct evidence of moralizing elements in Sogdian religions until the emergence of Zoroastrianism, it is more likely that they were present in this period, because comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) allows for partial reconstruction of the Indo-Iranian religion, which was likely prevalent in this region at this time. This comparison suggests that, though MSP was likely not primary, the god Mithra (one of many in the pantheon) may have been believed to reward honesty and reciprocity and punish those who transgressed against either. We are inferring presence for the following early Zoroastrian period as well, as it is likely that either elites still followed partly moralizing Indo-Iranian beliefs at this time, or that they may have been early adopters of at least partly moralizing early Zoroastrian beliefs.
	(on Mithra, see Thieme 1960: 307-309; on Indo-Iranian religion and Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007; on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	520 BCE-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

	Region conquered by the Achaemenids, who likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism, based e.g. on the fact that, starting with the Bisitun inscription by Darius I (522-486 BCE), Achaemenid rulers refer epigraphically to their god Ahura Mazda. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was a prominent feature of the religion at this time based on these sources.
	(on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on the Bisitun inscription see Lecoq 1997: 83-96 and Bae 2001: 4-6)
	300 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Greek mythology includes a number of contradictory representations of the afterlife, some of which depict rewards and punishments for prosocial behavior. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. After Greek rule, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature MSP.
	(on Greek afterlives, see Larson 2016: 257, 260-63; Pausanias 10.28.2 [Polygnotus' mural of the afterlife], tr. Jones and Ormerod 1918; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on promotion of Buddhism in Kushan polity, see Samad 2011: 83; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	2000 BCE-751 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Although there is no direct evidence of moralizing elements in Sogdian religions until the emergence of Zoroastrianism, it is more likely that they were present in this period, because comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) allows for partial reconstruction of the Indo-Iranian religion, which was likely prevalent in this region at this time. This comparison suggests that, though MSP was likely not primary, the god Mithra (one of many in the pantheon) may have been believed to reward honesty and reciprocity and punish those who transgressed against either.
	(on Mithra, see Thieme 1960: 307-309; on Indo-Iranian religion and Iranian religion generally, see Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007)
	750 BCE-249 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Though Zoroastrianism began to emerge in the region at this time, we are inferring a time lag to its adoption by the population more broadly.
	(on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)

	248 BCE-29 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Commoners likely embraced Zoroastrianism and Buddhism at some point during this period,but it does not seem to be clear when. We are therefore coding this as a transitional period.
	30 CE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	Zoroastrianism became the dominant ideology once again following the rise of the Parthians. By this point, it had likely become established among the populace. Later, Buddhism also became established among the people of Sogdiana, eventually followed by Islam.
	(on Greek persecution of Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 30-31, 47; on promotion of Buddhism in Kushan polity, see Samad 2011, 83)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**3500 BCE-2001 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	2000 BCE-751 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT
	Although there is no direct evidence for the absence of the belief in MSP after death in Indo-Iranian religion, comparison between two well-documented religious traditions that likely derived from it (Vedic Hinduism and Zoroastrianism) suggests that Indo-Iranians thought that one's fate after death was determined by one's status in life rather than the moral quality of one's behaviour.
	(Gnoli 2004, Gnoli 2005)
	750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e. that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behaviour and punished and rewarded people accordingly after death. However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period.
	(on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on the Zoroastrian afterlife, see Stausberg 2000; on challenges reconstructing early Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 10-25)
	520-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP after death based on these sources.
	(on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	300 BCE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Greek mythology and religious belief include a number of contradictory representations of the afterlife, some of which depict rewards and punishments for prosocial behavior. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate

	multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. After Greek rule, Zoroastrianism and Buddhism continued to co-exist as dominant religions in the region for several centuries, but Zoroastrianism flourished under Sasanian rule. In the 8th century CE, the region was conquered by the Umayyads, which led to the establishment of Islam. Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Islam all feature MSP after death.
	(on Greek afterlives, see Larson 2016: 257, 260-63; Pausanias 10.28.2 [Polygnotus' mural of the afterlife], tr. Jones and Ormerod 1918; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015; on promotion of Buddhism in Kushan polity, see Samad 2011: 83; on Islamic conquest of the region, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998; on MSP in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**3500 BCE-751 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e. that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. In Zoroastrianism, "worldly wealth is a token of spiritual as well as mundane attainment". However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period. (on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on Zoroastrianism as a religion characterized by MSP, see Malandra 2005, Stausberg 2000: 231-241; quote from Williams 2017: xii; on challenges reconstructing early Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 10-25; for a general overview of this period to the 3rd century CE, see Rapin 2007) **520 BCE-330 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, again because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was primary in Zoroastrianism at this time based on these sources. (on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **300 BCE-29 CE: PRESENT** At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral transgressions, and they did so in this life, e.g. through accidents or illness. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. (on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015) **30 CE-711 CE: ABSENT**

	Establishment of Buddhism. In Buddhism, people are rewarded or punished for the moral quality of their life after death.
	(on promotion of Buddhism in Kushan polity, see Samad 2011: 83; on karma, see Keown 2013)
	750 CE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Islam, where MSP can take place in this life.
	(on spread of Islam through Central Asia, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998: 23-40; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**3500 BCE-751 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Not enough data.
	750 BCE-600 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Based on most recent theories regarding the origins of Zoroastrianism (i.e. that it may have first emerged in the latter half of the second millennium BCE, and that they gradually spread from either Central Asia or Eastern Iran and gradually spread from there), it seems reasonable to infer that it was present in an early form in Sogdiana by this point. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behaviour and punished and rewarded people accordingly after death. However, because much of what is known about Zoroastrian beliefs derives from much later sources, we are treating this as a transitional period.
	(on origins of Zoroastrianism, see Sims-Williams 2000, Malandra 2005, Grenet 2015; on the Zoroastrian afterlife, see Stausberg 2000; on challenges reconstructing early Zoroastrianism, see Nigosian 1993: 10-25)
	520-330 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP after death based on these sources.
	(on Achaemenid conquest of Central Asia, see Dandamaev 1989: 31-38; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	300 BCE-29 CE: PRESENT
	At the beginning of this period, this region was under Greek rule. Hellenistic-era texts such as the "Confession Inscriptions" of Lydia and Phrygia suggest that, though the gods mostly punished ritual transgressions, they also punished moral transgressions, and they did so in this life, e.g. through accidents or illness. Eventually, the Greco-Bactrians came to incorporate multiple highly moralizing religions in the official ideology, including Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Hinduism.
	(on "Confession Inscriptions", see Petzl 1994, Versnel 2002: 63-72, Chaniotis 2004, Gordon 2004; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015)
	30 CE-711 CE: ABSENT
	Establishment of Buddhism, where MSP takes place through karma, an impersonal force.
	(on promotion of Buddhism in Kushan polity, see Samad 2011: 83; on karma, see Keown 2013)

	750 CE-1747 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of Islam, where MSP is agentic.
	(on spread of Islam through Central Asia, see Bosworth and Bolshakov 1998: 23-40; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Orkhon Valley

Moral concern is primary	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). In the fourth century CE, Chinese historical sources reported that the Rouran Khagnate used "witchcraft...to make sacrifices to Heaven and to cause wind with snow (Taskin 1984: 240)." We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** The Uighur Khagnate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174). Manichaean doctrine centered on the belief in a powerful and moralizing high god and on keeping the ten commandments that demanded a renunciation of "idolatry, lying, greed, killing, fornication, theft, teaching of pretenses and sorcery, of standing in two opinions (concerning the religion) and of slackness and negligence of work" (Colditz 2009: 76-80). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSCP was not a significant element of their beliefs. **960-1125 CE: PRESENT** The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force, promoting charity, human reciprocity, and respect for life, abstinence from killing, stealing, lying, adultery, intoxicants, etc. (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). **1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1271-1367 CE: PRESENT** Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**

	The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** The Uighur Khagnate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174). Manichaean doctrine centered on the belief in a powerful and moralizing high god and on keeping the ten commandments that demanded a renunciation of "idolatry, lying, greed, killing, fornication, theft, teaching of pretenses and sorcery, of standing in two opinions (concerning the religion) and of slackness and negligence of work"; those who transgressed would inevitably be punished (Colditz 2009: 76-80). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs. **960-1125 CE: PRESENT** The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force, that determines specific consequences after death based on one's actions in life (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). **1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion

	1271-1367 CE: PRESENT Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). There is no evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing norms are broad	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** The Uighur Khagnate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174). Manichaean doctrine centered on the belief in a powerful and moralizing high god and on keeping the ten commandments that demanded a renunciation of "idolatry, lying, greed, killing, fornication, theft, teaching of pretenses and sorcery, of standing in two opinions (concerning the religion) and of slackness and negligence of work" (Colditz 2009: 76-80). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs. **960-1125 CE: PRESENT** The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force, promoting charity, human reciprocity, and respect for life, abstinence from killing, stealing, lying, adultery, intoxicants, etc. (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). **1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**

	The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion
	1271-1367 CE: PRESENT Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). There is no evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** The Uighur Khagnate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174). Manichaeism is based on ten commandments that instruct individual behavior (Colditz 2009: 76-80). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs. **960-1125 CE: PRESENT** The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force that acts on single individuals rather than groups (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013).

	1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion **1271-1367 CE: PRESENT** Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). There is no evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: ABSENT** The Uighur Khaganate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174), but, though Manichaeism is a moralistic religion, according to the polity's official ideology, rulers were gods (Clark 2009), suggesting they were not subject to moralizing enforcement. **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs. **960-1125 CE: PRESENT** The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force,

	promoting charity, human reciprocity, and respect for life, abstinence from killing, stealing, lying, adultery, intoxicants, etc., regardless of one's status (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). **1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion **1271-1367 CE: PRESENT** Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). There is no evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** In the Uighur Khanate, Manichaeism was adopted by elites but not commoners (Clark 2009). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs.

	960-1125 CE: PRESENT The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force, promoting charity, human reciprocity, and respect for life, abstinence from killing, stealing, lying, adultery, intoxicants, etc. (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). **1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion **1271-1367 CE: PRESENT** Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). There is no evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: ABSENT** In the Uighur Khanate, Manichaeism was adopted by elites but not commoners (Clark 2009). The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs. The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Buddhism features belief in karma, which acts as a moralizing force, promoting charity, human reciprocity, and respect for life, abstinence from killing,

	stealing, lying, adultery, intoxicants, etc. (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). However, again, Buddhism did not spread beyond the elites until much later. **841-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1271-1367 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). There is no evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism took root among the general population only after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** The Uighur Khagnate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174). In Manichaeism, breaking one of the ten commandments could result in punishment in life and the afterlife by an agentic moralizing high god (Colditz 2009: 76-80). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs.

	960-1125 CE: PRESENT The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Karmic retribution in Buddhism affects the afterlife rather than one's current life (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013). **1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1271-1367 CE: PRESENT** Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: PRESENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231). **745-840 CE: PRESENT** The Uighur Khagnate elite adopted Manichaeism from roughly 762-982 CE (Golden 1992: 174). In Manichaeism, breaking one of the ten commandments could result in punishment in life and the afterlife by an agentic moralizing high god (Colditz 2009: 76-80). **841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020),

	suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs.
	960-1125 CE: ABSENT
	The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). Karmic retribution in Buddhism affects the afterlife rather than one's current life (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013).
	1126-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT
	The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion.
	1581-1912 CE: PRESENT
	Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1400 BCE-744 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Scholarly reconstructions of ancient and medieval Mongolian religion show that the Xiongnu worshipped Tengri (Heaven), along with the Sun and the Moon, and performed annual sacrifices to the ancestors, heaven and earth, and spirits (Atwood 2004, 595; Baldick 2000: 23-3). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern Mongolian shamanism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. It is worth noting that Zoroastrianism and Buddhism both made inroads into the region between the sixth and eighth centuries, without however becoming the official cult (Golden 1992: 150, Moses 1973: 47). At this time, the Turks actually had a similar belief system to the Xiongnu (Malov 1951: 36-37, Bichurin 1950: 230-231).
	745-840: PRESENT
	In Manichaeism, breaking one of the ten commandments could result in punishment in life and afterlife by an agentic moralizing high god (Colditz 2009: 76-80).
	841-907 CE: INFERRED ABSENT
	The religious beliefs of the Shiwei remain largely unknown (Taskin 1984). However, they were likely shamanists (Kradin 2020, pers. comm., December 15, 2020), suggesting that MSP was not a significant element of their beliefs.
	960-1125 CE: ABSENT
	The Khitan combined Buddhism with shamanic beliefs and practices (Atwood 2004: 318). In Buddhism, karma is an impersonal universal force (for general overviews of Buddhism, see e.g. Keown 2013).
	1126-1270 CE: INFERRED ABSENT
	The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism

	until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion.
	1271-1367 CE: ABSENT Adoption and promotion of Buddhism during the Yuan Dynasty (Brook 2010). **1368-1580 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The elite and commoners of the Mongol Empire practiced traditional shamanism until around 1575 (Atwood 2004: 465). We have not found evidence of moralizing tenets in ancient to early modern shamanic Tengrism from ethnographic reconstructions or studies of later religion. **1581-1912 CE: ABSENT** Buddhism popularized after 1580, with Altan Khan's persecution of the shamans (Atwood 2004, 491). Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism practiced in the Qing.

