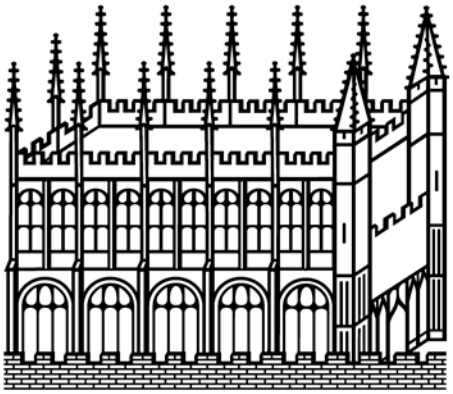

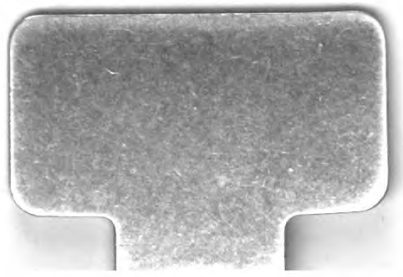

AN APPENDIX

TO THE

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY.

VOL. I.

BY

HERBERT SPENCER.

NOTE.

If not otherwise distributed, this Appendix, now increased by additional matter to thrice its original size, will be seen only by buyers of the third edition of *The Principles of Sociology*, Vol. I. Among such there will be comparatively few of those before whom I more especially wish to place further evidence, supporting the conclusions set forth in the first part of the work. Hence I have decided to print a quantity for private distribution. Copies are sent to the chief among those who are likely to be interested either in the general question discussed, or in some of the special questions associated with it.

H. S.

APPENDIX A.

FURTHER ILLUSTRATIONS OF PRIMITIVE THOUGHT.

[*To avoid over-burdening the text with illustrations—even now, perhaps, too numerous—I suppressed many that I might have added: some because they seemed superfluous; some because they were too long. Partly to give the more striking of these, I make this Appendix; but chiefly to add evidence which has since come to light, verifying certain of the conclusions not adequately supported.*

The foregoing paragraph stands as it did in the first edition. I have now to add that in this revised third edition, I have largely increased this Appendix by including many further illustrations which reading and inquiry have brought to my knowledge. Joined with those before given, these additional illustrations, as now arranged, form so coherent a body of evidence, that even by themselves they would go far to establish the general doctrine set forth in the preceding volume.]

Primitive Credulity.—In the genesis of superstitions, a factor difficult to appreciate sufficiently, is the unquestioning faith with which statements are accepted. Here are some cases.

Of the Coast Negroes, Winterbottom says (vol. i, p. 255)—

"So strongly are they persuaded of the efficacy of these means of protection [amulets, etc.], that an African, a man of very superior mind, offered to allow a friend of mine, whose accuracy he had just been praising, to fire at him with a pistol, charged with ball."

Laird and Oldfield tell us of the Inland Negroes (vol. ii, pp. 10, 11), that a Nuffi woman—

"imagined that she possessed a *maghony* (charm), which rendered her invulnerable to all edge tools and cutting instruments. So positive and convinced was she of the efficacy of her charm, that she voluntarily assented to hold her leg while some person should strike it with an axe. The king (or chief) of her town, on hearing this, determined to try the power of her charm, and desired a man to take an axe, and see whether this wonderful *maghony* would protect her from its effects. . . . Her leg was laid upon a block, and a powerful blow given below the knee. . . . To the poor woman's great horror and the terror of all present, her leg flew to the other side of the room."

To this absolute confidence in dogmas impressed by seniors during early life, must be ascribed the readiness with which

attendants, wives, and even friends, kill themselves at a funeral that they may join the deceased in the other world. The instance named by Bancroft (vol. i, p. 288) of the Walla Walla chieftain who "caused himself to be buried alive in the grave with the last of his five sons," reminding us of the Fijians and Tannese who go cheerfully to their voluntary deaths, vividly illustrates this trait which makes monstrous creeds possible.

No evidence shakes such beliefs. Disproofs are evaded by asserting beliefs equally absurd. Speaking of a distant stump mistaken for a man, an Australian said to Mr. Cameron—"That fellow was a gumatch [ghost], only when you came up he made himself like a stump" (*Anthropol. Inst. Jour.*, vol. xiv, p. 363).

Natural Illusions.—In § 53, I argued that these probably aid in strengthening those conceptions of things which the primitive man forms. How they thus play a part is shown in Vámbéry's *Sketches of Central Asia*, pp. 72, 73:—

"As we were crossing the high plateau of Kaflan Kir, which forms part of Ustyort, running towards the north-east, the horizon was often adorned with the most beautiful Fata Morgana. This phenomenon is undoubtedly to be seen in the greatest perfection in the hot, but dry, atmosphere of the deserts of Central Asia, and affords the most splendid optical illusions which one can imagine. I was always enchanted with these pictures of cities, towers, and castles dancing in the air, of vast caravans, horsemen engaged in combat, and individual gigantic forms which continually disappeared from one place to reappear in another. As for my nomad companions, they regarded the neighbourhoods where these phenomena are observed with no little awe. According to their opinion these are ghosts of men and cities which formerly existed there, and now at certain times roll about in the air."

This account recalls the descriptions given by the uncultured among ourselves of the northern aurora: similarly showing, as it does, that an excited imagination gives definiteness to indefinite forms; for it does not seem possible that in the remote regions indicated by Vámbéry, there can have been any such thing as a Fata Morgana derived from an actual city. Among ourselves, especially in troubled times, unusual displays of the Aurora Borealis are described by superstitious people as the conflicts of armies in the heavens.

Not only has hypothesis an effect conspicuous to all in perverting judgment, but it has an effect, less manifest but still decided, in perverting perception. Elsewhere I have given examples of this effect (*Essays*, first series, original edition, p. 412), and doubtless they have been observed by many. If hypothesis thus perturbs perception during states of mental calm, still more does it perturb it during states of mental excitement—especially those produced by fear. The faintest suggestion proceeding either from within or from without, then imposes

itself so strongly on the mind that true perception becomes scarcely possible. It needs but to remember that recognition of a thing as such or such, is a mental act in which imagination always plays a large part, by adding to the mere visual impressions those many ideas which constitute a conception of the thing giving the impressions, to see that when, in a state of fright, imagination is put on a wrong track, association readily furnishes all those attributes which are needful to fill up the framework which the appearance yields; and consciousness once filled with the alarming conception, can with difficulty be brought back to that relatively passive state required for receiving the actual impressions, and rightly interpreting them.

Hence where there exists that primitive credulity exemplified above, the rectifying of a perception thus distorted by imagination cannot be expected. Minds having those traits set forth in the chapter entitled "The Primitive Man, Intellectual"—minds which have had no culture giving them tendencies towards criticism and scepticism—minds which have no notion of a natural order, of law, of cause; are minds which can make no resistance to any suggested idea or interpretation. There is no organized experience to produce hesitation. There is no doubt taking the shape—"This cannot be," or—"That is impossible." Consequently, a fancy once having got possession, retains possession, and becomes an accepted fact. If we always carry with us the remembrance of this attitude of mind, we shall see how apparently reasonable to savages are explanations of things which they make.

Some Early Interpretations.—If we set out with the truth that the laws of mind are the same throughout the animal kingdom, we shall see that from the behaviour of animals in presence of unfamiliar phenomena, we may obtain some clue to the interpretations which primitive men make of such phenomena. A brute, even of great power and courage, betrays alarm in presence of a moving object the like of which it has never seen before. The assertion that a tiger has been known to show fear of a mouse in his cage, is made more credible than it would else be by watching a dog when there is placed before him some such creature as a small crab. Dread of the unknown appears to be a universal emotion—even when the unknown is not at all portentous in character.

Stranger and enemy are almost synonymous in the minds of brutes and of primitive men. By inherited effects of experiences the connexion of ideas has been made organic; as an infant in arms shows us when an unfamiliar face makes it cry, though in its own life no evil has ever followed the sight of an unfamiliar face. While "familiarity breeds contempt" even of

the vast or of the powerful, unusualness breeds fear even of that which is relatively small or feeble.

On the one hand, then, a periodic event which is intrinsically very imposing, excites but little attention if no mischief has ever been joined with it; while, on the other hand, an event not intrinsically imposing, if it has never before been witnessed, and especially if it seems to show the spontaneity indicative of life, arouses a sense of insecurity. As was shown in Chapter IX of Part I, it is by the spontaneity of their acts that living objects are conspicuously distinguished from dead objects; and hence this trait becomes the sign of an ability to do various things besides that which is witnessed—to do, therefore, something which may prove injurious or fatal.

Carrying with us this conception of the attitude common to animal intelligence and uninstructed human intelligence, we shall see why certain regularly recurring phenomena of an astonishing kind, such as the daily appearance and disappearance of the Sun, excite in the primitive man neither surprise nor speculation; at the same time that a phenomenon which unexpectedly breaks the ordinary course of things by a sound or motion, produces dismay, followed by some vague suggestion of an agent: the agent thought of being one having some likeness to agents disclosed by past experiences. Hence the tendency to ascribe any irregularly recurring phenomenon to a living creature (the actions of living creatures being irregular), and, primarily, to a living creature differing in the least degree possible from living creatures of known kinds. Observe some samples of these early interpretations. Of a place in the Chippeway country, Catlin says—

"Near this spot, also, on a high mound, is the '*Thunder's nest*' (*nid-du-tonnere*), where 'a very small bird sits upon her eggs during fair weather, and the skies are rent with bolts of thunder at the approach of a storm, which is occasioned by the hatching of her brood!'" (Geo. Catlin, *Illustrations, etc., of the North American Indians*, vol. ii, p. 164.)

Of an allied race, the Ojibways, we read:—

"No one seemed fortunate enough to discover the resort of these great birds, which were called *Ah-ne-me-keeg* (Thunders)." . . . "These birds are seldom seen, but are often heard in the skies, where they fly higher than they once did. . . . They wink, and the fire flashes from their eyes." (G. Copway, *The Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation*, pp. 110, 113.)

So, too, concerning the Western Indians of North America, Mr. H. A. Boller tells us that his companion, "the Bob-tail-Wolf"—

"said that there was, high in air, far out of sight, flying continually and never resting, an eagle of terrible size. . . . He flaps his wings, and loud peals of thunder roll over the prairie; when he winks his eyes, it lightens." (*Among the Indians*, p. 257.)

By a distant unallied people, the Karens, the cause of storms is said to be an animal "with bat-like wings." "When it utters its voice, it thunders, and when it flaps its wings, fire is produced, and it lightens." (Mason, *Jour. Asiatic Socy. Bengal*, xxxiv, Part 2, p. 217.)

Now a thunderstorm being one of those incidents characterized by an apparent spontaneity suggestive of living agency, the question which naturally arises is—"What is the living agent?" The sky is the region in which this sudden action is witnessed. The living agent is therefore inferred to be some creature which frequents the sky—a flying creature, bird-like or bat-like. Here let us note two things. First there is formed in the mind a simple association between this incident which by its character suggests living agency, and a living agent such as is commonly seen in the neighbourhood of its occurrence. Second, the conceived agent is not of the kind we call supernatural—does not belong to a supposed spiritual world; but is a purely natural agent. And the obvious course of thought is one that brings the actions observed into the same category with the actions of the living creatures supposed to be instrumental: wind being ascribed to the flapping of wings, sound to this cause or to a voice, and lightning to the flashing of eyes.

In a different though allied class, stand the interpretations of eclipses. Among uncultured peoples, animals are generally the assigned agents; and though they are not flying animals, yet they are animals supposed to be in the heavens. Remembering that various savages, as instance the Esquimaux, believe beasts as well as men have access to the sky from the mountain-tops—remembering the Cahroc story given in § 189, of the coyote who thus got among the stars; we may see how it happens that when imagining some living agent which produces this sudden change in the Sun by taking out a piece from his side, savages should think of a beast as the cause. Naturally enough "the Esthonians say the sun or moon 'is being eaten'" (Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, vol. ii, p. 707); since the being eaten accounts alike for the gradual disappearance, and for the sharp outline of the increasing gap made. We find kindred interpretations in many places. By the Guaranis "eclipses were held to be occasioned by a jaguar and a great dog, who pursued the sun and moon to devour them" (Southey, *History of Brazil*, vol. ii, pp. 371–2). The Norse mythology tells of "Mânagarmr (moon-dog);" and on the occasion of an eclipse the Norse "fancied the monster had already got a part of the shining orb between his jaws" (Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, vol. ii, p. 706). We read of the remote Chiquitos of South America, that "during an eclipse [of the moon] they shoot arrows upward, and cry aloud to drive away the dogs, who, they believe, hunt her through

heaven; and when they overtake her, the darkness of the orb is caused by the blood which runs from her wounds" (Southey, *History of Brazil*, vol. i, p. 335). Evidently, then, this explanation arises naturally in primitive minds. The kindred, and yet different, explanation of the Nootka-Sound people, who, on the occasion of an eclipse "pointed to the moon, and said that a great cod-fish was endeavouring to swallow her" (Jewitt, *Narrative of Captivity among the Savages of Nootka Sound*, p. 165), and the similar belief current among the Arabs, that a huge fish pursues the planet which is eclipsed (Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, p. 106), may possibly result from the conception of waters above the firmament in which great fish reside. But, in any case, we see in these interpretations, as in those of thunderstorms, that there is as near an assimilation as may be to the natural actions of natural agents. There is neither any thought of a deity as the cause, nor of anything to be classed as spiritual power.

Take next the interpretations given in different places of earthquakes. Kæmpfer says the Japanese "are of opinion, that the cause of earthquakes is a huge whale's creeping underground" (*History of Japan*, *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. vii, pp. 684–5). Now whether or not it is true that, as Dr. Tylor suggests, the finding of large fossil bones, implying the occasional presence of great animals underground, led to this interpretation, and similarly in Siberia, led to the interpretation of earthquakes as due to motions of underground mammoths—creatures whose bones, and even undecayed bodies, are found imbedded in ice below the surface; it is clear that the same mode of thought is exhibited. This sudden and seemingly-spontaneous motion of the Earth is ascribed to an agent of the class which habitually exhibits sudden spontaneous motions—an animal. And the question—What animal? being raised, the conclusion is that it must be an animal which exists down below. Explanations elsewhere given betray like trains of ideas. Bancroft says "the Southern Californians believed that when the Creator made the world he fixed it on the back of seven giants, whose movements . . . caused earthquakes" (*Native Races of the Pacific States*, vol. iii, p. 122). As given by John Bell, a conception of the Lamas was that the Earth rests on a golden frog; "and whenever this prodigious frog had occasion to scratch its head, or stretch out its foot, that part of the earth immediately above was shaken" (*A Journey from St. Petersburgh to Pekin in the year* 1719. *Pinkerton's Voyages*, vol. vii, p. 369). So, too, by the Norse belief that earthquakes are caused "by the struggles of chained Loki" (Grimm, *Teutonic Myth.*, vol. ii, p. 816); as well as by the Fijian belief that when Dengeh "turns about or trembles in his cave the

earth shakes and quakes exceedingly" (*Lolóma, or Two Years in Cannibal-land*, by H. Britton, p. 195–6); we are shown that the hypothesis is of the naturalistic class rather than of the supernaturalistic class. The effect is ascribed to a living agent conceived as existing where the effect is produced, and operating after the same mechanical manner with known living agents. The only case I have met with in which agency of this kind is not assigned, serves still better to show that the phenomenon is classed with known natural phenomena. Concerning the Esquimaux interpretation of earthquakes, Crantz says—"they imagine that the globe of the earth rests upon pillars, which are now mouldering away by age, so that they frequently crack" (*History of Greenland*, i, 211).