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Lena River Valley

Moral concern is primary	**1400-1900 CE: ABSENT** Morality was not a primary concern for Sakha spirits, who were only concerned with issues of purity, some kinship obligations (Popov 1946: 22-23), the breaking of oaths (Sauer 1802: 123) and whether or not people had fulfilled their ritual obligations toward them; at other times the spirits could also be "indifferent" to people (Jochelson 1933: 104).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1400-1900 CE: ABSENT** In reconstructions of Sakha beliefs and rituals by ethnographic sources, moral enforcement is not certain: the language in these sources suggests absence of definite cause and effect (Sauer 1802: 123). For example, those who offended spirits were "liable" to be punished (Jochelson 1933: 104).
Moralizing norms are broad	**1400-1900 CE: ABSENT** Ethnographic reconstructions of Sakha religion suggest the Sakha spirits monitored a narrow set of norms: mostly, they were concerned with purity and some kinship obligations (Popov 1946: 22-23).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1400-1900 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources describe how immoral behavior within its narrow Sakha definitions could lead to moral enforcement targeted at individual perpetrators (Sauer 1802: 123, Jochelson 1933: 104). Spirits could punish those who did not fulfill their obligations or violated spirits in other ways with illness or other disasters (Jochelson 1933: 104). It also seems that spirits could block access to forests, land, and lakes to individuals who did not appropriately respect and honor them.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1400-1900 CE: PRESENT** Clan heads (toyons) often adopted names from powerful deities (Tokarev and Gurvich 1964), but there is no other evidence of divine legitimation. Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that toyons were as susceptible to moralizing enforcement as any other member of Sakha society.
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1400-1900 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources describe how toyons (clan heads) often adopted names from powerful deities (Tokarev and Gurvich 1964), therefore it seems reasonable to conclude that toyons followed the main Sakha belief system.
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1400-1900 CE: PRESENT** Twentieth-century ethnographers describe how Yakut society was based on patrilineal clans (Balzer and Skoggard 1995). Toyons (clan heads) often adopted names from powerful deities (Tokarev and Gurvich 1964). It seems reasonable to conclude that toyons' kin group followed the main Sakha belief system as well.
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1400-1900 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographers claim that the Sakha had little sense of punishment or reward in the afterlife, even after Christianization (Sieroszewski 1993:

	958). One ethnographer wrote that the Sakha have no concept of heaven or hell in the Western sense and no conceptions of retaliation (Jochelson 1933: 104).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1400-1900 CE: PRESENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic sources give examples of potential punishments in this life (Sauer 1802: 123; Jochelson 1933: 104). Punishment for breaking an oath could lead to a man losing his possessions, family, and cattle, and his own life (Sauer 1802: 123). Notorious evildoers became impure or 'defiled' by their actions, just like people who came into contact with polluting substances. They were therefore excluded from some ritual activities (Sauer 1802: 117).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1400-1900 CE: {ABSENT; PRESENT}** It is unclear in ethnographic reconstructions whether moralizing enforcement was agentic. The language used to describe punishment often rely on the passive voice or do not refer to specific gods or spirits: ● Those who offend spirits are "...liable to be punished in some way: by illness, epizooty [epidemics among animals], or some other calamity." (Jochelson 1993: 104) ● "The accused stands before it, facing the sun, and says: 'May I lose during my life all that 'man holds dear and desirable, father, mother, wives, children, 'relations; all my possessions and cattle; the light of the sun, 'and then my own life; and may my spirit sink to eternal misery (*mung taar*), if I be guilty of the charge laid against me!'" (Sauer 1802: 123)

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Kachi Plain

Moralizing concern is primary	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence. (McIntosh 2008: 285-290) **1300 BCE-551 BCE: ABSENT** Sacred Vedic texts suggest that only some transgressions were punished, and most of these were ritual rather than moral (e.g. cutting wood or killing animals without performing the correct sacrifices). (see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158) **550 BCE-329 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSCP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSCP was present based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSCP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **303 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT** With Mauryan conquest, establishment of Buddhism, and therefore belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. From the 6th century BCE onwards, the region is ruled by a succession of polities based outside South Asia, whose official cults included the full set of MSP beliefs including MSCP (Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, eventually Islam). Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology. (on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence. (McIntosh 2008: 285-290)

	1300 BCE-551 BCE: ABSENT
	Sacred Vedic texts suggest that only some transgressions were punished, and most of these were ritual rather than moral (e.g. cutting wood or killing animals without performing the correct sacrifices).
	(see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158)
	550 BCE-329 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was certain based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	303 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Moreover, from the 6th century BCE onward, the region is ruled by a succession of polities based outside South Asia, whose official cults included the full set of MSP beliefs (Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam). Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions that feature certain MSP (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology.
	(on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence.
	(McIntosh 2008: 285-290)
	1300 BCE-551 BCE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	Transitional period from a time when MSP was not broad (early Vedic religion) to one where it was (emergence of Zoroastrianism and karmic religions). Note that in Vedic descriptions of the afterlife suggest that only extreme transgressions (most of them in some way ritual) were punished.
	(see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980, 156-158)
	550 BCE-329 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT
	Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil.

	However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring that MSP was broad based on these sources.
	(on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)
	303 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Moreover, from the 6th century BCE onward, the region is ruled by a succession of polities based outside South Asia, whose official cults included the full set of MSP beliefs (Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam). Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions that feature broad MSP (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology.
	(on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence.
	(McIntosh 2008: 285-290)
	1300 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT
	Descriptions of hell-like realms in sacred Vedic texts describe punishment of individuals rather than groups. Later, belief in targeted MSP persists, as it is also a feature of subsequent dominant belief systems in the region (Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Islam). Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions that feature targeted MSP (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology.
	(see e.g. Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN**
	Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence.
	(McIntosh 2008: 285-290)
	1300 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT

	Mention of MSP in sacred Vedic texts suggests adoption of these beliefs on the part of those who were able to write and read these texts, i.e. the elites. Some passages suggest the author's awareness of their own moral faults in the eyes of the god Varuna. Later, belief in MSP targeted at rulers persists, as it is also a feature of subsequent dominant belief systems in the region--most notably, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Islam, all of which include the belief that all are judged after death, regardless of status. Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions that feature MSP of rulers (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology.
	(for examples of MSP in Vedic texts, see e.g. Thieme 1960, Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence. (McIntosh 2008: 285-290) **1300 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT** Mention of MSP in sacred Vedic texts suggests adoption of these beliefs on the part of those who were able to write and read these texts, i.e. the elites. Later, elites adopted other religions characterised by MSP (Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Islam). Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology. (for examples of MSP in Vedic texts, see e.g. Thieme 1960, Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see e.g. Malandra 2005, Stausberg 2014: 231-241; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**7500 BCE-1801 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence. (McIntosh 2008: 285-290) **1800 BCE-1301 BCE: ABSENT** Archaeological evidence for non-moralizing "folk religion" (S. Ganvir, pers. comm., February 2021). Note that Shrikant Ganvir specifically suggests 1600 BCE for the earliest evidence of said "folk religion", but our periodisation does not allow us to mark that specific date.

	1300 BCE-551 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT] Transition from folk religion (S. Ganvir, pers. comm., February 2021). Note that S. Ganvir suggested 1000 BCE as the date for the full transition to Vedic Brahmanism among commoners, but our periodisation does not allow us to mark that specific date. **550 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT** Religions that spread through this region from the 6th century on include Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, and Islam, all of which feature MSP. Note, as well, that even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology. (on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see e.g. Malandra 2005, Stausberg 2014: 231-241; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence. (McIntosh 2008: 285-290) **1300 BCE-329 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Sacred Vedic texts suggest that only some transgressions were punished in the afterlife, and most of these were ritual transgressions (e.g. cutting wood or killing animals without performing the correct sacrifices). In the 6th century BCE, the region was annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP after death based on these sources. (on MSP in early Vedic texts, see Obeyesekere 1980: 156-158; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **303 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT** Emergence and establishment of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Moreover, from this period on, the region is ruled by a succession of polities based outside South Asia, whose official cults included the full set of MSP beliefs (Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Islam). Even in the brief period of Greek rule, a number of highly moralizing religions that feature MSP in the afterlife (including Buddhism and Zoroastrianism) were incorporated into the official ideology.

	(on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**7500 BCE-551 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence. After the collapse of the Harappans, not enough data could be found to code this trait. (McIntosh 2008: 285-290) **550 BC-329 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT** Region annexed to the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring belief in MSP in this life based on these sources. (on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in this life Zoroastrianism, see Williams 2017: xii 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993) **303 BCE-96 BCE: ABSENT** Establishment of Buddhism with the expansion of the Mauryan empire, and therefore also belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Note that Buddhism was also incorporated into the official ideology during the brief period of Greek rule. (on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015) **95 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT** Despite likely persistence of belief in karma among some of the population, from this moment on the region was ruled by a succession of polities based outside South Asia, whose official cults featured belief in MSP in this life (Zoroastrianism, Islam). (on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Greco-Bactrian period specifically, see Mairs 2015; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**7500 BCE-1301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Archaeological data suggests sufficient discontinuity between the Harappan polity (or polities) and the polities that followed that reconstructing religious beliefs in this period is a particularly challenging task. McIntosh posits that law and order were maintained at Harappan sites through the threat of divine punishment for transgressors, but this is rather speculative, and based on absence of evidence.

(McIntosh 2008: 285-290)

1300 BCE-329 BCE: INFERRED PRESENT

Sacred Vedic texts suggests that the gods Mitra and Varuna (as opposed to an impersonal supernatural force) monitored, punished and rewarded some aspects of moral behavior. However, these sacred texts postdate the period in question. In the 6th century BCE, the region was annexed by the Achaemenid empire. The Achaemenids likely followed a form of Zoroastrianism. In Zoroastrianism, the god Ahura Mazda monitored moral behavior and punished and rewarded people accordingly. Additionally, Zoroastrian teachings posited a dualistic cosmology with a struggle between good and evil. However, early Zoroastrianism remains difficult to reconstruct, e.g. because much of what is known about MSP beliefs in Zoroastrianism derives from much later sources. We are inferring agentic MSP based on these sources.

(on agentic MSP in early Vedic religion, see Thieme 1960: 307-308; on forms of Zoroastrianism possibly practiced by the Achaemenids, see Herzfeld 1936: 20, Gershevitz 1959: 8-22; on MSP in Zoroastrianism, see Stausberg 2000: 231-241; on Zoroastrianism more broadly, see Nigosian 1993)

303 BCE-96 BCE: ABSENT

Emergence and establishment of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Note that Buddhism was also incorporated into the official ideology during the brief period of Greek rule.

(on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on Mauryan empire, see Thapar 2003; on Greco-Bactrian period, see Mairs 2015)

95 BCE-1826 CE: PRESENT

Region ruled by a succession of polities mainly based outside South Asia, whose official cults featured belief in agentic MSP (Zoroastrianism, Islam).

(on the political history of this region before the advent of Islam, see e.g. Harmatta, Puri and Etemadi eds. 1994; on Islamic conquest of the region, see MacLean 1989; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Deccan

Moralizing concern is primary	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of Buddhism, and therefore belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs including MSCP. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained

	the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see

	Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**2700 BCE-1201 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Inferred continuity with succeeding period. Note evidence for non-moralizing beliefs among commoners from 500 BCE on. **1200 BCE-3206 BCE: ABSENT** Non-moralizing beliefs prevalent at this time among commoners (S. Ganvir, pers. comm., February 12, 2021). **205 BCE-1946 BCE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. However, it seems reasonable to infer at least a brief transition period during which these beliefs spread across the populace. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1946 CE: PRESENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult, at the state level. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature the full range of MSP beliefs. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012; on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1646 CE: ABSENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes. (on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012) **1687 CE-1946 CE: PRESENT** With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature belief in MSP in this life. (on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**2700 BCE-301 BCE: UNKNOWN** Not enough data. **300 BCE-1646 CE: ABSENT** Through Mauryan conquest, introduction of belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Buddhism remained the dominant religion until about 500 CE, and was replaced by Vedic Hinduism

from 500 CE on. Though there are philosophical differences between Buddhist and Vedic concepts of karma, these do not affect our codes.

(on Mauryan conquest of South India, see e.g. Thapar 2003: 176; on spread of karmic religions to South India, see e.g. Johansen 2014; on rise of Hinduism from 500 CE on, see Shattuck 1999: 38-51, Sanderson 2009; on karma in Buddhism, see Keown 2013; on karma in Vedic Hinduism, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012)

1687 CE-1946 CE: PRESENT

With Mughal conquest in the 17th century CE, Islam becomes the official cult. The Mughals were followed by the British, who were Christian. Both Islam and Christianity feature belief in agentic MSP.