From earthquakes we may pass to volcanic eruptions without finding any wider divergence from this form of explanation than is to be expected from the nature of the appearances. Two low races, remote in habitat and type, yield illustrations. In North America "the Koniagas, for example, held that the craters of Alaska were inhabited by beings mightier than men, and that these sent forth fire and smoke when they heated their sweat-houses, or cooked their food" (Bancroft, *Native Races, etc.*, vol. iii, p. 122). And among the aborigines of Western Australia, it is a tradition that "'once on a time, the In-gnas, who live underground, being very sulky, to spite the poor black fellows, who seem to have the good-will of no one, made great fires and threw up red-hot stones, fire, etc., and thus burned the whole of that country'" (*The Aborigines of Australia.* A. Oldfield, in *Tr. Eth. Socy.*, N.S., vol. iii, p. 232). The only noteworthy unlikeness here, is that beings of the human type are assumed: probably for the reason that they are the only known kinds of beings who can produce fire or make use of it.

For collecting together these interpretations of thunderstorms, eclipses, earthquakes, and eruptions, my motive has been to show that in primitive thought, events which are of irregular occurrence, and by this, as well as by their apparent spontaneity, suggest living agents, are ascribed to living agents deviating as little from ordinary ones as may be; and are devoid of anything like religious idea or sentiment. The beliefs held concerning these events yield no signs of that Nature-worship supposed to be innate in the uncivilized; though the portentousness of the events might be expected to arouse it, did it exist. Nor do they betray the conception of one or many invisible powers of the kind called supernatural among advanced peoples. Though we carelessly group together all absurd ideas of savages under the general name of superstitions, yet, as we here see, there is a significant distinction between these which show no

recognition of alleged spiritual beings and those in which such recognition is shown. But now, how does there result transition from the one to the other? Some interpretations of intermediate kinds will prepare the way for an answer.

The ancient Peruvians fancied Thunder "to bee a man in heaven, with a sling and a mace, and that it is in his power to cause raine, haile, thunder" (*Jos. de Acosta*, vol. ii, p. 304). In Samoa "the chiefs were supposed to go to the heavens and send down lightning, thunder, and rain" (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 277). And describing the beliefs of the Veddahs (whose gods are the ghosts of relatives), Bailey writes:—"Of thunder they say 'a spirit or a god has cried out'" (*Trans. Eth. Socy. Lon.*, N.S., ii, p. 302, and note §). In these cases, then, the living agent conceived is a man who either retains in the heavens his original character, or is in some way transfigured. Concerning eclipses we read that "the Tlascaltecs, regarding the sun and the moon as husband and wife, believed eclipses to be domestic quarrels" (Bancroft, *Native Races, etc.*, vol. iii, p. 111). Marsden says of the Sumatrans, that "during an eclipse they made a loud noise with sounding instruments, to prevent one luminary from devouring the other" (*History of Sumatra*, p. 194). And then among the Polynesians, "some imagined that on an eclipse, the sun and moon were swallowed by the god which they had by neglect offended. Liberal presents were offered, which were supposed to induce the god to abate his anger, and eject the luminaries of day and night from his stomach" (Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, 1859, vol. i, pp. 331–2).

Here then, while the appearances are explained as caused by unknown living beings acting in ways allied to those of known living beings, we have, in the introduction here of a transfigured man, and there of a god, as instrumental, a recourse to explanations no longer of the purely natural kind.

Whence comes this new order of supposed beings? How does there arise in men's minds the idea of a species of animate power unlike the animate powers they see around them in beasts and men? What originates the conception of this supernatural agency which, once adopted, develops so largely as nearly to exclude all other agency? There is a simple answer. By transition from the dream to the ghost, and from the ghost to the god, there is reached a conceived kind of cause capable of indefinite expansion and admitting of all adjustments; and hence serving for explanations of every kind.

Confusion of Dreams with Realities during Childhood.—Occasionally we hear it remarked of dreams that their seeming actuality affected the feelings for some time after awaking: an

impression like that, say, of escape from real danger, continuing after recognition of the fact that the danger was ideal. The tendency of an extremely vivid dream thus to generate an emotion such as accompanies reality, is one factor in producing belief in its reality. I have lately met with striking proofs of this. In a company of less than a dozen persons, three testified to having in childhood had such vivid dreams of flying down stairs, and being impressed so strongly with the experiences as real, that they actually tried to fly down stairs; and one of them suffered from an injured ankle consequent on the attempt.

On writing subsequently to the lady in whose family these statements were made, to verify my recollections of them, she gave me a story which one of her daughters had subsequently narrated, showing how literally this daughter had accepted her visions in childhood. Brought up amid much talk about animals, she, on one occasion, dreamed that a gorilla, who lived near at hand, gave her something; and, she added—"When I walked up the lane, I used to wonder where the gorilla lived."

Now if dream-experiences and waking experiences are thus confounded by the children of the civilized, notwithstanding the discriminations which they have heard made by adults, and notwithstanding the conception that has been given to them of mind as an indwelling entity distinct from body; it is obvious that primitive men, lacking this theory of mind, lacking words in which to express many perceivable distinctions, and lacking, too, instruction from the more cultivated, will inevitably confuse dream-thoughts and the thoughts of the waking state. Hence on reading of savages, as for instance the Kamschadales, that the ideas of sleeping and waking life are apt to be confounded by them, we shall see that, so far from being anomalous, a confounding of them to a greater or less extent is at first inevitable.

Especially shall we see no difficulty in recognizing the interpretations of primitive conceptions thus yielded, when we remember that even still, in some of the educated among ourselves, there survives a belief in the reality of beings seen in dreams; and that at the present moment there exists a group of highly-cultivated men having for one of their objects to collect the narratives of supernatural visitations during sleep.

Dreams as literally accepted by Savages.—Already in §§ 70, 71, I have variously illustrated the truth that adults among savages, like many children among ourselves, regard as real the adventures gone through, and persons seen, in dreams. The Zulus furnished sundry instances, which will be recalled by this additional one:—

"Why did not our ancestral spirits tell me in a dream that there was

something which they wanted, instead of revealing themselves by coming to kill the child in this way?" (Bp. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, pp. 371-2.)

And I may add another somewhat different in kind furnished by the mythology of the Mangaians. They say that "Vātea, the father of gods and men . . . in his dreams several times saw a beautiful woman. On one happy occasion he succeeded in clutching her in his sleep, and thus detained the fair sprite as his wife" (W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs*, &c., pp. 3, 7). But among the most specific and instructive facts exhibiting these primitive conceptions, are those recently given by Mr. Everard F. Im Thurn, concerning the Indians of British Guiana. I quote from the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xi :—

"One morning when it was important to get away from a camp on the Essequibo River, at which I had been detained for some days by the illness of some of my Indian companions, I found that one of the invalids, a young Macusi Indian, though better in health, was so enraged against me that he refused to stir; for he declared that, with great want of consideration for his weak health, I had taken him out during the night, and had made him drag the canoe up a series of difficult cataracts. Nothing would persuade him of the fact that this was but a dream." (p. 364.)

"At that time we were all suffering from a great scarcity of food. . . . . Morning after morning the Indians declared that some absent man, whom they named, had visited their hammocks during the night, and had beaten or otherwise maltreated them; and they always insisted upon much rubbing of the supposed bruised parts of their bodies." (p. 364.)

"In the middle of one night I was awakened by an Arawak, named Sam, the captain or headman of my Indians, only to be told the bewildering words, 'George speak me very bad, boss; you cut his bits.' It was some time before I could sufficiently collect my senses to remember that 'bits,' or fourpenny pieces, are the units in which, among Creoles and semi-civilized Indians, calculations of money, and consequently of wages, are made; that 'to cut bits' means to reduce the number of bits, or the wages given; and to understand that Sam, as captain, having dreamed that George, his subordinate, had spoken impudently to him, the former with a fine sense of the dignity of his position, now insisted that the culprit should be punished in real life." (pp. 364-5.)

Experiences of this kind led Mr. Im Thurn to the conclusion expressed in another paragraph, that "the dreams which come in sleep to the Indian are to him as real as any of the events of his waking life." (p. 364.)

Waking Visions.—In illustration of these, and the acceptance of them as real by the Guiana Indians, Mr. Im Thurn writes, in the above-named paper in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, as follows :—

"One morning in 1878, when I was living in a Macusi village, a party of Indians of the same tribe with whom I had had some dealings, came from their neighbouring village with the extraordinary request that I would lend them guns and would go with them to attack the Arecuna Indians of a village some twenty miles distant. Though there is an unusually strong

feeling of hostility between the Macusi and the Arecuna Indians, this request, remembering how peaceful the Indians now generally are, seemed to me very strange. It was explained that a certain man, named Tori, one of the suppliants, had a day or two previously been sitting alone on the savannah outside his house, when looking up from the arrow-head which he was fashioning, he found some Arecunas, whom he knew by sight, belonging to the village against which war was now to be waged, standing over him with uplifted war-clubs as if to strike him down. Tori continued to explain that his shouts bringing his own people out of their houses, the Arecunas vanished without doing any harm. The story was utterly incredible, but after much cross-examination, it was evident that Tori himself believed it, and I can only suppose that it was a case in which a natural vision was believed as a reality." (p. 366.)

Respecting phenomena of this kind Mr. Im Thurn says of the Indian that "visions are to him, when awake, what dreams are to him when asleep; and the creatures of his visions seem in no way different from those of his dreams." (p. 365.) And he then contrasts visions of two kinds:—

"A distinction may here be drawn . . . between natural visions—those which appear to a man in consequence of the abnormal condition in which his body accidentally happens to be at the moment—and artificial visions, which appear to a man in consequence of the abnormal condition into which he has brought himself by such means as fasting and the use of stimulants or narcotics for the express purpose of experiencing visions." (p. 365.)

These last, which he distinguishes as artificial visions, he remarks are "much more frequent in Indian life, especially in one particular connection—the *peaiman*, or medicine man, the priest, doctor, sorcerer, and prophet of Indian society." (p. 366.)

Waking Visions among the Civilized.—How naturally savages, accepting as real their visions during sleep, may be misled by waking visions, will be made clear by reading accounts of illusions which occur during abnormal nervous excitements among ourselves. In support of the interpretations given in the first part of this work, I received, in 1877, an account of his experiences from Mr. F. G. Fleay, the Shakspearean scholar. He kindly allows me to publish them; which I do after making some abridgments:—

"About 1844, when 13 years old, after a lengthened experience of somnambulism and sleep talking, induced by nervous excitement caused by injudicious legends told me by a nurse in order to secure silence through fright as to her connexion with a policeman, I read a vast amount of ghost-literature, old witch-trials, German tales of horror, etc. This produced an exalted nervous excitement, whence disease of optic nerves. The first illusion was seeing my bedroom filled with stars at night, and the floor covered with oyster-shells in the morning. I always went to bed without candle in order to get rid of a fear of the dark. This was followed by a number of more complex illusions, the most remarkable of which was a shower of human heads passing in through the window in a cascade.

"About 1845, I woke up at midnight, and saw my brother (then living) lying on the bed. I attempted to take hold of him, but my arm passed through him. His subsequent death convinced me that this was no illusion,

but that he had actually visited me in his sleep. I mean that his 'soul' had been with me. . . . My belief, previously pure materialistic (2nd stage, 1st being pagan) became a sort of spiritualistic Christianity.

"In 1851–2, when an undergraduate, I woke up one morning, and on opening my eyes (not having been dreaming of the thing), I saw Raphael's Madonna 'in the chair' on the ceiling in full colours. I had often seen engravings of this picture, but no coloured copy as I supposed. I thereupon noted the colours carefully, and was surprised on enquiry to find them accurate. By chance, some weeks after, I was told of Baxter's oleograph, and found that I had passed one in a shop-window in Trinity Street, Cambridge, the night before my vision.

"In 1854, I had been playing whist late. Mr. W—— had lost a few shillings, perhaps five. I woke up in the night, and saw him standing in his nightshirt demanding compensation audibly, and stating that he had committed suicide. He put his cold hand on my chest, then I tried to move it, and found it my own, which had become numb and cold from being exposed. There is a case of 'ghosts demanding revenge.' Had he really been a great loser and I a gainer, he might have killed himself, and a strong case for actual appearance have been made out.

"In 1853–4, I had my most singular experiences. Over-reading for triposes (I got two firsts and two seconds) caused independent action of the two halves of the brain, and I held conversation with myself, one-half of me assuming the personality of John Gedge of my year.

"About 1856, I was staying in Bloomsbury Street. . . . The house had been used as a lunatic asylum. I slept in the room formerly used for lunatics. I saw at 1 a.m. a man cutting his throat at the bed-foot. On rising up he vanished, lying down he reappeared. I drank water, he disappeared altogether. I found that moonlight on white drapery of the bed exactly represented a shirt-sleeve—the rest of the figure was produced by association.

"About 1859, I dreamed at Leeds that I was in my father's kitchen at Clapham, calling out to my brother, 'Gus, come down.' A few days after, I had a letter from him stating that he had a singular dream that I was calling out to him on the same night, or the night after; he had made no note, and could not tell which when I saw him. But the dates of the letters left no doubt it was same night. Case of singular coincidence which would suggest theory of actual separation of soul from body, cases of non-coincidence being explained by forgetfulness, or Swedenborgian self-evolvement of scenery.

"About 1855, I dreamed that I had received a letter containing some important statement about me, I did not know what (compare De Quincey, Opium), on which all my future depended. The delusion lasted all the next day, which I spent in looking for the imaginary letter. Case of over-smoking. *Use of stimulants* (wrongly called narcotics) *a most important factor in later development of superstitions.*

"Later, before 1864.—Sleeping at Mr. Henry Wallis' (Death of Chatterton Wallis): in semi-waking state could produce at will panorama of towns, historical events, &c., in full colour. But the figures had no motion, only the canvas so to say moved as in a diorama. Smoking again with artists till 2 a.m., and talking of pictures.

"In 1871, at Hipperholme.—My predecessor committed suicide in the room I slept in, by hanging. I saw him in cap and gown lying on my bed at midday. Found it was my own gown; cap, head, &c., supplied by association. This was my last experience."

The part which mere coincidence plays in causing apparent supernatural agency is far greater than is supposed. The instance given above by Mr. Fleay, which he thus accounts for,

is less remarkable than two perfectly natural coincidences, and quite meaningless ones, which have occurred within my own personal experience.

Wandering of the Soul during Life.—Such illusions as those above described, which, among cultured peoples, are now regarded as subjective, are naturally, by the primitive man, regarded as objective: his interpretation of them being that they are things seen and done by his soul when it leaves his body while he is awake. Says Mr. Im Thurn respecting such illusions among the Guiana Indians—"Not only in death and in dreams, but in yet a third way the Indian sees the spirit separate from the body." (p. 365.) The following extracts show among other peoples, partially-different forms of this primitive belief:—

"At Uea, one of the Loyalty Islands, it was the custom formerly when a person was very ill to send for a man whose employment it was '*to restore souls to forsaken bodies.*' The soul-doctor would at once collect his friends and assistants, to the number of twenty men and as many women, and start off to the place where the family of the sick man was accustomed to bury their dead. Upon arriving there, the soul-doctor and his male companions commenced playing the *nasal* flutes with which they had come provided, in order to entice back the spirit to its old tenement. The women assisted by a low whistling, supposed to be irresistibly attractive to exile spirits. After a time the entire procession proceeded towards the dwelling of the sick person, flutes playing and the women whistling all the time, *leading back the truant spirit!* To prevent its possible escape, with their palms open, they seemingly drove it along with gentle violence and coaxing. . . . On entering the dwelling of the patient, the vagrant spirit was ordered in loud tones at once to enter the body of the sick man." (Gill, Rev. W. W., *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 171–2.)

Among the Hervey Islanders—

"The philosophy of sneezing is, that the spirit having gone travelling about—perchance on a visit to the homes or burying-places of its ancestors—its return to the body is naturally attended with some difficulty and excitement, occasioning a tingling and enlivening sensation all over the body. Hence the various customary remarks addressed to the returned spirit in different islands. At Rarotonga, when a person sneezes, the bystanders exclaim, as though addressing a spirit . . . 'Ha! you have come back.'" (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 177.)

The belief held by the Karens is that—

"The 'Wi' has the power of reviving the dead or dying, but he must first catch the spirit of some person alive and divert it to the dead one." (Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 117.)

By the Samoans—

"The soul of man is called his angānga, or that which goes or comes. It is said to be the daughter of Taufanuu, or *vapour of lands*, which forms clouds, and as the dark cloudy covering of night comes on, man feels sleepy, because the soul wishes to go and visit its mother." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 8.)

Concerning the Andamanese we read:—

"When appealed to in serious illness the *ôko-paiad* [*lit.* a dreamer] first

examines the patient and presses the limbs, muttering and making sundry strange noises as if invoking and kissing some invisible person; he then informs the sufferer and his friends that he is about to search for the spirit which, at such times, is believed to be wandering in or towards . . . Hades." (E. H. Man, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi, 289).

Death and Re-Animation.—Placed in the foregoing order, the extracts show the natural transition from the belief that the soul wanders away in dreams and during waking hours, to the belief that at death it takes its departure for a longer period, but will eventually come back. In his account of the Guiana Indians, Mr. Im Thurn recognizes this connexion of ideas. He says—

"When a man dies something goes, something is left. The survivors necessarily distinguish in thought between these two parts, and they call them respectively by some such names as spirit and body. A curious illustration of this is afforded by a saying of the Macusi Indians of Guiana, as they point out that at death the small human figure disappears from the pupil of a man's eye, that the spirit, the *emmawarri*, as they call it, has gone from out of him. . . . But it is not only in death that the Indian sees the two separate. It is a platitude among civilized people to remark on the similarity between 'death and his brother sleep.' But great as the similarity is to us it seems far greater to the Indian. To us the similarity lies merely in the fact that in both there is rest from the work of this life: but to the Indian it lies in the fact that in both the spirit departs from the body only to continue its labours under hardly altered circumstances." (pp. 363–4.)

How little the state after death is supposed to differ from the state during life, is shown by the extent to which bodily comforts are cared for. Many instances were given in Part I, and here are some further instructive ones. In his elaborate work on the Australians, Mr. Brough Smyth quotes Senior Constable James concerning the Dieyerie tribe, as follows:—

"Every night for one moon (four weeks) two old men went to the grave about dusk, and carefully swept all round it; each morning, for the same period, they visited it, to see if there were any tracks of the dead man on the swept space. They told me that if they were to find tracks they would have to remove the body and bury it elsewhere, as the foot-marks would denote that the dead man was 'walking' and discontented with his present grave." (*Aborigines of Victoria*, i, 119.)

Mr. Smyth precedes this by another case. He gives it on the authority of Mr. W. H. Wright to the effect that a native having been buried with the usual implements and comforts, his friends came back to the spot after "a great storm of wind and rain" and dug up "that poor fellow 'Georgey,'" because he "was too much cold and wet and miserable where he was buried." They exhumed the body, "wrapped an additional blanket and comforter round it," and "placed it in a hollow tree." (*Ibid.*, i, 108.)

Similar ideas are implied by certain customs in Humphrey's Island, as described by Turner.

"At the grave the priest prayed, called out the name of the person who

had died, handed over to the corpse some scented oil, and said it had been made specially for him. In filling up the grave they put in first of all a quantity of small coral stones and told the dead man to cover himself well." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 277.)

Among the Coreans, too, there is an observance betraying a like belief that the dead retain their senses and desires.

"During this first mourning, a serving person takes a garment, formerly worn by the deceased, and goes with it to the highest point on the top of the house, where—holding the garment, the neck in his left hand, the hem in his right, and looking northwards, whither the spirits (*Yin*) flee—he thrice calls loudly the name of the deceased. . . . This is the last effort to bring back the spirit to the body." (Rev. John Ross, *History of Corea*, p. 321.)

And similar in their implications are sundry of the other funeral ceremonies, which Ross describes thus:—

"At the ordinary hours of the day at which he used to take his food, dishes are prepared and offered, and then wailing and weeping follow." (p. 318.) Food and precious stones are put into the deceased's mouth. (pp. 324–5.) The mourners bow twice and mourn; and then the things are removed. "During the removal, the Shangjoo, [principal mourner] leaning on his staff, weeps bitterly because his father cannot eat." (p. 332.)

With these may fitly be named the observances by which the ancient Scythians betrayed a kindred conception.

"When any one dies, his nearest of kin lay him upon a wagon and take him round to all his friends in succession: each receives them in turn and entertains them with a banquet, whereat the dead man is served with a portion of all that is set before the others; this is done for forty days, at the end of which time the burial takes place." (Herodotus, Bk. iv, 73.)

Reviving Corpses.—Of course as a sequence of the belief that death is a suspended animation, there naturally goes the belief that buried persons are from time to time resuscitated. The Eyrbyggja-Saga shows that among our Scandinavian kinsmen there prevailed the primitive notion that the material body, reanimated by its wandering double, can leave its burial-place and work mischief. Here is a note appended to the abstract of the Saga compiled by Sir W. Scott. (Mallet, *Northern Antiquities*, 1847, pp. 530–1.)

"After the death of Arnkill, Bægifot became again troublesome, and walked forth from his tomb to the great terror and damage of the neighbourhood, slaying both herds and domestics, and driving the inhabitants from the canton. It was, therefore, resolved to consume his carcase with fire; for . . . he, or some evil demon in his stead, made use of his mortal reliques as a vehicle during commission of these enormities. The body" was burnt.

Noting the implied belief, like that which we have found prevalent among the savage and semi-civilized, that destruction of the body prevents this kind of resurrection, we may also note the implied belief, illustrated in other cases, that one who gets part of a dead body thereby gets power over the deceased person; for if destruction of the whole paralyzes the ghost entirely, injury of a part must be detrimental to the ghost.

The Vampire-stories of the Russians illustrate the same belief in excursions made by the corpse. Here is one :—

"A peasant was driving past a grave-yard, after it had grown dark. After him came running a stranger, dressed in a red shirt and a new jacket, who cried,—'Stop! take me as your companion.' 'Pray take a seat.' They enter a village, drive up to this and that house. . . . They drive on to the very last house. . . . They go into the house; there on the bench lie two sleepers —an old man and a lad. The stranger takes a pail, places it near the youth, and strikes him on the back; immediately the back opens, and forth flows rosy blood. The stranger fills the pail full, and drinks it dry. Then he fills another pail with blood from the old man, slakes his brutal thirst, and says to the peasant,—'It begins to grow light! let us go back to my dwelling.' In a twinkling they found themselves at the grave-yard. The vampire would have clasped the peasant in its arms, but luckily for him the cocks began to crow, and the corpse disappeared. The next morning, when folks came and looked, the old man and the lad were both dead." (Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 411–2.)

Sorcery.—The relation of the foregoing beliefs to those practices by which magicians are supposed to raise the dead and control demons, was suggested in § 133. Further proofs that the more developed forms of sorcery thus originate, have since come to me. The following passage from Sir George Grey's *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 114–5, implies the anxiety of a son to rescue relics of his father from enchanters.

"Rata, without stopping, crept directly towards the fire, and hid himself behind some thick bushes of the Harakeke; he then saw that there were some priests upon the other side of the same bushes, serving at the sacred place, and, to assist themselves in their magical arts, they were making use of the bones of Wahieroa, knocking them together to beat time while they were repeating a powerful incantation, . . . he rushed suddenly upon the priests. . . . The bones of his father, Wahieroa, were then eagerly snatched up by him; he hastened with them back to the canoe."

From pp. 34–5 of the same work, I quote another passage, similarly implying the power which possession of a relic gives :—

"When the stomach of Muri-ranga-whenua had quietly sunk down to its usual size, her voice was again heard saying, 'Art thou Maui?' and he answered, 'Even so.' Then she asked him, 'Wherefore hast thou served thy old ancestress in this deceitful way?' and Maui answered, 'I was anxious that thy jawbone, by which the great enchantments can be wrought, should be given to me.' She answered, 'Take it, it has been reserved for thee.' And Maui took it, and having done so returned to the place where he and his brethren dwelt."

When with these, and other such illustrations given in § 133, we join the fact that even still in Italy the people tell of the child that is "kidnapped and buried up to the chin, while the witches torment him to death to make *hell-broth of his liver*," (*Fortnightly Review*, Feb., 1874, p. 220), we cannot doubt the origin of necromancy. Starting with the primitive belief that the spirit of the living person, inhering in all parts of his body,

is affected by acting on a detached part of it, there is reached the belief that the spirit of the dead person is similarly affected by maltreating a relic; and with this goes the belief that all parts of the body will eventually be needed by the deceased, and that therefore his spirit can be commanded by one who has any part.

Evidence even more strongly confirming this view is contained in *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, by Dr. Henry Rink. The following extracts I place in an order which shows their bearings:—

"Some tales seem to hint at a belief that the manner in which the body of the deceased is treated by the survivors influences the condition of his soul." (p. 43.) "But a slain man is said to have power to avenge himself upon the murderer by *rushing into him*, which can only be prevented by eating a piece of his liver." (p. 45.) And then, among the materials necessary for sorcery, are named, *first*, "parts of human bodies, or objects that had been in some way connected with dead bodies." (p. 49.)

Here we have the three concurrent ideas—effect on the ghost by action on the body belonging to it; protection against the ghost by incorporating part of the body, and so establishing community; and coercion of the ghost by treating part of the body injuriously.

That in the higher forms of sorcery the medicine-man, now more properly to be regarded as a priest, is supposed to get knowledge and work miraculous effects by the help of a superior spirit, might be illustrated by many cases besides those given in the text. Here is one concerning the people of Mangaia.

"Priests were significantly named '*god-boxes*,'—generally abbreviated to '*gods*,' *i.e.*, living embodiments of these divinities. Whenever consulted, a present of the best food, accompanied with a bowl of intoxicating 'piper mythisticum,' was indispensable. The priest, throwing himself into a frenzy, delivered a response in language intelligible only to the initiated. A favourite subject of inquiry was 'the sin why so and so was ill;' no one being supposed to die a natural death unless decrepit with extreme old age. If a priest cherished a spite against somebody, he had only to declare it to be the will of the divinity that the victim should be put to death or be laid on the altar for some offence against the gods." (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 35.)

Sacred Places, Temples, &c.—Further illustrations of the genesis of these are yielded by the following extracts.

In the New Hebrides "places where remarkable men have been buried, whether recently or in times beyond present memory, are sacred, not to be approached but by their owners, who make prayers there to the *Tamate*" [ghosts]. (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 292.)

Among the Blantyre negroes the deceased's house becomes his temple.

"The man may be buried in his own dwelling. In this case the house is not taken down [as it otherwise would be], but is generally covered with

cloth, and the verandah becomes the place for presenting offerings. His old house thus becomes a kind of temple. There may be cases also where the deceased is buried in the village, although not in his own house. In such cases a new house will be raised above the remains." (Macdonald, *Africana*, i, p. 109.)

"Over some of the graves a small roof is built, three or six feet high, the gables of which are filled in with sinnet, wrought into different sized squares, arranged diagonally." The Queen's "body was further protected with a large roof, made of a kind of mahogany, and ornamented with pure white cowries." (Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i, 192.)

Concerning the inhabitants of the Corea, we read :—

The "graves are ornamented at great cost. A small temple is built, where the deceased is mourned; the front of the grave is paved with cut flagstones, which are often guarded by upright stones carved into human and other figures." (Ross, *History of Corea*, p. 320.)

In Humphrey's Island—

"The dead were usually buried, but chiefs and others much lamented were laid on a small raised platform over which a house was erected." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, 277.)

Immolations and Sacrifices at Graves.—The instances given in § 104, showing that the motive for sacrificing wives at funerals among existing barbarous peoples, is that they may accompany their dead husbands to the other world, prove how erroneous have been the interpretations given by Europeans of suttee among the Hindus: one of the statements being that it was adopted as a remedy for the practice of poisoning their husbands, which had become common among Hindu women (!). If there needs a further illustration of the origin of wife-sacrifice, here is one.