(on the Mughals and the collapse of their empire, see Richards 1993; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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Garo Hills

Moralizing concern is primary	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by

	which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by

	which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by

	which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1775 CE-1956 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Though today most A'chik identify as Christian, pre-Christian beliefs persist (Marak 2005: 111). We are inferring that these are similar to beliefs prevalent in this region in the late 18th and 19th centuries CE as well (note that we could not find sources on this topic that predated the early 20th century). The A'chik abide by a code of conduct intended to regulate interpersonal behavior, but this code is not enforced by either gods or spirits. Indeed, A'chik religion is not moralising. The A'chik believe that gods and spirits may punish transgressions through illness, crop failure, or natural calamities. Similarly, when pleased, they are thought to provide people with blessings and benefits. However, the kinds of transgressions the gods and spirits are thought to punish do not constitute socially harmful behaviors: example include eating certain crops at the wrong time of year, or not respecting fast days. Similarly, the main method by which the A'chik attempt to please gods and spirits is through ceremonies (Marak 2005: 58, 69-70).

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Cambodian Basin

Moralizing concern is primary	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** Before the 7th century it seems likely that moralizing aspects were not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century, coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in MSCP – see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSCP (Keown 2013). There has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). Indigenous traditions have been concerned with maintaining harmonious relations with spirits who rule over land, forests, and water, for instance through ceremonies involving offerings of animals and the ritual preparation of meat, musical performance, and communal eating and drinking (Aymonier [1900] 1984). These spirits also reward those who follow the proper conduct that underpins the social and moral order (Århem 2016: 19-20).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for other MSP traits as well. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]**

	From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in certain MSP--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSP as certain (Keown 2013). There has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). Within the latter, misfortune can be expected if proper conduct towards land, water and forests is not observed (Work 2019). Historically, the inhabitants of this region have thus dealt with overlapping systems of moral obligations and consequences for failing to meet those obligations.
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for other MSP traits as well. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution,

	which features belief in broad MSP--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSP as broad (Keown 2013).
	There has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). Within the latter, misfortune can be expected if proper conduct towards land, water and forests is not observed (Work 2019). Historically, the inhabitants of this region have thus dealt with multiple overlapping systems of moral obligations and consequences for failing to meet those obligations.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for other MSP traits as well. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **640 CE-1431 CE: ABSENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in broad MSP--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSP as broad (Keown 2013). There has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). Within the latter, misfortune can be expected if proper conduct towards land, water and forests is not observed (Work 2019). These repercussions sometimes afflict only the person responsible, but can also affect living children or neighbors (Forest 1991). Recent ethnography has also highlighted the modern phenomenon in

	which the owners of development companies transgress against the *neak ta*, but the consequences are felt instead by the people who live within the domain of those spirits (O'Lemmon 2014).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for MSP generally. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in MSP--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. After Theravada Buddhism became the official cult in the postclassical period, the king came to be seen less as a divine being and more as a particularly exalted person who adhered especially closely to the Buddha's teachings (Harris 2008: 80). In other words, kings were expected to behave righteously, and were rewarded accordingly after death. Forest (1991: 216) also notes that the bodies of "bad" rulers were not ceremonially cremated, and their spirits were subsequently believed to wander eternally in the world of the "raw dead".
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for MSP generally. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship.

	(on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in MSP--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSP (Keown 2013).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for MSP generally. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in MSP--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSP (Keown 2013). There has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). Indigenous traditions have been concerned with maintaining harmonious relations with spirits who rule over land, forests, and water, for instance through ceremonies involving offerings of animals and the ritual preparation of meat, musical performance, and communal eating and drinking (Aymonier [1900] 1984). These spirits also

	reward those who follow the proper conduct that underpins the social and moral order (Århem 2016: 19-20).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for other MSP traits as well. **640 CE-801 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]** From the 7th century onward there is mounting archaeological and textual evidence for the establishment of Saivist Hinduism and Mahayana Buddhism in the region. Given the relative uncertainty about the period before the 7th century and the slow spread of Hinduism and Buddhism from the 7th century, coding this period as one of transition reflects best the current scholarship. (on gradual establishment of Buddhism and Hinduism in the region, see Harris 2005: 1-11) **802 CE-1873 CE: PRESENT** Jayavarman II (r. c. 802-850 CE) was the first known ruler to claim the Indic royal title of cakravartin, through a Hindu ritual (Harris 2005: 12). This suggests that, by this point, Hinduism (and therefore the doctrine of karmic retribution, which features belief in MSP after death--see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012) was firmly established among the region's ruling class. In the postclassical period (1431-1860 CE), Theravada Buddhism replaced Hinduism as the dominant ideology (Harris 2005: 26-48), but its version of the doctrine of karmic retribution still features belief in MSP after death (Keown 2013). There has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). With regard to this variable, it is particularly worth noting that, throughout Southeast Asia, there is a widespread belief that if a person is buried properly, propitiated and honoured by their descendants, he or she will become an ancestor (Århem 2016: 20; Courtney Work, pers. comm. to Enrico Cioni, February 2021). This suggests an emphasis on the activities of the surviving family – rather than one's own actions during life – in determining the quality of one's afterlife. However, Forest (1991: 212) also notes that this belief came to be folded into karmic concepts regarding samsara, meaning that rebirth as an ancestral spirit eventually became one possible fate after death, depending on the moral quality of one's actions in life.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**

	Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for other MSP traits as well. **640 CE-1873 CE: ABSENT** Though for other MSP traits we have coded the 7th century CE as a transitional period, with the gradual establishment of the relative trait as the karmic religions grow increasingly established themselves, here that code would not be accurate, as neither Hinduism nor Buddhism feature agentic MSP: karma, by which moral transgressions are punished and good behavior is rewarded, does so after a person's death, not during their life (Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013). Therefore a code of "absent" seems most appropriate for the entirety of this final timespan. Note that there has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). The *neak ta*, the agentive spirits of indigenous religious traditions, reward those who follow the proper conduct that underpins the social and moral order (Århem 2016: 19-20; Courtney Work, pers. comm. to Enrico Cioni, February 2021). We have nevertheless coded "absent" for this variable because we are concerned mainly with the tenets of the official cults (Hinduism, followed by Buddhism from about the 15th century CE), which emphasize non-agentic and impersonal moralizing enforcement.
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**225 CE-539 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **540 CE-639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Before the 7th century it seems likely that MSP was not the primary supernatural concern (W. Noseworthy 2021, personal communication, February 18, 2021). We are inferring that this was the case for other MSP traits as well. **640 CE-1873 CE: ABSENT** Though for other MSP traits we have coded the 7th century CE as a transitional period, with the gradual establishment of the relative trait as the karmic religions grow increasingly established themselves, here that code would not be accurate, as neither Hinduism nor Buddhism feature agentic MSP: karma, by which moral transgressions are punished and good behavior is rewarded, is not a deity, but an impersonal force (Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013). Therefore a code of "absent" seems most appropriate for the entirety of this final timespan. Note that there has been a significant degree of mixture and mutual influence in Cambodia between Hinduism, Buddhism, and indigenous belief systems (see e.g. Ang 1988, Pou-Lewitz 2002, Davis 2016: 14-18). The *neak ta*, the agentive spirits of indigenous religious traditions, reward those who follow the proper

conduct that underpins the social and moral order (Århem 2016: 19-20; Courtney Work, pers. comm. to Enrico Cioni, February 2021). We have nevertheless coded "absent" for this variable because we are concerned mainly with the tenets of the official cults (Hinduism, followed by Buddhism from about the 15th century CE), which emphasize non-agentic and impersonal moralizing enforcement.

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Central Java

Moralizing concern is primary	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune onto the living. In other words, MSCP appears not to have been a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	Islam, which became established on the island in the fifteenth century CE, also includes belief in MSCP.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSCP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	Islam, which became established on the island in the fifteenth century CE, also includes belief in certain MSP. (on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship

	between the l living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Islam became established on the island in the fifteenth century CE. All three religions promote/discourage a broad range of moral behaviors.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Islam, which became established on the island in the fifteenth century CE, also includes belief in MSP in the afterlife.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-731 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE, though this likely involved some sort of transitional period in which previous beliefs mingled with the new ones. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012)
	732 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of karmic religions. Later, in the fifteenth century CE, Islam also became established on the island.
	(on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-731 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE, though this likely involved some sort of transitional period in which previous beliefs mingled with the new ones. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012)
	732 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of karmic religions. Later, in the fifteenth century CE, Islam also became established on the island.
	(on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)

	500 CE-731 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE, though this likely involved some sort of transitional period in which previous beliefs mingled with the new ones. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012)
	732 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Establishment of karmic religions. Islam, which became established on the island in the fifteenth century CE, also includes belief in MSP in the afterlife.
	(on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished. Islam, which became established on the island in the fifteenth century CE, also includes belief in MSP in the afterlife.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 2002, Dwivedi 2012, Keown 2013; on conversion to Islam, see e.g. Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1518 CE: ABSENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island

	as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012)
	1568 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Islam (starting in the previous century). Islam includes belief in MSP in this life.
	(on Demak Sultanate, see Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**400 BCE-499 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Based on ethnographic observation of indigenous beliefs and practices unrelated to Buddhism, Hinduism, or Islam, we infer that, before the arrival of any of these religions, Javanese religion revolved around the relationship between the living and the dead, who were often seen as vengeful or unhappy, and had to be correctly propitiated so they would not bring misfortune to the living. In other words, it seems reasonable to infer that MSP was not a feature of pre-karmic religions in Java.
	(Miksic and Goh 2017: 173)
	500 CE-1518 CE: ABSENT
	Archaeological data (e.g. an early Buddhist temple in northwest Java) suggests that both Buddhism and Hinduism began to establish themselves on the island as early as the 4th century CE. Both feature belief in karma, an impersonal force by which people who perform more good actions will be rewarded after death, and people who perform more bad actions will be punished.
	(on early evidence for Buddhism and Hinduism, see e.g. Miksic and Goh 2017: 236, 311; on karma, see e.g. Shattuck 1999: 29, Diwedi 2012)
	1568 CE-1703 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Islam (starting in the previous century). Islam includes belief in agentic MSP.
	(on Demak Sultanate, see Tjandrasasmita 2004, 409-410; on MSP in Islam, see Yaran 2007)

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Kapuas Basin

Moral concern is primary	**1650-1987 CE: ABSENT** In descriptions from ethnographic studies, the Iban's interactions with their main creator gods is based on appeasement through ritual sacrifice, therefore we conclude that moral concern is not primary in Iban religion (Sutlive & Beierle 1995; Gomes 1911: 202).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1650-1987 CE: ABSENT** Ethnographic studies describe how moralizing enforcement is certain in Iban religion. Breaking *adat* results in punishment by members of the community, but in some cases, violations "disturb relations with the spiritual world and unless repaired by ritual means are believed to provoke supernatural retaliation (Sandin and Clifford 1980: xiii-xiv)." Even if one escapes immediate punishment, they will eventually face calamity or supernatural retribution (Sandin and Sather 1980: xxvii). However, if an individual is punished by the community and/or the correct rituals are performed, it seems that supernatural retribution can be avoided.
Moralizing norms are broad	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic studies describe the Iban's system of customary laws called *Adat*, defined by *betara,* or "ancestors with cosmic attributes" is based on the order of the universe (Wadley 599). *Adat* law defined the rights and duties of all residents in the longhouse, including matters related to marriage and inheritance (Komanyi 1973:90). Breaking *adat* results in punishment by members of the community, but in some cases, violations "disturb relations with the spiritual world and unless repaired by ritual means are believed to provoke supernatural retaliation (Sandin and Clifford 1980: xiii-xiv)." In addition, serious transgressions could result in collective punishment (Sandin and Clifford 1980: xiii).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** According to ethnographic studies, moralizing enforcement for norm violations could be both targeted and collective, ranging from harm to the perpetrator's own soul to natural disasters that impacted the entire community (Sandin 1976: 34-7; Jensen 1974: 113-115, 212).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic studies show that Iban headmen protected *adat*, and it seems reasonable to claim that headmen were liable to moralizing enforcement (Sandin and Sather 1980: 3).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic studies show that Iban headmen protected *adat*, and it seems reasonable to claim that headmen followed these customary laws (Sandin and Sather 1980: 3).

Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic literature concludes that Iban cosmology encompasses all parts of life (Vinson and Beirele 1995), suggesting that the religion system was adopted by the common people.
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1650-1987 CE: ABSENT** Ethnographic descriptions of Iban beliefs about death do not mention moralizing punishment from their actions in life (Howell 1908-10: 24-28; Jensen 1974: 113-115). The soul moves on to a pleasurable afterworld and is then transformed into spirits, dew, and finally into rice; the soul then returns to human form as the rice is eaten, demonstrating a kind of holistic interconnectedness (Jensen 1974: 108).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** According to ethnographic studies, moralizing enforcement for norm violations ranged from harm to the perpetrator's own soul to natural disasters that impacted the entire community (Sandin 1976: 34-7; Jensen 1974: 113-115, 212).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1650-1987 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic studies reconstruct the Iban belief system: the Iban interacted with benevolent gods and lesser spirits through ritual sacrifice but feared malicious spirits who punished some immoral conduct as determined by *adat* customary law (Sultive and Beierle 1995).