"The Thracians who live above the Crestonæans observe the following customs. Each man among them has several wives, and no sooner does a man die than a sharp contest ensues among the wives upon the question, which of them all the husband loved most tenderly; the friends of each eagerly plead on her behalf, and she to whom the honour is adjudged, after receiving the praises both of men and women, is slain over the grave by the hand of her next of kin, and then buried with her husband. The others are sorely grieved, for nothing is considered such a disgrace." (Herodotus, Bk. v, 5).

That human victims are immolated at the tombs of great men, as well as at the altars of gods, and, indeed, sometimes on a far more extensive scale, is proved in the case of Hamilkar.

"The Carthaginians erected funereal monuments to him, graced with periodical sacrifices, both in Carthage and in their principal colonies; on the field of battle itself [Himera] also, a monument was raised to him by the Greeks. On that monument, seventy years afterwards, his victorious grandson, fresh from the plunder of this same city of Himera, offered the bloody sacrifice of 3,000 Grecian prisoners." (Grote, *History of Greece*, v, 297-8.)

How the primitive practice of sacrificing animals at graves sometimes revives after having died out, and how it then forms

part of a worship of the dead person, is exemplified among Christians by the case of St. Agnes.

"About eight days after her execution [A.D. 306], her parents going to lament and pray at her tomb, where they continued watching all night, it is reported that there appeared unto them a vision of angels . . . among whom they saw their own daughter . . . and a lamb standing by her as white as snow . . . Ever after which time the Roman ladies went every year (as they still do) to offer and present to her on this day [St. Agnes' Day] the two best and purest white lambs they could procure. These they offered at St. Agnes's altar (as they call it)." (Wheatly's *Common Prayer*, p. 56.)

Nor is this case occurring among Catholics without parallel among Protestants. Here are cases from Wales and from Scotland:—

"There are many . . . instances of sacrifice performed in comparatively modern times either to a local god distinguished as a saint or to some real person whose memory has become confused with a pagan legend. There are records, for example, of bulls being killed at Kirkcudbright 'as an alms and oblation to St. Cuthbert,' of bullocks offered to St. Beuno, 'the saint of the Parish of Clynnog' in Wales." (Charles Elton, *Origins of English History*, pp. 295–6.)

"Less than two hundred years ago it was customary in the group of parishes which surrounded Applecross to sacrifice a bull on a particular day of the year—the 25th of August—that is, the day of St. Mourie, who is the well-known patron-saint of Applecross, and who was, and is to this day, sometimes spoken of in the district as the God Mourie." (Arthur Mitchell, *The Past in the Present*, p. 147.)

Demons and Demon-worship.—At the outset, the ghost-theory gives origin to beliefs in ghosts that are friendly and ghosts that are malicious; of which the last, usually not ancestral, are feared more than the first, and often in a greater degree propitiated. Good illustrations occur in an essay by Mr. M. J. Walhouse, on the belief in Bhūtas among the people in Western India. Here are some extracts.

"But the last three classes, of whom more particularly it is now intended to speak, are of exclusively human origin, being malignant, discontented beings, wandering in an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell, intent upon mischief and annoyance to mortals; chiefly by means of possession and wicked inspiration, every aspect of which ancient ideas, as well as of the old doctrine of transmigration, they exemplify and illustrate. They are known by the names of Bhūta, Prēta, and Pisācha; the first name being ordinarily applied to all three, and even vulgarly to the seven superior classes. These beings, always evil, originate from the souls of those who have died untimely or violent deaths, or been deformed, idiotic, or insane; afflicted with fits or unusual ailments; or drunken, dissolute, or wicked during life. . . . The death of any well-known bad character is a source of terror to all his neighbourhood, as he is sure to become a Bhūta or demon, as powerful and malignant as he was in life. Some of the Bhūtas now most dreaded were celebrated personages of old days. . . . In their haunts and modes of appearance Bhūtas repeat the beliefs of many countries. They wander borne upon the air, especially in uninhabited, dry, and desert places; and tall trees are a favourite abode. . . . As the ancient Jews would speak to none whom they met after midnight, for fear they might be addressing a devil, so Hindu

villagers will speak to no one they may meet at that time, lest he should be a Bhūt, nor, indeed, willingly then stir out of their houses. The eddies of wind that career over plains in the hot weather, whirling up leaves and columns of dust, and flickering lights seen gliding over marshes, are regarded as Bhūts passing by. . . . The before-mentioned classes are believed more particularly to afflict human beings by entering into and possessing them. Gaping or drawing deep breaths are supposed to give them opportunities for this, and no Brahman ever gapes without snapping his fingers before his mouth, as a charm to prevent an evil spirit entering. . . . All this closely tallies with the beliefs regarding possession current amongst the Jews and early Christians; the former in particular believing that unclean spirits, by reason of their tenuity, were inhaled and insinuated themselves into the human body, injuring health through the viscera, and forcing the patients to fulfil their evil desires. . . . The edifices and observances connected with Bhūta worship are both domestic and public. In villages, and very generally in towns, there is in every house a wooden cot or cradle, placed on the ground or suspended by ropes or chains, and dedicated to the Bhūta of the spot. . . . Should a member of the family be stricken with any unusual attack, such as apoplexy, paralysis, cholera, &c., or should disease break out amongst the cattle, it is at once ascribed to the anger of the Bhūt, and a propitiatory sacrifice is offered. . . The general buildings dedicated to these demons are called Bhūtastāns, and when dedicated to one of the superior, or very popular Bhūtas, sometimes of considerable size. . . . The Bhūtas themselves are usually represented by mere rough stones. . . . Various disputes and litigated matters, especially when evidence and ordinary means of adjustment fail, are then brought forward and submitted to the decision of the Bhūta, and his award, pronounced through the Dhér, is generally, though not always, submitted to. . . . In the days of the Rajahs of Coorg, a principality bordering on Canara, it was customary for the Amildars, or native heads of divisions, to issue notices and orders to the Bhūtas, in the name of the Rajah, not to molest any particular individual, to quit any tree they haunted which was required to be felled, and to desist from any particular act or annoyance. It is stated that these behests of the Government were never disobeyed, which, indeed, is not unlikely, as the last Coorg Rajah was not a man who understood being trifled with, either by man or demon. After his deposition, the native officials continued the same style of orders, in the name of the British Government, for some time before the authorities were aware of it!" (*On the Belief in Bhūtas—Devil and Ghost Worship in Western India.* By M. J. Walhouse. *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. v, pp. 408–422.)

Of like nature are the beliefs of the Kanjars, as narrated in a pamphlet which Sir Alfred Lyall has been kind enough to forward me from India.

"The religion of the Kanjars, as far as we have been able to learn it, is quite what we should expect to find among a primitive and uncultivated people. It is a religion without idols, without temples, and without a priesthood. They live in the constant dread of evil spirits, the souls of the departed, who are said to enter into the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. In this creed they stand on the same intellectual level with their more civilized kinsfolk, the Hindus, amongst whom it is universally believed that the air is peopled with *bhuts*, malignant spirits, who haunt graveyards, lurk in trees, re-animate corpses, devour living men, or attack them with madness, epilepsy, cramp, etc." (J. C. Nesfield, *An Account of the Kanjars of Upper India* [from *Calcutta Review*, Oct. 1883], p. 11.)

And in Africa there are propitiations of demons obviously in like manner conceived as the ghosts of the malicious dead. Cameron tells us that while cruising on Lake Tanganyika, they passed a haunted headland, whereupon—

"The [native] pilots stood together in the bow of the canoe to make an offering to these evil spirits [the devil and his wife]. One held out a paddle on the blade of which a few common beads had been placed, and both said together, as nearly as it can be translated, 'You big man, you big devil, you great king, you take all men, you kill all men, you now let us go all right,' and after a little bowing and gesticulation the beads were dropped into the water and the dreaded devil propitiated. There is a kind of double cape at this place, one being the supposed residence of the male devil and the other that of his wife, and the spot is therefore believed to be doubly dangerous." (Cameron's *Across Africa*, i, 253–4.)

Worshipped Ghosts of Robbers in India.—Writing under date, August 1, 1884, from the N.W. Provinces of India, Sir Alfred Lyall has obliged me with some instructive instances of apotheosis in India. He says—"I enclose you herewith part of a memo. upon the religious practices of the Doms or Domras, who live on the edge of the forests under the Himalayas, and who are the most utterly degraded and irreclaimable tribe, or relic of a tribe, in all these parts. You will observe that they propitiate ghosts and worship notable thieves of bygone days, and there cannot be the slightest doubt that this practice is characteristic of all the lowest and most barbarous Indian societies." The memorandum he encloses, from the magistrate of Gorakhpur, is as follows:—

"The Maghia Domras have two special divinities of their own; the chief is Gandak, whose grave is to be found in Karmani Garhi, two days' journey to the east of Motihari, in Bengal. According to their traditions, Gandak was hanged for theft 'a long time ago,' and when dying he promised always to help Maghias in trouble. He is worshipped by the whole clan, and is invoked on all important occasions, but he is pre-eminently the patron god of thefts. A successful theft is always celebrated by a sacrifice and feast in his honour. They also worship Samaya, a female divinity; she is without any special history, and there is no sharp distinction between her sphere and Gandak's. Her functions apparently relate chiefly to birth and illness, etc.

"The Maghias sacrifice young pigs and wine with sugar and spices to these two deities. Every Maghia is capable of performing the sacrifice, and the remains are divided among the company. . . . The Maghias have neither altars nor idol, nor do they erect any Chabutras for worship. A spot is cleared and leeped in the middle of a field, and the sacrifice is then offered.

"The Maghias naturally believe in ghosts and spirits. When a man dies, my informant told me, he turns into a 'Shaitan.' The 'deotas,' also he added, were innumerable. In most villages of this district there is a special altar for all the local ghosts and deities, which may reside within the village boundaries, and the Maghias are always ready to share in the sacrifice of the villagers to them. They also reverence trees and Chabutras, consecrated by Hindus, in passing, but pay no further homage."

Worship of Beneficent Spirits—Ancestors and others.—Here

are examples furnished by five unallied races. The first concerns the Laplanders.

"They worshipped the ghosts of departed persons, but especially of their kindred, for they thought there was some divinity in them, and that they were able to do harm: just such as the Romans fancied their manes to be; therefore it was that they offered sacrifice to them." (Professor John Scheffer, *History of Lapland*, Oxford, 1674, p. 36.)

In an early account of an African people, the Quoians, we find illustrations of their necrolatry. Saying that the Quoians believe the spirits of the dead to be omniscient, and that they make offerings of rice or wine at their graves, we are told that they "hold familiar colloquies with them, telling them all troubles and adversities under which they labour. . . . The King calls upon the souls of his father and mother almost in every matter of difficulty." (O. Dapper, *Africa by J. Ogilby*, 1670, pp. 402–4.)

Concerning the Kanjars we read:—

"In the wide range of human history, it is difficult to find an example of a primitive horde or nation, which has not had its inspired prophet or deified ancestor. The man-god whom Kanjars worship is Máná,—a name which does not appear in any of the lists of the Hindu divinities. While he lived amongst men, he was the model fighter, the great hunter, the wise artificer, and the unconquered chief. He was not only the teacher and the guide, but also the founder and ancestor of the tribe. He is therefore to the Kanjar what Hellen was to the Greeks, Romulus to the Romans, Abraham to the Jews, or Ishmael to the Arabs, . . . Máná is worshipped with more ceremony in the rainy season, when the tribe is less migratory, than in the dry months of the year. On such occasions, if sufficient notice is circulated, several encampments unite temporarily to pay honour to their common ancestor. No altar is raised. No image is erected. The worshippers collect near a tree, under which they sacrifice a pig or goat, or sheep, or fowl, and make an offering of roasted flesh and spirituous liquor. Formerly (it is said) they used to sacrifice a child, having first made it insensible with fermented palm-juice or toddy. They dance round the tree in honour of Máná, and sing the customary songs in commemoration of his wisdom and deeds of valour. At the close of the ceremony there is a general feast, in which most of the banqueters get drunk. On these occasions,—but before the drunken stage has been reached,—a man sometimes comes forward, and declares himself to be especially filled with the divine presence. He abstains from the flesh and wine of which others partake, and remains standing before the tree with his eyes closed as in a trance. If he is seized with a fit of trembling, the spirit of Máná is thought to have possessed him, and while the inspiration lasts he is consulted as an oracle by any man or woman of the assembly who desires to be helped out of a difficulty." (J. C. Nesfield, *An Account of the Kanjars of Upper India*, pp. 12–13.)

That this god Máná was originally a man, as he is said to have been by the Kanjars, cannot well be doubted when we find cases in India of historical persons being deified, not by these inferior races only, but by the Aryans. Premising that the Portuguese were extremely cruel to the Hindus during the time that they had a monopoly of the trade in India, Hunter tells us that—

"Albuquerque alone endeavoured to win the goodwill of the natives, and to live in friendship with the Hindu princes. In such veneration was his memory held, that the Hindus of Goa, and even the Muhammadans, were wont to repair to his tomb, and there to utter their complaints, as if in the presence of his spirit, and call upon God to deliver them from the tyranny of his successors." (Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian People*, 150-1.)

Russia, too, supplies us with an instance of kindred nature, in so far as that the worship is of an historical personage, who was reverenced during his life.

Alexander Nevski, governor of Novgorood at the time of the Mongol invasion, and who died in 1263, was "deeply mourned by a grateful people, who count him ever since amongst the saints, . . . and there is not one of the Russian emperors who has not knelt before the shrine of Alexander Nevski. Many great generals have implored him for his support and intercession, whenever they departed for a great battle or an important campaign." (O. W. Wahl, *The Land of the Czar*, 268.)

Genesis of New Cults among Hindus.—Along with the account of robber-worship among the Domras given above, Sir Alfred Lyall transmitted, from the same source, the following:—

"It may perhaps be interesting to know that a weekly pilgrimage has been instituted within the last year to the tomb of a Fakir in the compound next my own. The Fakir died two centuries ago, it is said. A 'jhundi' was struck over his grave—somebody got cured there last year, and a concourse of people now visit it every Thursday, with drums beating, etc. I counted once seven graves within a mile or so of my house, at which offerings are presented by the Hindu public, on fixed days. The tombs are generally those of Mahomedans, but this is immaterial. As my Hon. Magistrate Babu Durga Pershad explained one day, when pointing out a tree frequented by a '*Jin*,' a 'bhut,' is generally a Hindu, rather harmless and indistinct, but a 'Jin' is always a wicked old Mahomedan, and there is no appeasing him. The number of 'Devis' is also innumerable, new ones are always springing up, and the most fashionable shrines are generally very recent. The principal Mahadro on this side the town was discovered by two herd boys, some years ago, in the Ramgarh Tal. One boy struck it, it began to bleed, and the boy fell dead. There is a famous Kali at the corner of my compound, another Devi lives in the judges' compound, and her image is carried home every evening by the mali who officiates." (Letter from the magistrate of Gorakhpur to Sir Alfred Lyall.)

These statements harmonize entirely with those given by Sir Alfred Lyall himself in his *Asiatic Studies*. To the instances he names, he adds the remark—

"The saint or hero is admitted into the upper circles of divinity, much as a successful soldier or millionaire is recognized by fashionable society, takes a new title, and is welcomed by a judiciously liberal aristocracy." (p. 20.)

Fetichism.—I believe M. Comte expressed the opinion that fetichistic conceptions are formed by the higher animals. Holding, for reasons already given, that fetichism is not original but derived, I cannot, of course, coincide in this view. Nevertheless, the behaviour of intelligent animals elucidates the

genesis of it. I have myself witnessed in dogs two illustrative actions.

One of these was that of a formidable beast, half mastiff, half blood-hound, belonging to friends of mine. While playing on the lawn with a walking-stick, which he had seized by the lower end, it happened that in his gambols he thrust the handle against the ground: the result being that the end he had in his mouth was forced against his palate. Giving a yelp, he dropped the stick, rushed to some distance from it, and betrayed a consternation which was particularly laughable in so large and ferocious-looking a creature. Only after cautious approaches and much hesitation was he induced again to pick it up. This behaviour showed very clearly that the stick, while displaying none but properties he was familiar with, was not regarded by him as an active agent; but when it suddenly inflicted a pain in a way never before experienced from an inanimate object, he was led for the moment to class it with animate objects, and to regard it as capable of again doing him injury. Similarly to the mind of the primitive man, the anomalous behaviour of an object previously classed as inanimate, suggests animation. The idea of voluntary action is made nascent; and there arises a tendency to regard the object with alarm lest it should act in some other unexpected and perhaps mischievous way. Obviously the vague notion of animation thus aroused, becomes a more definite notion as fast as development of the ghost-theory furnishes a specific agency to which the anomalous behaviour can be ascribed.

A very intelligent and good-tempered retriever, much petted in the house of certain other friends, had a habit which yields the second hint I have alluded to. On meeting in the morning one with whom she was on friendly terms, she joined with the usual wagging of the tail, an unusual kind of salute, made by drawing apart the lips so as to produce a sort of smile or grin; and she then, if out of doors, proceeded to make a further demonstration of loyalty. Being by her duties as a retriever led to associate the fetching of game with the pleasing of the person to whom she brought it, this had become in her mind an act of propitiation; and so, after wagging her tail and grinning, she would perform this act of propitiation as nearly as was practicable in the absence of a dead bird. Seeking about, she would pick up a dead leaf, a bit of paper, a twig, or other small object, and would bring it with renewed manifestations of friendliness. Some kindred state of mind it is which, I believe, prompts the savage to certain fetichistic observances. Occasionally, when seeking supernatural aid, the savage will pick up perhaps the first stone he sees, paint it red, and make offerings to it. Anxious to please some ghostly agent, he feels the need for dis-

playing his anxiety; and he adopts this as the nearest fulfilment of a propitiatory act which circumstances permit. Ghosts are all about, and one may be present in anything—perhaps in this stone—very likely in this stone. And so the primitive man, with whom fancy passes easily into belief, adopts this method of expressing his subordination. Daily occurrences among ourselves prove that the desire *to do something* in presence of an emergency, leads to the most irrelevant actions. "It may do good, and it can't harm," is the plea for many proceedings which have scarcely more rationality than worship of a painted stone.

The Fetich-ghost.—The evidence given in §§ 159–163, that the supernatural agent supposed to be contained in an inanimate object, was originally a human ghost, is, I think, tolerably conclusive. I have, however, met with still more conclusive evidence, in the work of Dr. Rink on the Eskimo. In the passage which I here extract, the two are identified by name.

"The whole visible world is ruled by supernatural powers, or 'owners,' taken in a higher sense, each of whom holds his sway within certain limits, and is called *inua* (viz., its or his, *inuk*, which word signifies '*man*,' and also *owner* or *inhabitant*)." (p. 37.)

The supposed possessing agent to which the powers of an object are ascribed, is thus called *its man;* the man in it—that is, the man's ghost in it. The "*inue*" of certain celestial objects were persons known by name; and the implication is that the "*inue*" of other objects are thought of as persons, but not individually identified.

And now observe that in a work published since that of Dr. Rink, concerning an unallied people in the remote region of Polynesia, we find a kindred conception joined with an interpretation of it. Describing the superstitions of the Hervey Islanders, Mr. Gill says:—

"Thus it is evident that many of their gods were originally men, whose spirits were supposed to enter into various birds, fish, reptiles, and insects; and into inanimate objects, such as the triton shell, particular trees, cinet, sandstone, bits of basalt, etc." (Rev. Wm. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 32.)

Ghosts in Stones.—The genesis of that form of fetichism which ascribes supernatural powers to shapeless inanimate objects, is very clearly exhibited in the following passages from a letter, for which I am indebted to Commander W. H. Henderson, R.N., who dates from H.M.S. "Nelson," Australian Station, October 9th, 1884:—

"While on the eastern side of the Island of Tanna, New Hebrides, in July last year, I was told by the Rev. J. Gray, Presbyterian Missionary, stationed at Waisisi, near to the volcano, in answer to an inquiry of mine relative to the inconvenient position of his house, that in order to gain a footing he was obliged to build where the natives allowed him to. That the site he would

have chosen included the piece of sacred ground on which were deposited the stones in which they supposed the spirits of their departed relatives to reside, that he had not been able to get them removed, though he hoped to be able to do so, and to purchase the ground. He stated that these stones were common ones of various sizes; that after being deposited they were not again touched; and that they seldom retained any sacredness as the abode of the departed spirit for any length of time—a generation at the utmost—most were soon forgotten. Soon after this, while at Vela Harbour, Sandwich, or Vati Island, in the same group, the Rev. J. Mackenzie, also of the Presbyterian Mission, showed me without reference to what I had heard at Tanna, a collection of stones and rudely cut shells and stones, which he said when he arrived there some years previously, were the only form of gods the natives possessed, and into which they supposed the spirits of their departed friends or relatives to enter; though the recollection of them did not often last long.

"Some of the stones were ordinary smooth water-worn boulders, three to four inches long and from two to three inches in diameter. Others, one of which I have in my possession, were similar, but had a small piece chipped out on one side, by means of which the indwelling ghost or spirit was supposed to have ingress or egress. A third and higher form were rudely fashioned shells or stones; the former being cut out as large rings. These it seemed to me were the beginnings of a graven image—a common stone sacred as the dwelling-place of an ancestral ghost."

With such evidence before us, we can scarcely doubt that in other places where stones are worshipped, or regarded as sacred, human ghosts are or were believed to be present in them; and that the stones supposed to be possessed by powerful ghosts, thus became the shrines of gods. Hence the interpretation of such facts as this told us about the Karens:—

"Many keep stones in their houses that they suppose possess miraculous powers and which seem to represent the household gods of the ancients." (*As. Soc. of Bengal, Journal*, xxxiv, pt. 2, p. 223.)

And this told us about the Bowditch Islanders:—

"Their great god was called Tui Tokelau, or King of Tokelau. He was supposed to be embodied in a stone, which was carefully wrapped up with fine mats." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 268.)

And this told us about the Fijians:—

"The Fijians are unacquainted with idols properly so-called; but they reverence certain stones as shrines of gods, and regard some clubs with superstitious respect. . . . Rude consecrated stones are to be seen near Vuna, where offerings of food are sometimes made." (*Fiji and the Fijians*, vol. i, by T. Williams, pp. 219 and 220.)

And here we are once more shown how baseless is the belief of those who, in aid of their theories, theological or mythological, assert that the noble types of man—the Aryan and Semitic—displayed from the beginning, higher religious ideas than men of inferior types. For besides having various other beliefs and rites like those of existing savages, both of them agreed with savages in exhibiting this lowest form of fetichism. In their early days, the Greeks believed that ghosts dwelt in

stones; and stones were the shrines of their gods. Pausanias gives various instances; and shows that these inhabited stones, anointed with oil in propitiation, continued even in late days to be regarded as sacred and to be occasionally honoured. So was it, too, with the Hebrews; as witness this passage:—

"The large smooth stones referred to above were the fetishes of the primitive Semitic races, and anointed with oil, according to a widely spread custom (comp. λίθοι λιπαροί, lapides uncti, lubricati). It was such a stone which Jacob took for a pillow, and afterwards consecrated by pouring oil upon it (Gen. xxviii, 11, 18). The early Semites and reactionary, idolatrous Israelities called such stones Bethels, . . . *i.e.*, houses of El (the early Semitic word for God). . . . In spite of the efforts of the 'Jehovist,' who desired to convert these ancient fetishes into memorials of patriarchal history (comp. Gen. xxxi, 45–52), the old heathenish use of them seems to have continued, especially in secluded places." (Rev. T. K. Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah: a New Translation with Commentary and Appendices*, 1882, vol. ii, p. 70).

Let us observe, too, how completely Jacob's conception of his dream as caused by a god in the stone, corresponds with the conceptions of existing savages. In his account of the Blantyre negroes, the Rev. Duff Macdonald writes:—

"Very frequently a man presents an offering at the top of his own bed beside his head. He wishes his god to come to him and whisper in his ear as he sleeps." (*Africana*, vol. i, p. 60.)

I may add that Jacob's act of pouring oil on the stone in propitiation of the indwelling spirit (thus employing an established mode of honouring living persons) points the way to an interpretation of another usage of stone-worshippers. A Dakotah, before praying to a stone for succour, paints it with some red pigment, such as red ochre. Now when we read that along with offerings of milk, honey, eggs, fruit, flour, etc., the Bodo and Dhimáls offer "red lead or cochineal," we may suspect that these three colouring matters, having red as their common character, are substitutes for blood. The supposed resident ghost was at first propitiated by anointing the stone with human blood; and then, in default of this, red pigment was used: ghosts and gods being supposed by primitive men to be easily deceived by shams.

Animal-naming among the Semites.—In vol. i, p. 126, Palgrave, referring to an Arab, writes:—"'Obeyd, 'the wolf,' to give him the name by which he is commonly known, a name well earned by his unrelenting cruelty and deep deceit." Now read the following from the *Book of Judges*, vii, 25:—"And they took two princes of the Midianites, Oreb [raven] and Zeeb [wolf], and they slew Oreb upon the rock Oreb, and Zeeb they slew at the wine-press of Zeeb, and pursued Midian, and brought the heads of Oreb and Zeeb to Gideon on the other side Jordan."

Thus we have proof that Semitic chiefs bore animal names; doubtless given, as we see they are still given, as nicknames. With this we may join the fact that at the present time "the Cabyles are said to distinguish their different tribes by figures of animals tatooed on forehead, nose, temples, or cheeks:" implying descent from founders identified by name with these animals (*L. Geiger, Zeitschr. D. M. G.*, 1869, p. 169). When we put this evidence side by side with that given in §§ 170–4, showing how animal-naming among savages leads to belief in animal-ancestors and to the propitiation of animals, it becomes still more manifest that among Mesopotamian peoples, animal-gods and gods half-man half-brute, originated in the way alleged.

Since the above was published in the first edition of this work, there has appeared an interesting essay on "Animal Worship and Animal Tribes," by Professor Robertson Smith (see *Journal of Philology*, vol. ix), in which he shows how extensive is animal-naming, and the consequent rise of animal-tribes, among existing Arabs. Here is a part of a list given by him:—

"*Asad*, lion; 'a number of tribes.' *Aws*, wolf; 'a tribe of the Ançâr,' or Defenders. *Badan*, ibex; 'a tribe of the Kalb and others.' *Tha'laba*, she-fox; 'name of tribes.' *Ǵarâd*, locusts; 'a sub-tribe of the Tamîm.' *Beni Hamama*, sons of the dove; 'a sub-tribe of the Azd.' *Thawr*, bull; 'a sub-tribe of Hamdân and of 'Abd Manâh.' *Ǵaḥsh*, calf of an ass; 'a sub-tribe of the Arabs.' *Ḥidâ*, kite; 'a sub-tribe of Murâd.' *Dhi'b*, wolf; 'son of 'Amr, a sub-tribe of the Azd.' *Ḍubey'a*, little hyæna; 'son of Qays, a sub-tribe of Bekr bin Wâil.'" (p. 79.)

And continuing the list, Professor Smith gives as other animal-names of tribes, lizard, eagle, she-goat, raven, hedgehog, dog, whelp, jerboa, panthers, little panther, etc. He goes on to say that—

"The origin of all these names is referred in the genealogical system of the Arabs to an ancestor who bore the tribal or gentile name. Thus the *Kalb*, or dog-tribe, consists of the Beni Kalb—sons of Kalb (the dog), who is in turn son of Wabra (the female rockbadger)," etc. (p. 80.)

Rejecting this interpretation in favour of the interpretation of Mr. M'Lennan, Professor Smith says—

"A conclusive argument against the genealogical system is that it is built on the patriarchal theory. Every nation and every tribe must have an ancestor of the same name from whom kinship is reckoned exclusively in the male line." (p. 81.)

And he thereupon contends that since kinship through females is the primitive form, the system of tribal naming could not have thus arisen. But, as I have elsewhere shown (§ 293), this is not a necessary implication. Remarking that the system of kinship through females evidently does not exclude the knowledge of male parentage (since in the rudest tribe there is a

name for father as well as for mother) I have pointed out that in the same way among ourselves, the tracing of kinship through males does not exclude a perfect recognition of motherhood. And here I have to add that descent from a distinguished man will naturally survive in tradition, notwithstanding the system of kinship through females, and the male genealogy, regarded with pride, will supplant the female; just as among ourselves the posterity of a woman of rank who married a man of low degree, will preserve the record of their ancestress while dropping that of their ancestor, notwithstanding the system of descent through males. [On considering, after writing the above, where I should be likely to find proof, there occurred to me the case of Lord Clyde, of whom I had heard that his mother, a woman of good family, had married a man of inferior origin. Whether the name Campbell was that of his father or his mother, I did not know; but inquiry proved my suspicion to be well founded. His father's name was John Macliver, and his mother's Agnes Campbell. By successive steps the maternal name displaced the paternal name; and his daughter is now called Miss Campbell. This, I think, makes it clear that notwithstanding descent in the female line, the name of a distinguished chief, usurping the place of the previous name, will readily become a tribal name.]