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Middle Yellow River Valley

Moral concern is primary	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Liu 2004: 70). While archaeological finds and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period, it seems reasonable to conclude that moral concern was not primary because of the predominance of ritual sacrifices.
	1250–489 BCE: ABSENT
	In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno concludes there is no evidence in the oracle bone records for Di as a moralizing force: "Nowhere in the texts do we see clear indication that the Powers are beneficent …. The Shang rulers seek advance approval for their actions - sometimes, it seems, obsessively - but there is no suggestion that the basis for approval will be anything other than the arbitrary inclinations of the Powers" (Eno 2009: 100).
	The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. Traditional Chinese cosmology, including ancestor and deity worship, is described as amoral and based on ritual knowledge rather than moral behavior (Poo 2009: 312, Poo 2021).
	The primary concern of W Zhou deities remained with ritual; morality aspects were limited (and rather vague). Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSCP in China. Like with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). When looking at inscriptions dated to the Zhou period, it seems the evidence is strong for a cosmology based on ritual rather than moral behavior.
	Tian worship continued in the Eastern Zhou, but by the end of the Warring States period, it was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) (Cook 2009: 239). Individual states might have interpreted Tian and its Mandate for their own use. Poo (2014)

points to a bronze inscription (c. 697 BCE) "in which the Qin ruler proclaims that 'Our ancestors had received the Mandate of Heaven and were given our house and state (190)."

The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as force concerned largely with moral behaviour, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20).

We conclude that appeasement of Di, Tian, and spirits and deities through ritual were the primary concerns this period.

488 BCE-317 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

Tian worship was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) by the end of the Warring States period (Cook 2009: 239). Cook describes Tai Yi as, "an abstract astral power" (239). It is unclear if there is any connection with Tai Yi and individual behavior (Cook 2019).

The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi, Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers.

The Qin evoked the Five Phases of Changes rather than the Mandate for legitimization (Loewe 2003: 221): the theory of Five Elements without the Mandate seems to be based purely on omen rather than on moral behavior or judgment by high gods. There is evidence that the Qin state evoked the Mandate in the past according to Poo (2014: 133). Poo (2014) argues the Qin inherited the Zhou ritual system. The Qin also looked to past ideological traditions and texts in the creation of a central state (Lewis 2007: 208), and therefore might have been influenced by Confucian or other concepts of a more moralizing Tian.

The Western Han also followed Five Phases of Change theory, but the Mandate of Heaven began to return to the political sphere (Loewe 2003: 611). Loewe (2003)

	writes that the Mandate was adopted and abandoned several times in the Western Han period. In 9 CE Wang Mang overthrew the Western Han and established the short-lived Xin dynasty (ended 23 CE). According to Michael Loewe (2003: 611), "[The Mandate] is cited in the requests made by officials that [Wang] should accede to the imperial throne; it is quoted in a document entitled *Fu ming* that he circulated on an empire-wide basis immediately after doing so. By the late Han, the Mandate of Heaven had evolved. The emperor had to do more than conduct the proper sacrifices and rituals, as he had in ancient times (Ivanhoe 2004: 272). It now related more closely to the moral behavior of the emperor and his ability to rule.
	This period is coded as transitional because the concept of the Mandate likely evolved over time and was influenced by Spring and Autumn and Warring States texts compiled and categorized in the Han (Goldin 2011: 88). In addition, Buddhism was not an official ideology in the Han period, but Buddhist ideas regarding hell gradually became influential during the Eastern Han (Zhang 2014: 119) Buddhism had a "significant presence" in North China by the Western Jin (Knetchtges 2010: 183).
	386-1912 CE: PRESENT
	Fully developed MSCP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, and became dominant during the Six Dynasties Period (220-589 CE) (Xiong 2009: 68). Buddhism became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). Buddhism is concerned with the conduct of individuals. Zhang 2014 (121-3) gives the example of the Chinese interpretation of Buddhist hell in which individuals are punished for immoral actions during life.
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). While archaeological finds and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period, it seems reasonable to conclude that moralizing enforcement was not certain because of the nature of Chinese traditional systems in later periods.
	1250-489 BCE: ABSENT
	Punishment was not certain (and not moralizing). In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. Traditional Chinese cosmology, including ancestor and deity worship, is described as amoral and based on ritual knowledge rather than moral behavior (Poo 2009: 312).
	Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSP in China. Like

with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). When looking at inscriptions dated to the Zhou period, it seems the evidence is strong for a cosmology based on ritual rather than moral behavior.

Individual states might have interpreted Tian and its Mandate for their own use. The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Poo (2014) points to a bronze inscription (c. 697 BCE) "in which the Qin ruler proclaims that 'Our ancestors had received the Mandate of Heaven and were given our house and state (190)." Tian worship continued in the Eastern Zhou, but by the end of the Warring States period, it was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) (Cook 2009: 239).

Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20).

This period is coded as absent because, even if Di, Tian, and Tai Yi did have moral concerns, it seems that they could be appeased with ritual behavior or sacrifices, so enforcement was not certain.

488 CE-317 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual

	elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers.
	The Qin evoked the Five Phases of Changes rather than the Mandate for legitimization (Loewe 2003: 221): the theory of Five Elements without the Mandate seems to be based purely on omen rather than on moral behavior or judgment by high gods. There is evidence that the Qin state evoked the Mandate in the past according to Poo (2014: 133). Poo (2014) argues the Qin inherited the Zhou ritual system. The Qin also looked to past ideological traditions and texts in the creation of a central state (Lewis 2007: 208), and therefore might have been influenced by Confucian or other concepts of a more moralizing Tian.
	The Western Han also followed Five Phases of Change theory, but the Mandate of Heaven began to return to the political sphere (Loewe 2003: 611). Loewe (2003) writes that the Mandate was adopted and abandoned several times in the Western Han period. In 9 CE Wang Mang overthrew the Western Han and established the short-lived Xin dynasty (ended 23 CE). According to Michael Loewe (2003: 611), "[The Mandate] is cited in the requests made by officials that [Wang] should accede to the imperial throne; it is quoted in a document entitled *Fu ming* that he circulated on an empire-wide basis immediately after doing so. By the late Han, the Mandate of Heaven had evolved. The emperor had to do more than conduct the proper sacrifices and rituals, as he had in ancient times (Ivanhoe 2004: 272). It now related more closely to the moral behavior of the emperor and his ability to rule.
	Buddhism was not an official ideology in the Han period, but Buddhist ideas regarding hell gradually became influential during the Eastern Han (Zhang 2014: 119) Buddhism had a "significant presence" in North China by the Western Jin (Knetchtges 2010: 183). Moral enforcement through karma is certain in Buddhism.
	This period is coded as transitional because of the early influence of Buddhism in the Han court. In addition, ideologies from Confucius, Mozi, and others about a more democratized and individualistic Tian became more influential in this period.
	386-1912 CE: PRESENT
	Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, and became dominant during the Six Dynasties Period (220-589 CE) (Xiong 2009: 68). Buddhism became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). Moral enforcement through karma is certain in Buddhism. Zhang 2014 (121-3) gives the example of the Chinese interpretation of Buddhist hell where individuals are punished for immoral actions during life.
Moralizing norms are broad	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers.

comm.; Liu 2004: 70). While archaeological finds and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period, it seems reasonable to conclude that moral concern was not primary because of the predominance of ritual sacrifices.

1250-489 BCE: ABSENT

Punishment was not moralizing at this time. In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. Traditional Chinese cosmology, including ancestor and deity worship, is described as amoral and based on ritual knowledge rather than moral behavior (Poo 2009: 312). There is some scholarly question on the nature of Di and more research is still being done on ancient texts (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011).

Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSP in China. Like with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). When looking at inscriptions dated to the Zhou period, it seems the evidence is strong for a cosmology based on ritual rather than moral behavior.

Tian worship continued in the Eastern Zhou, but by the end of the Warring States period, it was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) (Cook 2009: 239). Individual states might have interpreted Tian and its Mandate for their own use. Poo (2014) points to a bronze inscription (c. 697 BCE) "in which the Qin ruler proclaims that 'Our ancestors had received the Mandate of Heaven and were given our house and state (190)."

The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained

influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20).

We conclude that there is no evidence of MSP in this period. Any further evidence for the widespread belief in the moralizing nature of Tian comes from later periods. Despite this, even if Tian and Di had moralizing concern in the Western Zhou, these concerns were only towards the ruler and their capacities to rule.

488 BCE-317 CE: PRESENT

Tian worship was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) by the end of the Warring States period (Cook 2009: 239). Cook describes Tai Yi as, "an abstract astral power" (239). Shamans cured illness caused by spirits, but these were caused by improper sacrifice or ritual rather than immoral behavior (Cook 2009: 277). It is unclear if there is any connection with Tai Yi and individual behavior (Cook 2019).

The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers.

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The Western Han also followed Five Phases of Change theory, but the Mandate of Heaven began to return to the political sphere (Loewe 2003: 611). Loewe (2003) writes that the Mandate was adopted and abandoned several times in the Western Han period. In 9 CE Wang Mang overthrew the Western Han and established the short-lived Xin dynasty (ended 23 CE). According to Michael Loewe (2003: 611), "[The Mandate] is cited in the requests made by officials that [Wang] should accede to the imperial throne; it is quoted in a document entitled *Fu ming* that he circulated on an empire-wide basis immediately after doing so. By the late Han, the Mandate of Heaven had evolved. The emperor had to do more than conduct the proper sacrifices and rituals, as he had in ancient times (Ivanhoe 2004: 272). It now related more closely to the moral behavior of the emperor and his ability to rule.

	This period is coded as present because of the growing influence of ideologies that describe a more broad, moralistic Tian. In addition, Buddhism was not an official ideology in the Han period, but Buddhist ideas gradually became influential during the Eastern Han (Zhang 2014: 119) Buddhism had a "significant presence" in North China by the Western Jin (Knetchtges 2010: 183). **386-1912 CE: PRESENT** Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, and became dominant during the Six Dynasties Period (220-589 CE) (Xiong 2009: 68). Buddhism became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). Buddhism is concerned with the conduct of individuals. Zhang 2014 (121-3) gives the example of the Chinese interpretation of Buddhist hell where individuals are punished for immoral actions during life.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). Archaeological studies and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period. We conclude absence of any MSP as the religion of the succeeding Late Shang lacked any moralizing aspects (Eno 2009: 71). **1250-1046 BCE: ABSENT** Punishment was not moralizing at this time. In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. Traditional Chinese cosmology, including ancestor and deity worship, is described as amoral and based on ritual knowledge rather than moral behavior (Poo 2009: 312). There is some scholarly question on the nature of Di and more research is still being done on ancient texts (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). There is some scholarly question on the nature of Di and more research is still being done on ancient texts (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). **1045 BCE-317 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSP in China. Like with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011).

	Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016), suggesting collective punishment. These texts, however, likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20). Tian worship was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) by the end of the Warring States period (Cook 2009: 239). Cook describes Tai Yi as, "an abstract astral power" (239). Shamans cured illness caused by spirits, but these were caused by improper sacrifice or ritual rather than immoral behavior (Cook 2009: 277). It is unclear if there is any connection with Tai Yi and individual behavior (Cook 2019). The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers. The Qin evoked the Five Phases of Changes rather than the Mandate for legitimization (Loewe 2003: 221): the theory of Five Elements without the Mandate seems to be based purely on omen rather than on moral behavior or judgment by high gods. There is evidence that the Qin state evoked the Mandate in the past according to Poo (2014: 133). Poo (2014) argues the Qin inherited the Zhou ritual system. The Qin also looked to older ideological traditions (Lewis 2007: 208). It is unclear which interpretation of Tian was upheld by the Qin.

	The Western Han also followed Five Phases of Change theory, but the Mandate of Heaven began to return to the political sphere (Loewe 2003: 611). Loewe (2003) writes that the Mandate was adopted and abandoned several times in the Western Han period. In 9 CE Wang Mang overthrew the Western Han and established the short-lived Xin dynasty (ended 23 CE). According to Michael Loewe (2003: 611), "[The Mandate] is cited in the requests made by officials that [Wang] should accede to the imperial throne; it is quoted in a document entitled *Fu ming* that he circulated on an empire-wide basis immediately after doing so. By the late Han, the Mandate of Heaven had evolved. The emperor had to do more than conduct the proper sacrifices and rituals, as he had in ancient times (Ivanhoe 2004: 272). It now related more closely to the moral behavior of the emperor and his ability to rule. Moral rule was attached to a concept called "de" or virtue and a concern for the welfare of the people. The Mandate of Heaven now gave the Chinese people the right to overthrow a dynasty which no longer acts in their interests: "Heaven showed his displeasure not directly but by omens: by cataclysms and disasters, droughts and inundations, by sudden eclipses, comets, and so on" (von Collani 2014: 179). This description gives the sense of potential collective punishment or suffering for the actions of the emperor.
	This period is coded as transitional. It seems that was a shift towards a moralizing Tian who acted through collective punishment. However, while Buddhism was not an official ideology in the Han period, but Buddhist ideas gradually became influential during the Eastern Han (Zhang 2014: 119) Buddhism had a "significant presence" in North China by the Western Jin (Knetchtges 2010: 183).
	386-1912 CE: PRESENT
	Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, and became dominant during the Six Dynasties Period (220-589 CE) (Xiong 2009: 68). Buddhism became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). Moral enforcement is targeted in Buddhism. Zhang 2014 (121-3) gives the example of the Chinese interpretation of Buddhist hell where individuals are punished for immoral actions during life.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE).
	1250-1046 BCE: ABSENT
	Punishment was not moralizing at this time. In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior.
	1045-489 BCE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSP in China. Like with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). When looking at inscriptions dated to the Zhou period, it seems the evidence is strong for a cosmology based on ritual rather than moral behavior.

The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20).

488 BCE- 25 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]

The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers.

The Qin evoked the Five Phases of Changes rather than the Mandate for legitimization (Loewe 2003: 221): the theory of Five Elements without the Mandate seems to be based purely on omen rather than on moral behavior or judgment by high gods. There is evidence that the Qin state evoked the Mandate in the past according to Poo (2014: 133). Poo (2014) argues the Qin inherited the Zhou ritual system. The Qin also looked to older ideological traditions (Lewis 2007: 208). It is unclear which interpretation of Tian was upheld by the Qin.

	The Western Han also followed Five Phases of Change theory, but the Mandate of Heaven began to return to the political sphere (Loewe 2003: 611). Loewe (2003) writes that the Mandate was adopted and abandoned several times in the Western Han period. In 9 CE Wang Mang overthrew the Western Han and established the short-lived Xin dynasty (ended 23 CE). According to Michael Loewe (2003: 611), "[The Mandate] is cited in the requests made by officials that [Wang] should accede to the imperial throne; it is quoted in a document entitled *Fu ming* that he circulated on an empire-wide basis immediately after doing so **26-1912 CE: PRESENT** By the late Han, the Mandate of Heaven had evolved. The emperor had to do more than conduct the proper sacrifices and rituals, as he had in ancient times (Ivanhoe 2004: 272). It now related more closely to the moral behavior of the emperor and his ability to rule. We conclude moralizing enforcement of the ruler was present in this period. In addition, fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, and became dominant during the Six Dynasties Period (220-589 CE) (Xiong 2009: 68). Buddhism became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). Rulers are subject to karmic retribution in Buddhism. Zhang 2014 (121-3) gives the example of the Chinese interpretation of Buddhist hell where individuals are punished for immoral actions during life.
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). Archaeological studies and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period. We conclude absence of any MSP as the religion of the succeeding Late Shang lacked any moralizing aspects (Eno 2009: 71). **1250-795 BCE: ABSENT** Punishment was not moralizing at this time. In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. Traditional Chinese cosmology, including ancestor and deity worship, is described as amoral and based on ritual knowledge rather than moral behavior (Poo 2009: 312). There is some scholarly question on the nature of Di and more research is still being done on ancient texts (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSP in China. Like with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of

	Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011). Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). When looking at inscriptions dated to the Zhou period, it seems the evidence is strong for a cosmology based on ritual rather than moral behavior.
	The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20).
	794 BCE-317 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]
	The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers. Due to this uncertainty, we are coding this as a transitional period.
	386 BCE-25 CE: PRESENT
	Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, first became the official ideology c.300 CE, and became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill

and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). Archaeological studies and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period. We conclude absence of any MSP as the religion of the succeeding Late Shang lacked any moralizing aspects (Eno 2009: 71).

1250 BCE-223 BCE: ABSENT

Punishment was not moralizing at this time. Traditional Chinese popular or folk cosmology, including ancestor and deity worship, is described as amoral and based on ritual knowledge rather than moral behavior (Poo 2009: 312). In the Warring States period, for example, shamans cured illness caused by spirits, but these were caused by improper sacrifice or ritual rather than immoral behavior (Cook 2009: 277).

In the Zhou period, there is little direct evidence of the Mandate's tenets, but it seems that only the Zhou king claimed the Mandate.

The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26).

Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20). In addition, these schools represented the intellectual elite.

The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236).

It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers. Even when these philosophies were later compiled as state ideologies, they remained reserved for the literati.

202 BCE-617 CE: [ABSENT~PRESENT]

The common people did prescribe to the concept of the Mandate of Heaven. Barend ter Haar (2000: 308) writes that the common people were also fascinated by dynastic transitions and the loss of the Mandate of Heaven, as seen in popular

	folklore covering, for example, both the rise and eventual fall of the Han. However, this description suggests the people were spectators to Tian worship rather than participants. Due to this uncertainty, we are coding this as a long transitional period ending with the establishment of Buddhism as a mass religion in the 7th century CE. **618-1912 CE: PRESENT** Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**5000-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). Archaeological studies and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period. **1250 BCE-1046 BCE: ABSENT** Late Shang religion lacked any moralizing aspects (Eno 2009: 71). **1045 BCE-489 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** For the period 1250-489 BCE, we infer absence because of the concept of a non-punitive world of the dead (Bokenkamp 2007: 34) as described in the succeeding period likely evolved from traditional folk beliefs over time. **488 BCE-317 CE: ABSENT** Chinese traditional thought conceived of a non-punitive world of the dead. This tradition is known as early as the fourth century BCE (Bokenkamp 2007: 34). The dead moved freely and left when they wanted (Zhang 2014: 119). Chinese pre-Buddhist underworld consisted of separate spaces including Yellow Springs, Fengdu, and Mount Tai. In Yellow Springs, the common people worked in a similar manner to their life on Earth. At Mount Tai the dead served in a bureaucracy which ran the underworld (Bokenkamp 2007: 35). Tian determined the fate of a dynasty and could cause chaos that brought suffering to the people, but there seems to be no concept of individualistic punishment by Tian in pre-Buddhist China. **386-1912 CE: PRESENT** Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, first became the official ideology c.300 CE, and became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). Zhang 2014 (121-3) gives the example of the Chinese interpretation of Buddhist hell where individuals are punished for immoral actions during life.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**5000 BCE-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period (5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill

and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). Archaeological studies and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period. We conclude absence of any MSP as the religion of the succeeding Late Shang lacked any moralizing aspects (Eno 2009: 71).

1250 BCE-1046 BCE: ABSENT

In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. There is some scholarly question on the nature of Di and more research is still being done on ancient texts (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011).

1045 BCE-1912 CE: PRESENT

Tian and the Mandate of Heaven mark the first appearance of MSP in China. Like with Di, however, there is some scholarly debate and question on the nature of Tian (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011).

Robert Eno points to a 998 BCE Western Zhou bronze inscription that quotes a ruler named King Kang claiming the Shang had lost the Mandate of Tian because of its king's acceptance of poor behavior like drunkenness and overall bad governance (Eno 2009: 101; Li 2013: 144). Eno (2009: 101) interprets from this inscription that Tian had "taken on the role of ethical guardian," and was concerned with moral standards and correct rule. However, the inscription could also be interpreted as critiquing drunkenness at sacrificial rituals involving wine and the inscription could be referring to correct rites and rituals rather than moral behavior. The first Zhou king received *de* (merit) from Tian, which was earned by subsequent kings through "military and ritual performances as well as through prescribed sacrifices to the earlier Zhou kings." (Cook 2020: 443). When looking at inscriptions dated to the Zhou period, it seems the evidence is strong for a cosmology based on ritual rather than moral behavior.

The royal monopoly on Heaven ended after the fall of the Western Capital in 771 BCE, following which lower-level rulers, such as the Duke of Qin or the ruler of the small state of Xu, began also invoking Heaven (Eno 1990: 26). Some Spring and Autumn period philosophers viewed Tian as a possible moralizing power. There are some examples in Confucian texts on Tian as a source of moral authority (Lewis 1990: 236) but texts have many contradictions (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165). A quote from Mozi (470-391 BCE) in describes Tian as an MSP force, punishing a city-state for killing their ruler (qtd in Fraser 2016). These texts likely only gained influence in later periods. Confucius, for example, could not find a ruler who would put his ideas into practice in his own lifetime (Van Norden 2011: 20).

Tian worship was replaced by worship of Tai Yi (Great One) by the end of the Warring States period (Cook 2009: 239). Cook describes Tai Yi as, "an abstract astral

	power" (239). Shamans cured illness caused by spirits, but these were caused by improper sacrifice or ritual rather than immoral behavior (Cook 2009: 277). It is unclear if there is any connection with Tai Yi and individual behavior (Cook 2019). The burgeoning philosophies of the Hundred Schools of Thought continued in this period, with mixed ideas on the nature of Tian. Confucian and Mohist thought remained influential among intellectuals. The Mandate is portrayed in the *Book of Documents* (Shang Shu), however, (written at least in the Warring States) as a natural impersonal force (Cheng 2010: 40). Xunzi, believed that Heaven was not involved in human affairs, and promoted ritual and rule of law over the cult of Tian (Kim 2011: 375). To Mengzi was Tian becomes less of a mystical, all-knowing force and more of a metaphor for responsible and fair governance (Lewis 1990: 236). It seems that there was no one clear interpretation of Tian among the intellectual elite, and it is unclear how much impact these philosophies had on different Warring States rulers. The Qin evoked the Five Phases of Changes rather than the Mandate for legitimization (Loewe 2003: 221): the theory of Five Elements without the Mandate seems to be based purely on omen rather than on moral behavior or judgment by high gods. There is evidence that the Qin state evoked the Mandate in the past according to Poo (2014: 133). Poo (2014) argues the Qin inherited the Zhou ritual system. The Qin also looked to older ideological traditions (Lewis 2007: 208). It is unclear which interpretation of Tian was upheld by the Qin. The Western Han also followed Five Phases of Change theory, but the Mandate of Heaven began to return to the political sphere (Loewe 2003: 611). Loewe (2003) writes that the Mandate was adopted and abandoned several times in the Western Han period. In 9 CE Wang Mang overthrew the Western Han and established the short-lived Xin dynasty (ended 23 CE). According to Michael Loewe (2003: 611), "[The Mandate] is cited in the requests made by officials that [Wang] should accede to the imperial throne; it is quoted in a document entitled *Fu ming* that he circulated on an empire-wide basis immediately after doing so. By the late Han, the Mandate of Heaven had evolved. The emperor had to do more than conduct the proper sacrifices and rituals, as he had in ancient times (Ivanhoe 2004: 272). It now related more closely to the moral behavior of the emperor and his ability to rule. Despite changes in the concept of the Mandate over time, supernatural omens, unrest, corruption, and natural disasters still seemed to predict the loss of the Mandate of Heaven by the ruling dynasty, as it did in ancient times (Elleman and Paine 2019: 565 and Schoppa 2000: 46 refer to its use in the Qing). Note that in Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, became part of the official ideology c.300 CE, and became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century), MSP occurs after death (Keown 2013).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**5000 BCE-1251 BCE: INFERRED ABSENT** Inferring absence based on the absent code for the next period (1250-1046 BCE). Also, archaeological evidence from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age period

(5000-1251 BCE) suggests the presence of sacrifice and ritual practices (Underhill and Habu 2008: 13, He 2013: 268; Demattè 1999: 126; Reinhart 2015: 86) likely accompanied by music and feasting (Underhill 2001: 159; Reinhart 2016, pers. comm.; Liu 2004: 70). Archaeological studies and early script (from the Erligang period on) cannot tell us about the specific tenets of religious practices in this period. We conclude absence of any MSP as the religion of the succeeding Late Shang lacked any moralizing aspects (Eno 2009: 71).

1250 BCE-1046 CE: ABSENT

Punishment was not moralizing at this time. In the Late Bronze Age, kings acted as an intermediary to appease or influence high god Di through the correct ritual sacrifice. Eno (2009) points to a lack of direct evidence for Di as a moralizing force (Eno 2009: 71). The king appeased Di through ritual sacrifice. The worship of other deities, ancestors, and spirits was not linked to moral behavior. There is some scholarly question on the nature of Di and more research is still being done on ancient texts (Nicols and Logan 2017: 165-6, Nicols et al. 2020, Clark and Winslett 2011).

1045 BCE-317 CE: PRESENT

Confucius and other thinkers often portrayed Tian as anthropomorphic (Slingerland 2015: 588), but it is worth noting that these ideologies were not widely influential until later periods.

386 CE-1912 CE: ABSENT

Fully developed MSP arrived in China with Buddhism, which started making inroads during the first century CE, first became the official ideology c.300 CE, and became a mass religion during the Tang period (eighth century). However, Buddhist karma is an impersonal rather than an agentic force (Keown 2013).

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Big Island Hawaii

Moralizing concern is primary	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means.

	Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official

	state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1000 CE-1819 CE: PRESENT** Ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* were believed to punish behaviors such as murder and robbery. This belief was widespread among commoners, but did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion. 1819 marks the abolition of the key aspects of traditional belief and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Kamakau 1964: 55, Pukui and Handy 1972)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs,

	rather by supernatural means, and therefore also in this life rather than in the aftelife. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them. 1819 marks the abolition of the *kapu* system and an increase in Christian conversions. Note that we are inferring that pre-Christian beliefs recorded by 18th- and even 19th- and early 20th-century written sources were present in some form from as far back as Hawaii's earliest human settlement, which is at least partly supported by comparison with other Polynesian religions. (see e.g. Malo 1951: 29, 56-57, 189; Kamakau 1964: 28-32, 60, 87, 95; Pukui and Handy 1972: 24, 37-40; Kirch 2010: 69; Hommon 2013: 56, 134, 243)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1000 CE-1819 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** The great gods (*akua*) worshipped as part of the official government-sponsored religion cannot be seen as being concerned with morality, as punishments for violation of the rules of this religion were ordered or administered by chiefs, rather by supernatural means. Though there is written evidence for the widespread belief that ancestral spirits known as *'aumakua* could punish certain moral transgressions or reward

| | morally upstanding behavior, these beliefs did not constitute part of the official state-sponsored religion, even though elites and rulers would have likely subscribed to them.

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Oro, PNG

Moral concern is primary	**1783-1883: ABSENT** In reviewing ethnographic descriptions of Orokaiva religion, it seems reasonable to conclude that MSCP was not a feature of the religious system. The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity and Christian influenced cults spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits including MSCP (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity and Christian influenced cults spread during the colonial period (Kearney 1996: 6). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing norms are broad	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded is highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity and Christian-influenced cults spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous

	explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity and Christian influenced cults spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the

	full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1783-1883: ABSENT** The Orokaiva interacted with demigods and ancestor spirits through ritual exchanges and an elaborate system of initiation (Schwimmer 1973; Iteanu 1990). Indigenous explanations for misfortune in Melanesia typically invoke sorcery or unintended offences against the supernatural agents themselves (Whitehouse 1996). Moreover, Orokaiva spirits traditionally endorsed ritualized acts that would be regarded as highly immoral in everyday life (Iteanu 1990). **1884-1942: PRESENT** Ethnographic sources show that Christianity spread during the colonial period (Chinnery and Haddon 1917; Williams 1928; Bashkow 2006). Christianity features the full set of MSP traits (Angenendt and Riches 2014).

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Chuuk Islands

Moralizing concern is primary	**1775 CE-1948 CE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Sacred itang lore, passed down the generations among religious specialists to guide the behavior of the Chuukese people generally, promoted social harmony, presenting it as "part of the heavenly gods' design for human existence".
	The disposition of sky gods and benevolent spirits of the dead was generally "favourable as long as people did not do the kinds of things that angered them."
	It is also worth noting that, in neighboring atolls, the "Great Spirit"—i.e. the supreme deity, as recognized on the Chuuk Islands as well—was thought to sever a person's life thread if he disapproved of their behavior.
	Moreover, though the Chuukese did not necessarily view possible fates in the afterlife in terms of "punishment" or "reward", beliefs surrounding what happens after death encouraged them to act in a morally upstanding manner, hoping to experience good things in the afterlife and avoid bad things (see below).
	However, often Goodenough (who partly based his work on early twentieth-century ethnographies by Bollig [1927] and Krämer [1932]) simply says that the gods and spirits were "angered" by certain behaviors, but not necessarily that they punished them. For example, he says that the god 'Good Determining' (Óórorofich) monitored "good relations among people" and "was angered by theft and another antisocial behavior", but not that he punished either theft or antisocial behavior generally.
	Goodenough does explicitly say that the Chuukese interpreted illness as a sign of the gods and spirits' displeasure, but the only examples he provides of conduct that would cause punishment by illness are suggestive of disrespect towards the supernatural realm, not of antisocial behavior among humans. In fact, the only explicit example of MSCP in Goodenough's survey of Chuukese beliefs is that spirits of the dead could punish living relatives for "improper behavior and ill will among people who were close kin".
	Overall, however, it seems more likely that the Chuukese that the gods and spirits' moralising concern was primary, and that Goodenough's occasional vagueness or lack of examples simply reflects the fact that his aim was to provide a general (if comprehensive and detailed) summary of Chuukese cultural representations, rather than specifically exploring questions regarding MSCP.
	(Goodenough 2002: 14-15, 51, 87, 97, 134-150, 211, 306-308)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1775 CE-1948 CE: INFERRED PRESENT**
	Though one's behavior in life was not thought to result in punishment or reward in the afterlife, a prosocial person was thought to experience a positive fate after death. In life, gods and spirits of the dead punished acts of disloyalty toward kin, likely among other types of moral transgression.
	(Goodenough 2002: 211, 135-150)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**1775 CE-1948 CE: ABSENT**
	Chuukese ideology emphasises loyalty (towards authority, kin, and one's polity) above other aspects of morality. Spirits of the dead could punish living relatives

	for "improper behavior and ill will among people who were close kin". According to some accounts, souls of the dead were interrogated by the gods on their conduct in life, including, for example, on whether they had been obedient to their chiefs. Moreover, according to some accounts, warriors who died in battle went to join the god of war in the sky realm. The god 'Good Determining' (Óórorofich) "was angered by theft and another antisocial behavior", but that is the only example in Goodenough's comprehensive survey of Chuukese religious representations of (implied) MSP for transgressions against someone's personal integrity. However, it is worth noting that, broadly speaking, social harmony formed "part of the heavenly gods' design for human existence". (Goodenough 2002: 14-15, 87, 97, 134-150)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1775 CE-1948 CE: PRESENT** From Goodenough (2002: 211): "One [cause of illness] was the anger of a heavenly god (énúún nááng), an 'effecting spirit' (énúúsór), or a good soul of the dead (ngúnúyééch), resulting in a headache or abdominal pains. Anger of such spirits resulted from the misbehavior of the person toward whom the anger was directed." Examples of misbehavior that might result in a spirit's anger, and subsequent punishment, include "failure to pass on to its surviving children a share of the property it held when alive": this could be read as disrespect toward the spirit itself, but it is also a breach of a person's obligations toward their kin. It is also worth noting that Goodenough's comprehensive survey of Chuukese beliefs does not include any examples of collective MSP.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1775 CE-1948 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Some twentieth-century ethnographic accounts suggest that chiefs experienced other than ordinary fates after death. Moreover, Chuukese ideology places heavy emphasis on obeying one's chief. Also, chiefly lineages were thought to have been founded by gods in the guise of humans. Overall, though this is not explicitly stated by any of the sources consulted, this suggests that chiefs likely received different treatment from the gods with regards to the moral quality of their behavior. (Goodenough 2002: 88, 150)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1775 CE-1948 CE: PRESENT** The following quote appears to refer to the Chuukese generally, regardless of social status: "Chuuk's people placed great emphasis on observing the obligations people had in their various social identity relationships. They put great stress on the importance of moral (formally correct) behavior and the unpleasant consequences that could follow from breaches of morality." (Goodenough 2002: 14)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1775 CE-1948 CE: PRESENT** The following quote appears to refer to the Chuukese generally, regardless of social status: "Chuuk's people placed great emphasis on observing the obligations people had in their various social identity relationships. They put great stress on the importance of moral (formally correct) behavior and the unpleasant consequences that could follow from breaches of morality." (Goodenough 2002: 14)

Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1775 CE-1948 CE: PRESENT** According to twentieth-century ethnographies, Chuukese cosmology postulated several different fates in the afterlife, both negative and positive. Goodenough (2002: 134) explicitly notes that the Chuukese themselves would not have thought of such fates in terms of either "punishment" or "reward" for their conduct in life. Instead, the Chuukese believed that one's fate in life depended from one's "psychic dispositions", which was determined before birth (ibid.: 146). However, Goodenough goes on to write the following: "It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that beliefs about the fate of the soul provided at least some incentive for people to endeavour to be correct in their behavior to others and, especially, to be obedient to the authority of chiefs, lineage heads, and older siblings of the same sex." Note, too, that according to some accounts, souls of the dead were interrogated by the gods on their conduct in life, including, for example, on whether they had been obedient to their chiefs. Moreover, according to some accounts, warriors who died in battle went to join the god of war in the sky realm. Overall, then, even if "reward" and "punishment" were not emic categories among the Chuukese, their beliefs surrounding the afterlife encouraged them to act prosocially and avoid antisocial behavior, in the hopes that this would mean a positive afterlife. (Goodenough 2002: 134-150)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1775 CE-1948 CE: PRESENT** From Goodenough (2002: 211): "One [cause of illness] was the anger of a heavenly god (énúún nááng), an 'effecting spirit' (énúúsór), or a good soul of the dead (ngúnúyééch), resulting in a headache or abdominal pains. Anger of such spirits resulted from the misbehavior of the person toward whom the anger was directed." Examples of misbehavior that might result in a spirit's anger, and subsequent punishment, include "failure to pass on to its surviving children a share of the property it held when alive": this could be read as disrespect toward the spirit itself, but it is also a breach of a person's obligations toward their kin.
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1775 CE-1948 CE: PRESENT** Ethnographic observations in the twentieth century suggest that pre-contact Chuukese religion included the idea that supernatural entities could punish moral transgressions. (Goodenough 2002: 97)

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Valley of Oaxaca

Moralizing concern is primary	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSCP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347). While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior. **1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs including MSCP. (Cline 1993; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347).

	While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior.
	1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs.
	(Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their woshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347).
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	1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs.
	(Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500

	BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347).
	While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior.
	1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs.
	(Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347).
	While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior.
	1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs.

	(Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347). While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior. **1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs. (Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347). While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016,

	2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior. **1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs. (Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347). While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior. **1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs. (Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers'

	behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347). While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior. **1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs. (Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1400 BCE-1520 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Although there is no direct evidence of belief in MSP being absent in the Valley of Oaxaca until its first appearance with the arrival of Christianity, it is more likely that this belief was absent in all preceding polities in the region because analysis of archaeological data (including elaborate iconography and inscriptions), parallels with other world regions, and ethnohistoric accounts by early colonial sources allow reconstruction of the pre-contact religious system. Archaeological evidence from the Late Formative period (beginning around 500 BCE) at the central site of Monté Alban suggests that supernatural agents were thought to be motivated not so much by the moral quality of their worshippers' behavior towards other humans, but by the quality of their offerings to their gods (Joyce 2009, Marcus 1983). Likewise, Spanish sources Zapotec and later Maya beliefs describe beliefs that supernatural agents were responsible for misfortunes, and that when these occurred they had to be placated through ritual, but these misfortunes were not used to punish moral transgressions (Lind 2015: 346-347). While there is some evidence for cultural continuity between Zapotec peoples and the Mexica peoples occupying the Basin of Mexico (see Carballo 2016, 2018), indications that deities may have held moralizing concerns as primary are largely confined to Teotihuacan and surrounding sites in Central Mexico. Overall, it appears that the relationship between people and their gods in ancient Oaxaca centred on offerings and rituals associated with the continuity of the cosmos and fertility. The gods were thought to be more involved in cyclic natural processes than in the moral quality of their follower's behavior. **1521 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Catholicism imposed as official ideology. Being a branch of Christianity, it includes the full set of MSP beliefs. (Cline 1993; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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Cahokia

Moral concern is primary	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSCP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, as well as in Cahokia, because of evidence for lack of MSCP in later Mississippian religion. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Information on Illinois cosmology comes from Peoria oral tradition and French observation. Few Illinois oral traditions have survived. The few surviving oral traditions (see Illinois State Museum 2000) demonstrate a cosmology based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect. These concepts can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well. Writings from Jacques Marquette suggest the Illinois believed that the earth rested on the back of an otter, and that the universe had three levels: the Upper World, inhabited by the sun and the thunder; the Middle World (Earth); and the Lower World, home to monsters (Illinois State Museum 2000; Marquette 1674: 139-141). Some of the tenets of our definition are likely found in Illinois oral tradition but cannot be inferred due to the lack of surviving oral traditions and indigenous voices needed to interpret these traditions. In many North American indigenous creation myths, the foundations of the world are determined by the relationship between animals and nature- humans are not the center of the world (McArdle, pers. comm). A potential example of this cosmology is the Illinois oral tradition *Rabbit and Possum* in which the Rabbit and the Possum decide whether it is light or dark all the time (Stand 1916, retrieved from Illinois State Museum 2000).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion. The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which

	nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). This is the only kind of "moralizing" concern that can be inferred in relation to Illinois cosmology. The concept of natural interconnectivity can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well (for example, Marquette 1674: 139-141). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing norms are broad	**600 BCE-1640 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion. The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Information on Illinois cosmology comes from Peoria oral tradition and French observation. The few surviving Illinois oral traditions (see Illinois State Museum 2000) demonstrate a cosmology based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect. These concepts can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well. Writings from Jacques Marquette suggest the Illinois believed that the earth rested on the back of an otter, and that the universe had three levels: the Upper World, inhabited by the sun and the thunder; the Middle World (Earth); and the Lower World, home to monsters (Illinois State Museum 2000; Marquette 1674: 139-141).