But there is a co-operative cause. A tribe from time to time divides, and the migrating part attaches itself to some leader: a man of strength, or courage, or cunning, or resource. How are members of the migrating part to be distinguished by the remainder, and by adjacent tribes? Evidently by the name of their leader or chief. They become known as followers of the Snake, the Wolf, or the Bear, as the case may be. It needs but to recall the case of a Highland clan, all members of which habitually acquired the clan-name, whether related by blood to its head or not, to show how the tendency to speak generally of the followers of the Snake as Snakes will conflict with recognition of their maternally-derived relationships. Especially when there grows up a new generation, having individual names unknown to adjacent tribes, there will arise an established practice of calling them Snakes—a practice ending in the story of descent from an ancestral snake who was the founder of the tribe. Hence the origin of the Snake Indians of North America, or the Nagas (snakes) of the Indian Hills, who are worshippers of the snake.

Animal-naming in Great Britain.—Anyone who upon occasion speaks of a keen and merciless man as "a hawk," or of another as "a pig" because of his dirtiness, ought to have no difficulty in understanding how in rude times animal-names are acquired.

While recognizing the exceptional cases of birth-naming after some animal visible at the time of birth, he will the less doubt that animal-names usually result from nicknaming, on finding among ourselves cases in which the animal nickname becomes substituted for the conventional surname previously current. Two cases, one dating some centuries back, and the other belonging to our own time, may be here given. Doubtless there still exists, as there existed some years since when I saw it, the remnant of an old castle built on an island in Loch-an-Eilean in Rothiemurchus, which was, according to tradition, a stronghold of the "Wolf of Badenoch." Who was he? Mr. Cosmo Innes, in his *Sketches of Early Scotch History* (p. 424), speaks of "the harrying of the country and burning of the church by the Wolf of Badenoch;" and in his *Scotland in the Middle Ages* (p. 297), says:—"The magnificent cathedral of Elgin [was] . . . . so roughly handled by the Wolf of Badenoch in the end of the fourteenth century, that the bishops called their restoration a rebuilding." Mr. Innes does not give the Christian name or surname of this robber-chief. Further inquiry, however, disclosed it. In Burton's *History of Scotland* (vol. iii, p. 97), he is referred to as "King Robert's brother, Alexander." Evidently, then, the original proper name had become less familiar than the substituted nickname; which supplanted it not only in popular speech, but partially in literature. We have but to suppose times still ruder than those in which he lived, and times in which Christianity had in no degree undermined primitive superstitions, to see that just as Earl Siward, of Northumbria, was said to be the grandson of an actual bear, so the descendants of the Wolf of Badenoch would have been described in tradition as derived from an actual wolf. A further significant fact remains. It is stated in Jervise's *Land of the Lindsays* (p. 350) that Countess Isabella "was the wife of the Wolf of Badenoch." Here, in this very statement, the nickname has replaced the pre-established name of the man, while the name of the woman remains unchanged. It needs but that this statement should be accepted literally, as such statements are among the uncivilized, to understand how it happens that here and there a family traces back its origin to a woman identified by name, who was married to an animal; as in "the story of the origin of the Dikokamenni Kirghiz . . . from a red greyhound and a certain queen with her forty handmaidens," quoted by Mr. M'Lennan from the Michells.

The other instance comes from the Forest of Dean, a region little visited, and retaining old usages. There the surname "James" is so common that nicknames are required to distinguish among those bearing it. A gentleman known to me, Mr. Keeling, C.E., of Cheltenham, having to find a man thus named,

discovered that he was nicknamed "*hoont*," that is "mole." Moreover he was one of a number who had inherited the nickname, and who had their respective Christian names—John Hoont, Henry Hoont, etc. Clearly, among savages a few generations would have established the tradition of descent from an actual mole: memory of the original bearer of the nickname having died out. When we find that even where there are established surnames of the civilized kind, nicknames derived from animals usurp their places and become inherited, it seems to me scarcely questionable that in the absence of established surnames, animal-names will eventually becomes the names of *gentes* and tribes, supposed to be descended from the animals they are named after—supposed, that is, by the uncivilized man, who is without our general ideas of law, order, cause; who has no notions of possible and impossible; who, without capacity for criticizing, accepts blindly the statements made to him by his seniors; and who, indeed, were he critical, might reasonably conclude that these metamorphoses of animals into men were of the same nature as those animal metamorphoses which really take place, and which he has observed. Strong reason should be given before rejecting this interpretation in face of the fact that savages themselves thus explain their tribal names; as instance the Arawâks, most of whom "assert that each family is descended—their fathers knew how, but they themselves have forgotten—from its eponymous animal, bird, or plant." Once more, if it be admitted that the conception of an animal-ancestor thus originates, it can hardly be doubted that, going along with the ideas and feelings respecting ancestors entertained by primitive men, it will originate a special regard for the animal which gives the tribal name—a regard which here results in making the animal a sacred totem, and here in producing worship of it.

That our relatives the Scandinavians exemplified in their ideas of the alliance between men and animals, certain further results of animal-naming, is made tolerably clear by the following passage:—

"Brutes were included in the social compact, and dealt with as if they had been rational creatures. If a beaver was killed, by the laws of Hakon the Good a fine of three marks was paid to the owner of the ground, 'both for bloodwite and hamesucken,' thus recognizing the animal's rights as an inhabitant of the soil. The old Norwegian statutes decreed that 'the bear and wolf shall be outlaws in every place.' . . . Yet even Bruin was entitled to his judicial privileges; for if he had robbed or injured his two-legged countrymen, it was necessary to summon a Tinwald court, and pronounce him liable to punishment in due form. In the Saga of Finboga hinom Rama, the grizzly offender is challenged to a duel, and slain by Finbog with all the courtesies of chivalry. Werlauff, the editor of this saga (Copenhagen, 1812), says, the opinion that bears have a reasonable knowledge of Danish is still

prevalent in Norway. (Chrichton and Wheaton, *Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern*, i, 192–3 (note).)

Animal-worship.—One of the causes assigned in the text (§ 168) for the worship of animals, was the belief, illustrated in sundry ways, that a creature found in the neighbourhood of the dead body is a new form assumed by the double, or otherwise a re-incarnation of the ghost. Here are further examples of this belief: the first of them supplied by the people of Bank's Island.

"A woman knowing that a neighbour was at the point of death, heard a rustling of something in her house, as if it were a moth fluttering, just as the sound of cries and wailings showed her that the soul was flown. She caught the fluttering thing between her hands, and ran with it, crying out that she had caught the *atai* [*i.e.*, that which a 'man believes' to 'be a kind of reflection of his own personality; the man and his *atai* live, flourish, suffer, and die (?) together,' 280–1]. But though she opened her hands above the mouth of the corpse there was no recovery." (Codrington, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 281.)

Here is another which the Samoans furnish.

"On the beach, near where a person had been drowned, and whose body was supposed to have become a porpoise, or on the battlefield, where another fell, might have been seen, sitting in silence, a group of five or six, and one a few yards before them with a sheet of native cloth spread out on the ground in front of him. Addressing some god of the family he said, 'Oh, be kind to us; let us obtain without difficulty the spirit of the young man!' The first thing that happened to light upon the sheet was supposed to be the spirit . . . grasshopper, butterfly, ant, or whatever else it might be, it was carefully wrapped up, taken to the family, the friends assembled, and the bundle buried with all due ceremony, as if it contained the real spirit of the departed." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 150–1.)

Along with this belief respecting ordinary ghosts, the Samoans have an allied, and to all appearance resulting, belief, respecting extraordinary ghosts.

"The village gods, like those of the household, had all some particular incarnation: one was supposed to appear as a bat, another as a heron, another as an owl. . . . A dead owl found under a tree in the settlement was the signal for all the village to assemble at the place, burn their bodies with firebrands, and beat their foreheads with stones till the blood flowed, and so they expressed their sympathy and condolence with the god over the calamity 'by an offering of blood.' He still lived, however, and moved about in all the other existing owls of the country. (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 21 and 26.)

Concerning these same people I may add that they furnish a striking example of the way in which unlimited credulity causes that literal acceptance of traditions, which in many cases ends in the belief in animal-ancestors and resulting worship of them. Turner tells us that the Samoans have traditions of battles between trees, birds, fish, and beasts; and after giving some examples, he says:—

"I tell them that the shark, red fish, etc., must have been mere figurative

names for chiefs and districts, and the finny troops under them were doubtless living *men*, but in all these stories the Samoans are rigid literalists, and believe in the very words of the tradition. And yet at the present day they have towns and districts bearing figurative names, distinct from the real names, such as the sword fish, the stinging ray, the dog, the wild boar, the Tongan cock, the frigate bird, etc." (*Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 213–4.)

Snake-Ancestors in North America.—A recently published work, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, by John G. Bourke, gives some interesting facts illustrative of the belief in snake-ancestors. Giving his inferences from the evidence, the writer says—

"My own suspicion is that one of the minor objects of the snake-dance has been the perpetuation in dramatic form of the legend of the origin and growth of the Moqui family (p. 178). . . . In the religious dances of such peoples as the Zunis, Moquis, and Querez, suggestions of their history and previous environment will crop out in features which from any other point of view would be without import. The fact that the snake-dance reflects in some manner the worship of ancestors has already been indicated, but beyond learning that the willow wands standing around the altars commemorated their dead, nothing was elicited at Hualpi. . . . Should it be shown positively, as I think can be done, that snake worship and ancestor or spirit worship are combined in the same rite, we may . . . with a little more patient work determine whether or not the Moquis have ever believed in the transmigration of souls (p. 179)." . . . Nanahe persistently "spoke of the snakes as his 'fathers,' a reverential expression which of itself would go far towards establishing a connexion between the rattlesnake-dance and ancestor worship" (p. 195).

These conclusions were based upon statements elicited from one of the Indians who took part in the snake-dance, of which the following are the most significant ones:—

"Nanahe continued: 'The members of the order always carry these medicines with them, and when they meet with a rattlesnake they first pray to their father, the sun, and then say: 'Father, make him to be tame; make him that nothing shall happen that he bring evil unto me. Verily, make him to be tame.' Then they address the rattlesnake and say: 'Father, be good' (*i.e.* kind or tame) 'unto me, for here I make my prayers.' This being done, the rattlesnake is captured . . . and taken home (p. 189) . . .'"

Nahi-vehma (the Peacemaker) said, "Many years ago the Moquis used to live upon the other side of a high mountain, beyond the San Juan River. . . . The chief of those who lived there thought he would take a trip down the big river to see where it went to. . . . The stream carried him to the seashore. . . . When he arrived on the beach he saw on top of a cliff a number of houses, in which lived many men and women. . . . That night he took unto himself one of the women as his wife. Shortly after his return to his home the woman gave birth to snakes, and this was the origin of the snake family (gens or clan) which manages this dance. When she gave birth to these snakes they bit a number of the children of the Moquis. The Moquis then moved in a body to their present villages, and they have this dance to conciliate the snakes, so that they won't bite their children" (p. 177).

In another chapter the writer refers to a large amount of confirmatory evidence showing the prevalence elsewhere of kindred ideas.

The Snake-Spirit among the Ancients.—A verification of the view set forth in §§ 167–8, is furnished by the following passage from the *Æneid*, Bk. v, 75.

Æneas "was already on his way from the council to the tomb [of Anchises, his father] . . . Here in due libation, he pours on the ground two bowls of the wine-god's pure juice, two of new milk, two of sacrificial blood; he flings bright flowers, and makes this utterance:—'Hail to thee, blessed sire, once more! Hail to you, ashes of one rescued in vain, spirit and shade of my father!' . . . He had said this, when from the depth of the grave a smooth shining serpent trailed along . . . coiling peacefully round the tomb, and gliding between the altars. . . . Æneas stood wonderstruck: the creature . . . tasted of the viands, and then, innocent of harm, re-entered the tomb at its base, leaving the altars where its mouth had been. Quickened by this, the hero resumes the work of homage to his sire, not knowing whether to think this the genius of the spot or his father's menial spirit."

Though here, along with the conceptions of a higher stage than that described in §§ 167–8, there is not distinct identification of the snake with the ancestral ghost, some connexion between them is assumed. That among the possible relations between the tomb-haunting animal and the deceased person, metamorphosis will be supposed by early peoples, is clear. And that hence results the identification of owls and bats (and possibly *scarabæi*) with souls, can no longer be doubted.

A striking verification of the foregoing inference has come to me quite recently (1884) in an essay entitled *A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum*, by Mr. Percy Gardner (reprinted from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. v). Discussing the reasons assigned for the not infrequent presence of sculptured snakes on sepulchral tablets, representing ministrations to deceased persons, Mr. Gardner says:—

"We know that it was by no means unusual among the Greeks to have tame snakes, and to allow them the range of the house." . . . The inference of some is "that his [the snake's] presence in these reliefs must have reference to the widely-spread belief of ancient times, that snakes were either the companions or even the representatives of dead heroes. I need not surely bring forward proofs of this statement, but I may for a moment pause to point out how ancient science explained the fact. Plutarch tells us, that when the dead body of Cleomenes was hanging on the cross in Egypt, a large serpent was seen wound about it, repelling the attacks of the birds of prey who would have fed on it. This phenomenon, he says, terrified some of the Alexandrians, as proving that Cleomenes was a hero of semi-divine nature, until it was pointed out, that as the dead body of a bull produces bees and that of a horse wasps, so the dead body of a man produces in the natural course of its decay, snakes."

Here then we find further support for the conclusion drawn in § 167, that a house-haunting animal is liable to be identified with a returned ancestor; at the same time that we get an illustration of the supposed mode of metamorphosis—a mode supposed in sundry cases of kindred superstitions; as in the belief that gods take the shape of flies—a belief of the Accadians, of the Philistines, and of some extant North American Indians.

I may add that certain incidents attending the worship of Asklepios, while they serve in one way to verify the above inferences, serve to show how, under some circumstances, snake-worship arises in a partially-different way. Originally referred to by Homer as a physician (*i.e.*, a medicine-man), among whose sources of influence, skill as a snake-charmer may naturally have been one (giving origin to the habitual representation of him as holding a staff round which a serpent is coiled), Asklepios, in the later periods of his worship, is himself represented as a serpent. Speaking of certain Roman coins, Mr. Warwick Wroth, of the British Museum, says:—

"On the reverse of this specimen Caracalla is represented in military dress, with his right hand upraised to salute a serpent entwined around a tree, its head towards the Emperor. . . . That the serpent who is here receiving adoration is Asklepios is rendered certain both by the presence of Telesphoros, and by a comparison of this piece with another of Caracalla's Pergamene coins, . . . Although the serpent is an attribute of the God of Healing, which is almost invariably present, it is not usual to find the god represented as on the coin now under discussion. Serpents, however, were kept in many of his temples, and, indeed, were sometimes considered as the incarnation of the deity himself, especially in the transmission of his worship from one city to another. Thus, the people of Sikyon traced the origin of their Asklepios cultus to a Sikyonian woman who had brought the god from Epidaurus in the form of a serpent. In the form of a serpent also the god was brought from Epidaurus to Rome. On a famous medallion of Antoninus Pius we see the serpent—that is, Asklepios—about to plunge from the vessel which has conveyed him into the waves of Father Tiber, who welcomes him with outstretched hand, and upon whose island the first Roman temple of the new divinity was afterwards erected. This medallion bears the inscription, Æscvlapivs." (*Asklepios and the Coins of Pergamon* [republished from *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, vol. ii], by Warwick Wroth, Esq., pp. 47–8.)