	Some of the tenets of our definition are likely found in Illinois oral tradition but cannot be inferred due to the lack of surviving oral traditions and indigenous voices needed to interpret these traditions. In many North American indigenous creation myths, the foundations of the world are determined by the relationship between animals and nature- humans are not the center of the world (McArdle, pers. comm). A potential example of this cosmology is the Illinois oral tradition *Rabbit and Possum* in which the Rabbit and the Possum decide whether it is light or dark all the time (Stand 1916, retrieved from Illinois State Museum 2000). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion. The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). This is the only kind of moralizing concern that can be inferred in relation to Illinois cosmology. The concept of natural interconnectivity can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well (for example, Marquette 1674: 139-141). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion.

	The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). This is the only kind of "moralizing" concern that can be inferred in relation to Illinois cosmology. The concept of natural interconnectivity can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well (for example, Marquette 1674: 139-141). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion. The leaders of Cahokia were likely "ruler-priests" (Peregrine et. al 2014), therefore we infer that SECC cosmology (which likely did not feature MSP beliefs) was upheld by the elite. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). We infer that this cosmology formed part of the foundation of Illinois culture. Some of the tenets of our definition of morality are likely found in Illinois oral tradition but cannot be inferred due to the lack of surviving oral traditions and indigenous voices needed to interpret these traditions. In many North American indigenous creation myths, the foundations of the world are determined by the relationship between animals and nature- humans are not the center of the world

	(McArdle, pers. comm). A potential example of this cosmology is the Illinois oral tradition *Rabbit and Possum* in which the Rabbit and the Possum decide whether it is light or dark all the time (Stand 1916, retrieved from Illinois State Museum 2000). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, as well as in Cahokia, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion. **1640-1717 CE: ABSENT** Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). We infer that this cosmology formed part of the foundation of Illinois culture. The relation to our definitions of morality here is complicated. Some of the tenets of our definition are likely found in Illinois oral tradition but cannot be inferred due to the lack of surviving oral traditions and indigenous voices needed to interpret these traditions. In many North American indigenous creation myths, the foundations of the world are determined by the relationship between animals and nature- humans are not the center of the world (McArdle, pers. comm). A potential example of this cosmology is the Illinois oral tradition *Rabbit and Possum* in which the Rabbit and the Possum decide whether it is light or dark all the time (Stand 1916, retrieved from Illinois State Museum 2000). Morality and conduct are larger than the human-human interactions we use in our definition. This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion. The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic

	interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement.
	1640-1717 CE: ABSENT
	Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). This is the only kind of "moralizing" concern that can be inferred in relation to Illinois cosmology. The concept of natural interconnectivity can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well (for example, Marquette 1674: 139-141). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion.
	The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement.
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	Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). This is the only kind of "moralizing" concern that can be inferred in relation to Illinois cosmology. The concept of natural interconnectivity can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well (for example, Marquette 1674: 139-141). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.

Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**600 BCE-1639 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	There is little data on Woodland or Emergent Mississippian cosmology (Peregrine 2017, pers. comm.). Scholars have found archaeological evidence of Woodland ancestor shrines and sacred monuments (Dye 200: 138). We infer the absence of MSP beliefs in the Woodland and Emergent Mississippian periods, because of evidence for lack of MSP in later Mississippian religion.
	The cosmology of Cahokia, the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex, seems to have different scholarly interpretations. There are more literal interpretations of archaeological evidence and oral tradition like those from Dye (2000) and Granberry (2005) which highlight concepts like a moralizing Earth Mother figure who would punish those that broke taboos but could be won over through ritual (Dye 2000: 146) and an underworld through which the dead are reborn as children (Granberry 2005: 114), seemingly regardless of the moral quality of their actions in life. Other interpretations highlight themes of holistic interconnectedness. For example, Hall (1997: 35, 57) details how reincarnation was linked to mound building at Cahokia: the earth on the mound that would grow grass in the spring represented the reincarnation of the person buried beneath it. A more holistic interpretation seems better in line with later indigenous cosmology, in which nature spirits, animals, and humans are equal and interconnected and there are procedures that could be based on moral concern but no moralizing supernatural enforcement.
	1640-1717 CE: ABSENT
	Illinois oral traditions provide a window to a worldview based on holistic connectivity and natural cause and effect (for text of oral traditions, see Illinois State Museum 2000). This is the only kind of "moralizing" concern that can be inferred in relation to Illinois cosmology. The concept of natural interconnectivity can be seen in French observations of Illinois beliefs as well (for example, Marquette 1674: 139-141). This interpretation lacks moralizing supernatural enforcement.

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Finger Lakes

Moral concern is primary	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** While oral traditions set procedures and guidelines for individual actions, Haudenosaunee cosmology mainly focuses on holistic interconnectedness, natural cause and effect, and the relationship between humans and nature (Foley 1975: 46; St John 1994: 50). Ethnographic sources describe an Haudenosaunee cosmology wherein states of order and disorder derive from harmonious or inharmonious relations with nature (Foley 1975: 46; St John 1994: 50).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Ethnographic sources and oral tradition show an absence of certain moralizing enforcement in Haudenosaunee cosmology. Haudenosaunee cosmology mainly focuses on holistic interconnectedness, natural cause and effect, and the relationship between humans and nature (Foley 1975: 46; St John 1994: 50). Though oral traditions include stories meant to encourage values such as "honesty" and "kindness" (Oneida Indian Nation 2020), they do not suggest that those who fail to follow these values inevitably suffer punishment by moralizing forces. Indeed, some traditional stories feature characters who transgress these values but someone else suffers the consequences (see e.g. "The Legend of How the Bear Lost His Tail" in Oneida Indian Nation 2020).
Moralizing norms are broad	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED PRESENT** Haudenosaunee oral traditions promote a broad spectrum of moral values, and provide examples of characters who suffer as a result of not heeding these values (see e.g. "The Legend of the Hermit Thrush" in Oneida Indian Nation 2020). However, note that nothing in these stories suggests that these values were automatically enforced by supernatural entities through reward or punishment.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** While Haudenosaunee oral traditions include examples of individual lesson-learning and restorative justice, this is different from direct moralizing enforcement. Oral traditions hold moral norms (Oneida Indian Nation 2020; Foley 1975: 31), that when broken might have consequences, but there is no evidence of supernatural moralizing forces in Haudenosaunee cosmology.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Haudenosaunee cosmology as well as the beliefs and oral traditions of individual member nations are foundational in the cultures of the Six Nations and therefore apply to all in society. However, while Haudenosaunee oral traditions potentially include examples of individual lesson-learning and restorative justice, there does not seem to be direct moralizing enforcement. Instead, Haudenosaunee cosmology mainly focuses on holistic interconnectedness, natural cause and effect, and the relationship between humans and nature (Foley 1975: 46; St John 1994: 50).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Haudenosaunee cosmology as well as the beliefs and oral traditions of individual member nations are foundational in the cultures of the Six Nations. Ethnographers

	note that social class in the Western understanding was absent in Haudenosaunee society (Reid 1995).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Haudenosaunee cosmology as well as the beliefs and oral traditions of individual member nations are foundational in the cultures of the Six Nations. Ethnographers note that social class in the Western understanding was absent in Haudenosaunee society (Reid 1995).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** According to an ethnographic summary, Haudenosaunee believed that "after death the soul embarked on a journey and series of ordeals that ended in the land of the dead in the sky world. Mourning for the dead lasted for a year, at the end of which time soul's journey was believed to be complete and a feast was held to signify the soul's arrival in the land of the dead" (Reid 1995: 8). This description does not include moralizing punishment.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** While Haudenosaunee oral traditions include examples of individual lesson-learning and restorative justice, there does not seem to be direct moralizing enforcement. Instead, Haudenosaunee cosmology mainly focuses on holistic interconnectedness, natural cause and effect, and the relationship between humans and nature (Foley 1975: 46; St John 1994: 50). Though oral traditions include stories meant to encourage values such as "honesty" and "kindness" (Oneida Indian Nation 2020), they do not suggest that those who fail to follow these values inevitably suffer punishment by moralizing forces. Indeed, some traditional stories feature characters who transgress these values but someone else suffers the consequences (see e.g. "The Legend of How the Bear Lost His Tail" in Oneida Indian Nation 2020).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1566-1848 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Haudenosaunee cosmology mainly focuses on holistic interconnectedness, natural cause and effect, and the relationship between humans and nature (Foley 1975: 46; St John 1994: 50). This includes concepts of order and disorder and the careful maintenance of a harmonious balance with nature rather than agentic moralizing enforcement.

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Cuzco

Moralizing concern is primary	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSCP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest. (on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64) **1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features MSCP. (on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSCP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest. (on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64) **1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features certain MSP. (on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest.

	(on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64)
	1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features broad MSP.
	(on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest.
	(on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64)
	1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features targeted MSP.
	(on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest.
	(on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64)
	1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features MSP beliefs.
	(on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and

	reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest.
	(on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64)
	1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features MSP beliefs.
	(on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest.
	(on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64)
	1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features MSP beliefs.
	(on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT**
	Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest.
	(on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64)
	1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT
	Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features MSP after death.
	(on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest. (on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64) **1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features MSP in life. (on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1 CE-1531 CE: INFERRED ABSENT** Iconographic and archaeological data, interpreted at least in part through the use of ethnohistoric descriptions of sixteenth-century beliefs and practices, as well as more recent ethnographic accounts of Andean culture, suggest that indigenous Andean religion has long revolved around complementarity and reciprocity, sacrifice and supplication. Moreover, among the Inca, moral transgressions were mainly policed by human agents. In other words, belief in MSP likely only came to the region with the advent of Christianity following Spanish conquest. (on pre-Inca periods, see e.g. Quilter 2014: 151, Weismantel 2014/2015: 48, Lau 2002: 281, Bourget 2016; on the Inca, see e.g. Betanzos 1996, Yaya 2012: 148, D'Altroy 2014; Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015: 60–64) **1532 CE-1700 CE: PRESENT** Conversion to Catholicism with Spanish conquest. Catholicism is a branch of Christianity, which features agentic MSP. (on conversion, see e.g. MacCormack 1985; on MSP in Christianity, see Angenendt and Riches 2014)

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North Colombia

Moral concern is primary	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524: {INFERRED PRESENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods or other supernatural forces were primarily concerned with morality. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, the Tairona likely also believed in a universe where some but not all supernatural beings or forces were primarily concerned with human morality. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524: {INFERRED ABSENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods or other supernatural forces inevitably punished or rewarded certain behaviors. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988)

	suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. However, disaster caused by imbalance could be thwarted by the actions of ritual specialists known as Mámas (Witte 2017: 222). Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems more likely that the Tairona also believed in a universe where supernatural beings or forces could be prevented, through ritual means, from punishing morally transgressive behavior. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing norms are broad	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524: {INFERRED PRESENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods or other supernatural forces enforced a broad range of moral norms. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to a relatively broad range of behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems more likely that the

	Tairona also believed in a universe where supernatural beings or forces were concerned with a relatively broad range of moral norms. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524: {INFERRED ABSENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods or other supernatural forces directly targeted individuals when dispensing moralizing rewards or punishments. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to a relatively broad range of behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. If we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems likely that moralizing enforcement was also broad in the Tairona system of belief. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later.

	We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**250-1524 CE: UNKNOWN** No data for the Nahua period (250 CE-1049 CE). For the Tairona period (1050 CE-1524 CE), no direct evidence could be found for the belief that gods or other supernatural forces could force rulers to behave morally. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Overall, however, the Kogi are fairly egalitarian (Witte 2007: 26), and nothing we could find about them suggests specific beliefs about the relationship between rulers and gods or supernatural forces. Therefore, even if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, there is likely not enough data to infer whether or not the Tairona believed in moralizing supernatural enforcement of rulers. Note, also, that other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later.
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524: {INFERRED PRESENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found that Tairona elites adopted moralizing beliefs. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and

	the Tairona, it seems more likely that the Tairona also believed in moralizing deities or supernatural forces. However, it remains difficult to say whether there may have been differences, in regard to these beliefs, between elites and commoners. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524: {INFERRED PRESENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found that Tairona elites adopted moralizing beliefs. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems more likely that the Tairona also believed in moralizing deities or supernatural forces. However, it remains difficult to say whether there may have been differences, in regard to these beliefs, between elites and commoners. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later.