Lotus-worship.—I have not included in the chapter on plant-worship, the case of the lotus; because I did not wish to endanger the general argument by a doubtful support. The evidence is, however, sufficient to raise the suspicion that lotus-worship arose in the same way as did soma-worship.

Clearly some plant, or the product of some plant, called lotus, was eaten as a nervous stimulant, producing a state of blissful indifference; though among sundry plants which have gone by the name, it is not decided which was the one. Further, there was in the East the belief in a divinity residing in a water-plant known as the lotus; and at present in Thibet, worship of this divinity in the lotus is the dominant religion. As is stated in Mr. Wilson's *Abode of Snow*, pp. 304–6, the daily and hourly prayer is "Om mani padme haun," which literally rendered means, "O God! the jewel in the lotus. Amen." The word *mani*, here translated jewel, and meaning more generally a precious thing, is variously applied to sacred objects —to the long stone tumuli, to the prayer-mills, etc. So that,

reading through the figurative expression to the original thought, it would seem to be—"Oh God! the precious or sacred power in the lotus." Difficulties in explaining the ancient legend about lotus-eating, as well as this existing superstition, arise from the fact that the plant now known as the lotus has no toxic qualities. There is, however, a possible solution. The lotus has a sweet root; and at the present time in Cashmere, this root is hooked up from the bottoms of the lakes and used as food. But a sweet root contains fermentable matters—both the saccharine and the amylaceous: even now, alcohol is made from beet-root. Possibly, then, in early times the juice and starch of the lotus-root were used, just as the sap of the palm is in some places used still, for making an intoxicating beverage; and the beliefs concerning the lotus may have survived in times when this beverage was replaced by others more easily produced. The fact that in the early days of soma-worship the juice was fermented, while in later days it was not (other kinds of intoxicating liquors having come into use), yields additional reason for thinking so. Be this as it may, however, we have this evidence:—some plant yielding a product causing a pleasurable mental state, was identical in name with a plant regarded as sacred because of an indwelling god.

It is, indeed, alleged that in Egypt the lotus was sacred as a symbol of the Nile, and that the Indian lotus stood in like relation to the Ganges. I notice this interpretation for the purpose of remarking that I do not believe any early usage arose through symbolization. This is one of the many erroneous interpretations which result from ascribing developed ideas to undeveloped minds. No one who, instead of fancying how primitive usages could have arisen, observes how they do arise, will believe that the primitive man ever *deliberately* adopted a symbol, or ever even conceived of a symbol as such. All symbolic actions are modifications of actions which originally had practical ends—were not invented but grew. The case of mutilations sufficiently exemplifies the process.

Other-Worlds.—The speculation ventured in § 113, that conquest of one race by another introduces beliefs in different other worlds, to which the superior and inferior go, is supported by this passage which I have since met with:—

"If there are strong caste-distinctions, the souls of the noble and chief men are said to go to a better country than those of the rest. . . . It is for this reason that in Cochin China, common people do not entertain the souls of their friends on the same day of the All-Souls' feast as that on which the nobility have invited theirs; because otherwise those souls when returning would have their former servants to carry the gifts received."—*Bastian, Vergl. Psychologie*, p. 89.

Superstitions of the Russians.—Under foregoing heads the examples of each form of superstition resulting from the ghost-theory, are taken from divers societies. Here it will be instructive to present an entire series of these several forms of such superstitions as exhibited in the same society. This is done in the following extracts from Mr. Ralston's *Songs of the Russian People.*

Because they believe one of the forms of the soul to be the shadow "there are persons there who object to having their silhouettes taken, fearing that if they do so they will die before the year is out." (p. 117.)

"A man's reflected image is supposed to be in communion with his inner self." (p. 117.)

"The Servians believe that the soul of a witch often leaves her body while she is asleep, and flies abroad in the shape of a butterfly." (pp. 117–8.)

"After death the soul at first remains in the neighbourhood of the body, and then follows it to the tomb. The Bulgarians hold that it assumes the form of a bird or a butterfly, and sits on the nearest tree waiting till the funeral is over." (p. 115.)

"A common belief among the Russian peasantry is that the spirits of the departed haunt their old homes for the space of six weeks, during which they eat and drink, and watch the sorrowing of the mourners." (p. 118.)

"Great care is taken to provide the dead man with what he requires on his long journey, especially with a handkerchief and towel, . . . and with a coin . . . for the purpose of buying a place in the other world . . . The custom of providing money for the corpse has always been universal among the Slavonians." (pp. 315–6.)

Mourning "was formerly attended by laceration of the faces of the mourners, a custom still preserved among some of the inhabitants of Dalmatia and Montenegro." (p. 316.)

Among the old Slavonians "in some cases at least, human sacrifices were offered on the occasion of a burial." (p. 324.)

"In addition to being accompanied by his widow, the heathen Slavonian, if a man of means and distinction, was solaced by the sacrifice of some of his slaves." (p. 328.)

On Dmitry's Saturday "the peasants attend a church service, and afterwards they go out to the graves of their friends, and there institute a feast, lauding . . . the virtues and good qualities of the dead, and then drinking to their eternal rest." (p. 260.)

"In olden days a memorial banquet was held in his [the departed one's] honour on the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth day after his death, and on its anniversary, and he was remembered also in the feasts celebrated . . . in memory of the Fathers. . . . To these feasts it was customary to invite the dead. . . . Silently the living . . . threw portions of the food under the table for their spirit-guests." (pp. 320–1.)

"Among the (non-Slavonic) Mordvins in the Penza and Saratof Governments, a dead man's relations offer the corpse eggs, butter, and money, saying: 'Here is something for you: Marfa has brought you this. Watch over her corn and cattle.'" (p. 121.)

"The festival called *Rádunitsa* . . . is chiefly devoted to the memory of the dead. In certain districts the women and girls still take food and drink to the cemeteries, and there 'howl' over the graves of their dead friends and relatives. When they have 'howled' long enough, they . . . proceed to eat, drink, and be merry, deeming that the dead can 'rejoice' with them." (p. 222.)

"Here is a specimen of a *Prichitanie*, intended to be recited over a grave on the twentieth of April . . .

'O ye, our own fathers and mothers! in what have we angered you, our own, that you have no welcome for us, no joy, no parental charm? . . .'

And here . . . is a specimen of an orphan's wailing above her mother's grave:—

'O mother dear that bare me, O with sadness longed-for one! To whom hast thou left us, on whom are we orphans to rest our hopes? . . . Have a care for us, mother, dear, give us a word of kindness! No, thou hast hardened thy heart harder than stone, and hast folded thy uncaressing hands over thy heart.'" (pp. 343–4.)

There is good evidence that "the Domovoy or house-spirit" (p. 119) is an ancestor. "The Ruthenians reverence in the person of the Domovoy the original constructor of the family hearth." (p. 122.) "In some districts tradition expressly refers to the spirits of the dead the functions which are generally attributed to the Domovoy, and they are supposed to keep watch over the house of a descendant who honours them and provides them with due offerings." (p. 121.)

"The Russian peasant draws a clear line between his own Domovoy and his neighbour's. The former is a benignant spirit, who will do him good, even at the expense of others; the latter is a malevolent being, who will very likely steal his hay, drive away his poultry, and so forth, for his neighbour's benefit." (pp. 129–130.)

"The domestic spirits of different households often engage in contests with one another." (p. 130.)

"In Bohemia fishermen are afraid of assisting a drowning man, thinking the Vodyany [water-sprite] will be offended, and will drive away the fish from their nets." (p. 152.)

"According to some traditions she [the witch Baba Yaga] even feeds on the souls of the dead. The White-Russians, for instance, affirm that '. . . . the Baba Yaga and her subordinate witches feed on the souls of people.'" (p. 163.)

During a drought some peasants "dug up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the previous December, and had been buried in the village graveyard. Some of the party then beat it about the head, exclaiming, 'Give us rain!'" (pp. 425–6.)

"In White-Russia the Domovoy is called *Tsmok*, a snake, . . . This House Snake brings all sorts of good to the master who treats it well, and gives it omelettes, which should be placed on the roof of the house or on the threshing-floor." (pp. 124–5.)

"By the common people of the present day snakes are there [in Russia] looked upon with much respect and even affection. 'Our peasants,' says Afanasief, 'consider it a happy omen if a snake takes up its quarters in a cottage, and they gladly set out milk for it. To kill such a snake would be a very great sin.'" (p. 175.)

"Some traces of tree-worship may be found in the song which the girls sing as they go into the woods to fetch the birch-tree . . .

> "Rejoice, Birch-tree, rejoice green ones! . . .
> To you the maidens!
> To you they bring pies,
> Cakes, omelettes.

"The eatables here mentioned seem to refer to sacrifices offered in olden days to the birch, the tree of the spring." (p. 238.)

"They [the old heathen Slavonians] appear to have looked upon the life beyond the grave as a mere prolongation of that led on earth—the rich man retained at least some of his possessions; the slave remained a slave." (p. 114.)

Many instructive passages might be added. The dead are said to complain of the pressure of the earth on them; describe themselves as cold; and at festivals to which they are invited, are sympathized with as tired and hungry. Ancestral spirits are carried to new homes; diseases are evil spirits often with bodily shapes; there are wizards who control the weather; they ride in dust-whirlwinds. But the above suffice to show how completely the ghost-theory has developed into an ancestor-worship, betraying, notwithstanding the repressive influences of Christianity, all the essentials of a religion—sacrifices, prayers, praises, festivals.

Apotheosis in Polynesia.—The more the evidence furnished by every race is looked into, the more irresistible becomes the conclusion that gods were originally men: sometimes even ordinary men, but usually men in some way superior, belonging either to the tribe or to a conquering tribe. That which the traditions of the Egyptians tell us, namely, that Egypt was originally ruled by a dynasty of gods; that which we see in Greek beliefs as set down by Herodotus, who distinguishes Minos as preceding the generations of men, and belonging to the dynasty of the gods; that which is implied by the Japanese story that Jimmu, "the fifth ruler in descent from the sun goddess," was "considered to have been the first *mortal* ruler" (Adams' *History of Japan*, vol. i, p. 7); is shown us by the uncivilized. These now entertain ideas like those entertained by the progenitors of the civilized. Here are a few instances:—

"Rangi requested the invincible warrior Tangiia to send him one of his sons as a god." (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 25.)

"And yet, strangely enough, associated with these original gods are the deified heroes of antiquity, in no wise inferior to their fellow divinities. (*Ibid.*, p. 20.)

"The proper denizens of Avaiki [Hades = an underground world] are the major and lesser divinities, with their dependents. These marry, multiply, and quarrel like mortals. They wear clothing, plant, cook, fish, build, and inhabit dwellings of exactly the same sort as exist on earth. The food of immortals is no better than that eaten by mankind. . . . Murder, adultery, drunkenness, theft, and lying are practised by them. The arts of this world are fac-similes of what primarily belonged to nether-land, and were taught to mankind by the gods." (*Ibid.*, p. 154.)

There is a tradition of a council of gods to determine as to man's immortality. "While the discussion was proceeding a pouring rain came on and broke up the meeting. The gods ran to the houses for shelter." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, pp. 8–9.)

Concerning the natives of San Christoval, Solomon Islands, we are told that:—

"The bodies of common people are thrown into the sea, but men of consequence are buried. After a time they take up the skull or some part of the skeleton, and put it in a small building in the village, where upon occasions they pray or sacrifice to obtain help from the spirit." (Codrington, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x, 300.)

But perhaps the clearest evidence, as well as the most abundant, is that furnished by the Fijians. Since writing the comparison made in § 201, between the Greek pantheon and the pantheon of the Fijians, an unknown friend has been good enough to forward me a statement which bears, in an interesting way, on the question. It is contained in a parliamentary paper, *Correspondence respecting the Cession of Fiji*, presented February 6, 1875, p. 57. This document concerns the native ownership of land; and the passage I refer to appears to be appended for the purpose of showing how the native idea of ownership is affected by the associated creed :—

"NOTE.—Their fathers or their Gods.—It may not be out of place in connection with the above memorandum to advance one or two facts with the object of showing that the head of the tribe, *i.e.*, its highest living male ascendant, was regarded as its father. He held absolute authority over the persons, property, and lives of his people, and both before and after death had the same reverence shown to him as to a God.

"The Fijian language makes no distinction, in terms, between the marks of respect and reverence rendered to a Chief and those rendered to a God. I will select a few words, with their meanings, from Hazelwood's Fijian Dictionary. '1. Tama—a father. 2. Tama-ka—to reverence, to clap hands, or to make some expression of a God or Chief. 3. Cabora—to offer or present property to a God or to a Chief. 4. Ai sevu—the first dug yams, the first fruits, which are generally offered to the Gods and given to a Chief of a place. 5. Tauvu, and Veitauvu—Literally, to have the same root, or sprung from the same source; used of people who worship the same God.' . . .

"The swearing of Fijians is like that of the High Asiatic peoples. Two men quarrelling never swear at each other personally, nor even utter their respective names; they will curse their fathers, their grandfathers, and their most remote ancestry. The reason being that to curse a Fijian's father is to curse his God. . . . The successive stages of authority among the Fijian people is first, that of the individual family; secondly, the association of many families, which constitute the Qali; and thirdly, the union of these Qalis under their recognized hereditary Chief, which constitutes the Matanitu. It is the Family, Gens, and Tribe of early history found extant, and as a system still closely observed in Polynesia at the present day."

This account agrees completely with the indications given by earlier voyagers and missionaries; as witness the following extracts:—

"It is impossible to ascertain with any degree of probability how many gods the Feejeeans have, as any man who can distinguish himself in murdering his fellow-men may certainly secure to himself deification after his death." (Erskine's *Western Pacific*, p. 246.)

The lower order of Fijian gods "generally described as men of superior mould and carriage," "bear a close analogy to the *lares*, *lemures*, and genii of the Romans." "Admission into their number is easy, and any one may

secure his own apotheosis who can insure the service of some one as his representative and priest after his decease." (Williams, *Fiji, etc.*, pp. 218–9.)