	We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**250-1049 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524 CE: {INFERRED ABSENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods or other supernatural forces directly targeted individuals when dispensing moralizing rewards or punishments. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Witte (2017: 151) describes the Kogi afterlife as follows: "Upon death, the human body itself becomes food for the same earth which had grown those trees, plants and crops, as nourished by the Kogi's confessions and payments". Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems more likely that the Tairona, like the Kogi, did not believe in moralistic punishment or reward in the afterlife. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**250-1524 CE: UNKNOWN** No data. **1050-1524 CE: {INFERRED PRESENT; UNKNOWN}** No direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods or other supernatural forces were thought to dispense moralistic punishment or reward in this life. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to behaviors and conduct including "collaboration,

	reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. Overall, then, if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems more likely that the Tairona also believed in a universe where supernatural beings or forces dispensed moralistic punishment and reward in this life. By contrast, other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**250-1524 CE: UNKNOWN** No data for the Nahua period (250 CE-1049 CE). For the Tairona period (1050 CE-1524 CE), no direct evidence could be found for the belief that the Tairona gods dispensed moralistic punishment or reward. According to some scholars (including Reichel Dolmatoff and Witte--see below), however, similarities between the material culture left behind by the Tairona and that of the modern-day Kogi indigenous people (Soto Holguín 1988) suggests that Kogi beliefs may provide clues regarding beliefs among the Tairona. Reichel Dolmatoff (1990: 12) describes the Universal Mother as demanding adherence to behaviors and conduct including "collaboration, reciprocity, honesty, and an utterly no-materialistic attitude towards life … Signs of 'disorder' such as hermaphroditism, left handedness, seven-month babies, twins, cause consternation and are attributed to the Mother Sun's displeasure with mankind's behavior". Witte (2017: 155), however, writes the Mother did not punish those who broke these procedures, but rather that, when these laws were broken, they caused a cosmic imbalance which could lead to natural disasters. In other words, Reichel Dolmatoff suggests that the Kogi gods dispensed moralistic punishment and reward, whereas Witte suggests that the mechanism for punishment, at least, was more impersonal. Overall, then, even if we assume cultural similarity between the Kogi and the Tairona, it seems like there is not enough data to tell whether the Tairona believed in a moralizing agentic entity or a moralizing impersonal force.

	Note, also, that other scholars argue that we cannot assume this cultural continuity as it is posited (e.g. Uribe 1992, Bocarejo 2001 and 2002, Giraldo 2020). These scholars observe that the polities now known as "Tairona" collapsed during the 16th century, and at most 3-4 thousand people survived by 1600 or so. Moreover, they point out that the indigenous people who survived were subjected to missionization, Spanish and then Colombian rule and interaction with non-indigenous populations. Therefore, they say, it is simply not possible to argue that their beliefs remain unchanged 500 years later. We have accordingly coded this variable to reflect this difference in opinion.

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Lowland Andes

Moral concern is primary	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Overall, Chicham cosmology is characterized by holistic interconnectedness (Descola 1996: 375). Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing enforcement is certain	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing norms are broad	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but

	supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms:

	"There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing religion adopted by commoners	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may

	punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**1534-1931 CE: ABSENT** Twentieth-century ethnographic summaries of Chicham cosmology describe an impersonal supernatural force present in all things, including powerful spirits (Beierle 2006). Ethnography describes the presence of avenging spirits that may punish those who do not fulfill their ritual obligations and elders with the power to curse others (Karsten 1935:252p; Harner 1973). These sources do not suggest a moralizing interpretation for these beliefs. Bennett (2020, pers. comm.) confirms: "There are spirits but they are more capricious than moralizing. Revenge is a key notion in Shuar society but even there, it feels more like setting things straight interpersonally rather than moralistic per se. Spirits help warriors gain power but supernatural punishment isn't a key idea. Sorcerers can inflict harm but it's viewed more as warfare than moral sanctioning per se." Christian missionaries only began to establish a significant presence among the Chicham in the 1890s (Meiser 2011: 496). In the 1970s, many Chicham still resisted conversion to Christianity (Descola 1996: 357).

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Basin of Mexico

Moralizing concern is primary	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014, Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). Indeed, sources such as the Florentine Codex, an ethnographic text compiled in the 16th century, describing beliefs among Aztecs that they "were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order" (Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Tetzcatlipoca in particular is noted for punishing moral transgressions as an offence against this cosmic order, and was able to "see into men's hearts" to root out offenders. Acts such as murder, theft, and sexual transgressions are mentioned in ethnographic sources as incurring Tetzcatlipoca's wrath, especially among rulers (*Florentine Codex* 6.10). Others, however, disagree with the interpretation that Mesoamerican gods had any sort of omniscience and argue that they were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Similarly, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Aztec beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Aztec believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct, while López Austin (1988, 338) argued that they believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. However, Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth. Christianity (which includes belief in MSCP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).

Moralizing enforcement is certain	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and in the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016 and 2018, Favrot Petersen 2019: 177). They point to evidence from Spanish ethnography, such as that produced by Durán, who writes that, as part of the Toxcatl festival, "wretches and sinners" (including those guilty of theft, murder, and sexual transgressions) were expected to make confession to Tezcatlipoca; those who did not show remorse or regret risked punishment from the god in the form of illness, poverty, or public outing of the crime and subsequent punishment. According to the Florentine Codex, Tezcatlipoca inflicted paralysis, blindness, or "rottenness" on those who committed sexual transgressions such as adultery and premarital sex. Moreover, López Austin (1988, 338) argues that the Aztecs believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. Others, however, disagree with the interpretation that Mesoamerican gods had any sort of omniscience and argue that they were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Similarly, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Mexica beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Mexica believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct. Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth. Christianity (which includes belief in certain MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing enforcement is broad	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]**

	Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and in the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). Indeed, sources such as the Florentine Codex, an ethnographic text compiled in the 16th century, describing beliefs among Aztecs that they "were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order" (Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Tetzcatlipoca in particular is noted for punishing moral transgressions as an offence against this cosmic order, and was able to "see into men's hearts" to root out offenders. Acts such as murder, theft, and sexual transgressions are mentioned in ethnographic sources as incurring Tetzcatlipoca's wrath, especially among rulers (*Florentine Codex* 6.10). Others, however, argue that Mesoamerican gods were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Similarly, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Mexica beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Mexica believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct, while López Austin (1988, 338) argued that they believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. However, Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth. Christianity (which includes belief in broad MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing enforcement is targeted	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later

	Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and in the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). Indeed, sources such as the Florentine Codex, an ethnographic text compiled in the 16th century, describing beliefs among Aztecs that they "were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order" (Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Tetzcatlipoca in particular is noted for punishing moral transgressions as an offence against this cosmic order, and was able to "see into men's hearts" to root out offenders. Acts such as murder, theft, and sexual transgressions are mentioned in ethnographic sources as incurring Tetzcatlipoca's wrath, especially among rulers (*Florentine Codex* 6.10). Others, however, argue that Mesoamerican gods were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Similarly, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Mexica beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Mexica believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct, while López Austin (1988, 338) argued that they believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. However, Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth. Christianity (which includes belief in targeted MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing enforcement of rulers	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and in the Toltec

	period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. In the Formative period, some scholars to point to archaeological evidence for public goods distribution and internal finance systems, relatively low inequality, and a lack of ostentatious royal burials as suggesting that principals were more constrained during this time than in previous eras (Carballo 2016 and 2018). Much later, in the Aztec period, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). They point to 16th century texts, some of which emphasise the moral obligations of rulers towards their people (Florentine Codex Book 10, Chapter 6; Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Others, however, argue that Mesoamerican gods were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Christianity (which includes MSP; ; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing religion adopted by elites	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and in the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. In the Formative period, some scholars to point to archaeological evidence for public goods distribution and internal finance systems, relatively low inequality, and a lack of ostentatious royal burials as suggesting that principals were more constrained during this time than in previous eras (Carballo 2016 and 2018). Much later, in the Aztec period, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). They point to 16th century texts, some of which include descriptions of nobles delivering public speeches in order to foster strong ethical values (Sousa 2019: 187).

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>Others, however, argue that Mesoamerican gods were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135).

Christianity (which includes MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, across all classes, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).</td></tr>
<tr><td>Moralizing religion adopted by commoners</td><td>6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN
Insufficient data.
400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]
Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period.

Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). Indeed, sources such as the Florentine Codex, an ethnographic text compiled in the 16th century, describing beliefs among Aztecs that they "were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order" (Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Tetzcatlipoca in particular is noted for punishing moral transgressions as an offence against this cosmic order, and was able to "see into men's hearts" to root out offenders. Acts such as murder, theft, and sexual transgressions are mentioned in ethnographic sources as incurring Tetzcatlipoca's wrath, especially among rulers (*Florentine Codex* 6.10).

Others, however, disagree with the interpretation that Aztec gods, including Tetzcatlipoca, had any sort of omniscience and argue that they were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Similarly, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Mexica beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Mexica believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct, while López Austin (1988, 338) argued that they believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. However, Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth.</td></tr>
</table>

	Either way, note that neither ethnohistoric accounts dating to the fifteenth century nor iconographic or archaeological data suggest significant class differences in terms of belief in MSP. However, this remains speculative, especially for earlier periods, in part also because of the cultural biases of the authors of said ethnohistoric accounts, who represented a colonial power. Christianity (which includes MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, across all classes, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing enforcement in afterlife	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period. With regards to this specific trait, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Mexica beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Mexica believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct, while López Austin (1988, 338) argued that they believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. However, Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth. Christianity (which includes belief in MSP in the afterlife; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing enforcement in this life	**6000 BCE-899 CE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **900 CE-1519 CE: [ABSENT; PRESENT]** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, although there is evidence that many core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural

	paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Carballo 2016 and 2018), the earliest possible evidence for belief in MSP in this life (i.e., iconographic depictions of the god Tezcatlipoca) date to the Toltec period (Wilkosz 2014), which is why our periodization for this trait differs from the one we use for other traits. Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). Indeed, sources such as the Florentine Codex, an ethnographic text compiled in the 16th century, describing beliefs among Aztecs that they "were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order" (Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Tetzcatlipoca in particular is noted for punishing moral transgressions as an offence against this cosmic order, and was able to "see into men's hearts" to root out offenders. Acts such as murder, theft, and sexual transgressions are mentioned in ethnographic sources as incurring Tetzcatlipoca's wrath, especially among rulers (*Florentine Codex* 6.10). According to Durán, as part of the Toxcatl festival, "wretches and sinners" (including those guilty of theft, murder, and sexual transgressions) were expected to make confession to Tezcatlipoca; those who did not show remorse or regret risked punishment from the god in the form of illness, poverty, or public outing of the crime and subsequent punishment (Wilkosz 2014) Others, however, disagree with the interpretation that Aztec gods, including Tetzcatlipoca, had any sort of omniscience and argue that they were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Christianity (which includes belief in MSP in this life; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).
Moralizing enforcement is agentic	**6000 BCE-401 BCE: UNKNOWN** Insufficient data. **400 BCE- 1519CE: PRESENT** Scholarly opinion differs on the extent to which supernatural powers from Teotihuacan through Aztec times were concerned with monitoring and enforcing moral behaviour among humans, which leads to our code expressing this disagreement. Further, there is evidence that certain core principles of later Aztec religion—including certain suites of deities depicted in mural paintings, elements of the layout of sacred architecture, and types of rituals of termination and dedication—had their origins in the pre-Teotihuacan cultures of the Formative period and were further elaborated at Teotihuacan and the Toltec period (McKeever Furst 1995, Headrick 2003, Wilkosz 2014 Carballo 2016 and 2018), which is why we code this disagreement for this entire period.

	Among the Aztecs, some scholars argue that certain powerful gods were chiefly concerned with maintaining cosmic order, which could be upset by moral transgressions on the part of humans (Carballo 2016, 2018). Indeed, sources such as the Florentine Codex, an ethnographic text compiled in the 16th century, describing beliefs among Aztecs that they "were admonished for bad conduct, but not because it showed disobedience to God or had consequences for the salvation of one's soul. Instead, their disorderly actions endangered the community's welfare and undermined the cosmic order" (Favrot Peterson 2019: 177). Tetzcatlipoca in particular is noted for punishing moral transgressions as an offence against this cosmic order, and was able to "see into men's hearts" to root out offenders. Acts such as murder, theft, and sexual transgressions are mentioned in ethnographic sources as incurring Tetzcatlipoca's wrath, especially among rulers (*Florentine Codex* 6.10). Others, however, disagree with the interpretation that Aztec gods, including Tetzcatlipoca, had any sort of omniscience and argue that they were fairly limited in their ability to intervene in human life, so were not effective moral punishers (Helmke and Nielsen 2017: 135). Similarly, sources appear to offer contradictory information regarding Mexica beliefs in the afterlife, such that León-Portilla (1982, 127) argued that the Mexica believed that one's fate in the afterlife was primarily determined by the nature of one's death, not one's moral conduct, while López Austin (1988, 338) argued that they believed both that the nature of one's death could be a punishment or reward for one's moral conduct, and that a person who had cultivated the virtues of valour, purity and devotion was more likely to find reward in the afterlife. However, Baquedano (2011) points to the ethnographic writings of Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún (1500-1590) as suggestive that both interpretations contain an element of truth. Christianity (which includes belief in agentic MSP; see Angenendt and Riches 2014) was imposed as the official ideology following Spanish conquest in 1521, after the period under consideration here (for early Christianity in the region, see Cline 1993).

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