Nature-Gods.—Here are a few further facts supporting the conclusion that after the rise of the ghost-theory, the various kinds of objects which irregularly appear, disappear, and reappear, in the heavens, are frequently regarded as ghosts. Says Gill, concerning the fates of the Mangaians after death :—

"Not so warriors slain on the field of battle. The spirits of these lucky fellows for a while wander about amongst the rocks and trees in the neighbourhood of which their bodies were thrown. . . . At length the first slain on each battle-field would collect his brother ghosts," and lead them to the summit of a mountain, whence "they leap into the blue expanse, thus becoming the peculiar clouds of the winter." [Compare with North American Indians among whom the name "Cloud" is frequent in Catlin's list.] (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 162–3.)

"It was supposed that in these lower regions there were heavens, earth and sea, fruits and flowers, planting, fishing and cooking, marrying and giving in marriage—all very much as in the world from which they had gone. Their new bodies, however, were singularly volatile, could ascend at night, become luminous sparks [stars] or vapour, revisit their former homes and retire again at early dawn to the bush or to the Polotu hades. These visits were dreaded, as they were supposed to be errands of destruction to the living, especially to any with whom the departed had reason to be angry. By means of presents and penitential confession all injurers were anxious to part on good terms with the dying whom they had ill-used." (Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, p. 259.)

. . . . "Others saw their village-god in the rainbow, others saw him in the shooting-star; and in time of war the position of a rainbow and the direction of a shooting-star were always ominous." (*Ibid.*, p. 21.)

Mountain Deities.—In § 114, I suggested two ways in which ancestor-worship originates beliefs in gods who reside on the highest peaks and have access to the heavens. Burial of the dead on mountain crags, I indicated as one origin; and the occupation of mountain strongholds by conquering races, as probably another origin. I have since met with verifications of both suggestions.

The first of them is contained in the *Travels in the Philippines*, by F. Jagor. Giving proof that before the Spanish settlement the people had the ordinary ideas and customs of ancestor-worshippers, he describes the sacred burial caves; and shows the survival of the religious awe with which these caves were originally regarded. He visited some of these caves at Nipa-Nipa; and says (p. 259) that "the numerous coffins, implements, arms, and trinkets, protected by superstitious terrors, continued to be undisturbed for centuries. No boat ventured to cross over without the observance of a religious ceremony, derived from heathen times, to propitiate the spirits of the caverns, who were believed to punish the omission of it with storm and shipwreck." Moreover he tells us that the boatmen who went with

the pastor of Basey to the cave to get remains, regarded a thunderstorm which broke on their way back, as "a punishment for their outrage." After thus exhibiting the popular beliefs as they still exist, notwithstanding Catholic teaching, he proves, from early writers, what these beliefs originally were. It appears that men when dying often chose their burial-places; and he quotes one authority to the effect that "those who were of note" sometimes had their coffins deposited "on an elevated place or rock on the bank of a river, where they might be venerated by the pious." (p. 262.) He says that Thévenot describes them as worshipping "those of their ancestors who had most distinguished themselves by courage and genius, whom they regarded as deities. . . . Even the aged died under this conceit, choosing particular places, such as one on the island of Leyté, which allowed of their being interred at the edge of the sea, in order that the mariners who crossed over might acknowledge them as deities, and pay them respect." (p. 263.) And he also quotes Gemelli Careri, who says that "the oldest of them chose some remarkable spot in the mountains, and particularly on headlands projecting into the sea, in order to be worshipped by the sailors." (p. 263.) This combination of facts is, I think, amply significant. We have distinguished persons becoming gods after death; we see them providing for this apotheosis, and in a sense demanding worship; we find them choosing high and conspicuous burial-places to facilitate the worship; we see that approach to burial-places is regarded as sacrilege; and we see that the ghosts of the dead have become deified to the extent that they are supposed to vent their anger in thunderstorms. Here are all the elements from which might result a Philippine Sinai.

The instance to which I refer as showing that invaders, or dominant men, seizing a high stronghold (see § 114), may give origin to a celestial hierarchy, whose residence is a mountain top, I take from Bancroft's version of the Quiché legend. It begins with a time when as yet there was no Sun (possibly a fragment of some still more ancient story brought southwards by dwellers in the Arctic regions); and in the first place narrates a migration in search of the Sun.

"So the four men and their people set out for Tulan-Zuiva, otherwise called the Seven-caves or Seven-ravines, and there they received gods, each man as head of a family, a god; though inasmuch as the fourth man, Iqi-Balam, had no children, and founded no family, his god is not usually taken into the account. . . . Many other trials also they underwent in Tulan, famines and such things, and a general dampness and cold,—for the earth was moist, there being as yet no sun. . . . They determined to leave Tulan; and the greater part of them, under the guardianship and direction of Tohil, set out to see where they should take up their abode. They continued on their way amid the most extreme hardships for want of food. . . . At last

they came to a mountain that they named Hacavitz, after one of their gods, and here they rested,—for here they were by some means given to understand that they should see the sun. . . . And the sun, and the moon, and the stars were now all established. Yet was not the sun then in the beginning the same as now; his heat wanted force, and he was but as a reflection in a mirror. [This is explained if we suppose migration from the far north.] . . . Another wonder when the sun rose! The three tribal gods, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, were turned into stone, as were also the gods connected with the lion, the tiger, the viper, and other fierce and dangerous animals. . . . And the people multiplied on this Mount Hacavitz, and here they built their city. . . . And they worshipped the gods that had become stone, Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz. . . . They began to wet their altars with the heart's blood of human victims. From their mountain hold they watched for lonely travelers belonging to the surrounding tribes, seized, overpowered, and slew them for a sacrifice. . . . The hearts of the villagers were thus fatigued within them, pursuing unknown enemies. At last, however, it became plain that the gods Tohil, Avilix, and Hacavitz, and their worship, were in some way or other the cause of this bereavement: so the people of the villages conspired against them. Many attacks, both openly and by ruses, did they make on the gods, and on the four men, and on the children and people connected with them; but not once did they succeed, so great was the wisdom, and power, and courage of the four men and of their deities. . . . At last the war was finished. . . . And the tribes humiliated themselves before the face of Balam-Quitzé, of Balam-Agab, and of Mahucutah. . . . Now it came to pass that the time of the death of Balam-Quitzé, Balam-Agab, Mahucutah, and Iqi-Balam drew near. . . . And they said: we return to our people. . . . So the old men took leave of their sons and their wives. . . . Then instantly the four old men were not; but in their place was a great bundle. . . . So it was called the Majesty Enveloped . . . and they burned incense before it." [Such a bundle was said "to contain the remains of Camaxtli, the chief god of Tlascala."] *Native Races, etc.*, vol. iii, pp. 49–54.

Men in the Sky.—Already the Esquimaux have furnished in the text an illustration of the primitive belief that stars, etc., were originally men and animals who lived on the Earth (§ 190). In the work of Dr. Rink, I find a detailed account of Esquimaux ideas concerning the physical connexion between the upper and lower worlds, and the routes joining them:—

"The earth, with the sea supported by it, rests upon pillars, and covers an under world, accessible by various entrances from the sea, as well as from mountain clefts. Above the earth an upper world is found, beyond which the blue sky, being of a solid consistence, vaults itself like an outer shell, and, as some say, revolves around some high mountain-top in the far north. The upper world exhibits a real land with mountains, valleys, and lakes. After death, human souls either go to the upper or to the under world. The latter is decidedly to be preferred, as being warm and rich in food. There are the dwellings of the happy dead called *arsissut*—viz., those who live in abundance. On the contrary, those who go to the upper world will suffer from cold and famine; and these are called *arssartut*, or ball-players, on account of their playing at ball with a walrus-head, which gives rise to the aurora borealis, or northern lights. Further, the upper world must be considered a continuation of the earth in the direction of height, although those individuals, or at least those souls temporarily delivered from the body, that are said to have visited it, for the most part passed through the air. The upper

world, it would seem, may be considered identical with the mountain round the top of which the vaulted sky is for ever circling—the proper road leading to it from the foot of the mountain upwards being itself either too far off or too steep. One of the tales also mentions a man going in his kayak [boat] to the border of the ocean, where the sky comes down to meet it." (pp. 37–8.)

"The upper world is also inhabited by several rulers besides the souls of the deceased. Among these are the owners or inhabitants of celestial bodies, who, having been once men, were removed in their lifetime from the earth, but are still attached to it in different ways, and pay occasional visits to it. They have also been represented as the celestial bodies themselves, and not their *inue* only, the tales mentioning them in both ways. The owner of the moon originally was a man, called Aningaut, and the *inua* of the sun was his sister. . . . The *erdlaveersissok*—viz., the entrail-seizer—is a woman residing on the way to the moon, who takes out the entrails of every person whom she can tempt to laughter. The *siagtut*, or the three stars in Orion's belt, were men who were lost in going out to hunt on the ice." (pp. 48–9.)

There could scarcely be better proof that the personalization of heavenly bodies has resulted from the supposed translation of terrestrial beings—men and animals—to the sky. Here we have the upper world regarded as physically continuous with the lower world as well as like it in character; and the migration to it after death parallels those migrations to distant parts of the Earth's surface after death, which primitive races in general show us. While we have no evidence of Nature-worship, we have clear evidence of identification of celestial bodies with traditional persons. That is to say, personalization of the heavenly bodies, *precedes* worship of them, instead of *succeeding* it, as mythologists allege. Joining these facts with those given in the text, the origin of names for constellations and the genesis of astrology, are made, I think, sufficiently clear.

Star-Gods.—While the proofs of these pages are under correction [this refers to the first edition], I am enabled to add an important piece of evidence, harmonizing with the above, and supporting sundry of the conclusions drawn in the text. It is furnished by a Babylonian inscription (Rawlinson's *Cuneiform Inscriptions, etc.*, iii, 53, No. 2, lines 36, etc.), which, as translated by Prof. Schrader, runs thus:—

> "The star Venus at sunrise is Ishtar among the gods,
> The star Venus at sunset is Baaltis among the gods."

We have thus another case of multiple personality in a heavenly body, analogous to the cases of the Sun and Moon before pointed out (§ 191), but differing in definiteness. For whereas, before, the belief in two or more personalities was inferred, we here have it directly stated. This belief, inexplicable on any current theory, we see to be perfectly explicable as a result of birth-naming.

Religion of the Iranians.—Dr. Scheppig has translated for me

some important passages from the work of Fr. Spiegel, *Erânische Alterthumskunde*, vol. ii (1873), pp. 91, etc. While this work brings clearly into view the many and various indications of ancestor-worship in the *Zend-Avesta*, it contains highly significant evidence concerning the ideas of ghosts (*fravashis*) and of ghost-mechanism throughout creation, which were held by the Persian branch of the Aryans.

Nature of the Fravashi.—(p. 92.) "The *fravashi* is in the first place a part . . . of the human soul. In this sense the word is used in the *Avesta*. . . . Later works of the Parsees give us more exact information about the activity of the *fravashi*. The *frohar* or *fravashi*—so it is stated in one of those works, the *Sadder Bundehesh*—has the task of making useful what a man eats, and removing the heavier parts. Accordingly, the *fravashi* is the part intermediating between body and soul; but it is conceived as a person, independent in general, and particularly from the body. The *Sadder Bundehesh* recognizes other psychic powers besides: the vital power (*jân*), the conscience (*akho*), the soul (*revân*), the consciousness (*bôi*). [This recalls the theory of the Egyptians, by whom also each man was supposed to unite within himself four or five different entities. These seemingly-strange beliefs are not difficult to account for. As shown in §§ 56, 57, 94, 95, shadow, reflexion, breath, and heart are all regarded as partially-independent components of the individual, sometimes spoken of as separable during life, and as going to different places after death.] Of these the vital power is so intimately connected with the body that the latter perishes as soon as the former has vanished. In a body thus doomed to perish the other psychic powers cannot stay either: they leave it; the conscience, because it has not done anything wrong, makes straightway for heaven, while soul, consciousness, and *fravashi* remaining together, have to answer for the deeds of the man, and are rewarded or punished."

Fravashis of Gods and Men.—(p. 94.) "Every living being has a *fravashi*, not only in the terrestrial but in the spiritual world. Not even Ahura-Mazda [the chief god] is excepted; his *fravashi* is frequently alluded to (Vd. 19, 46, Yt. 13, 80) as well as the *fravashis* of the Amesha-çpentas and the other Yazatas (Yç. 23, 3, Yt. 13, 82). Most frequently the *fravashis* of the Paoiryô-tkaeshas are invoked, *i.e.*, those of the pious men who lived before the appearance of the law. To them, generally, the *fravashis* of the nearest relations, and the *fravashi* of the person himself, are added. . . . It may appear surprising that the *fravashis* of the 'born and unborn' are invoked (Yç. 26, 20). The clue may be found in Yt. 13, 17, where it is stated that the *fravashis* of the pious who lived before the law, and of the beings who will appear in future, are more powerful than those of other

people, living or dead. Here worship of manes and of heroes is mixed up. Among these *fravashis* the ancestors of the particular family, and of the particular clan or tribe, were worshipped."

Powers of the Fravashis.—(p. 95.) "The *fravashis* were not deficient in power. Their chief task was the protection of living beings. It is by their splendour and majesty that Ahura-Mazda is enabled to protect the Ardvíçûra Anâhita (Yt. 13, 4) [a certain spring and a goddess], and the earth on which the water runs and the trees grow. The *fravashis* protect, as well, the children in the womb. . . . They are very important for the right distribution of terrestrial benefits. It is by their assistance that cattle and draught beasts can walk on the earth; and but for their help sun, moon, and star, as well as the water, would not find their way, nor would the trees grow (Yt. 13, 53, etc.)." (p. 95–6.) "Accordingly, the peasant will do well to secure the assistance of these important deities. The same holds true for the warrior; for the *fravashis* are helpers in battles, . . . Mithra, Rashun, and the victorious wind are in their company. . . . It is of great importance that the *fravashis* remain in close connection with their families. They demand water for their clans, each one for his kin, when it is taken out of the Lake Vourukasha; . . . each of them fights on the spot where he has got to defend a homestead, and kings and generals who want their help against tormenting enemies, must specially call on them; they then come and render assistance, provided they have been satisfied and not offended (Yt. 13, 69–72). The *fravashis* give assistance not only as warriors; they may be invoked against any thing alarming, . . . against bad men and bad spirits." . . .

Fravashis and Stars.—(p. 94.) We read in the Mînô-khired: "'All the innumerable stars which are visible are called the *fravashis* of the terrestrial ones [men ?]; because for the whole creation created by the creator Ormuzd, for the born and the unborn, a fravashi of the same essence is manifest.' Hence it appears that the *fravashis*, or the stars, form the host that . . . fights against the demons." . . .

Worship of the Fravashis.—(p. 97.) "As in the case of other genii of the Zoroastrian religion, much depends on the satisfactory propitiation of the *fravashis;* for their power, and consequent activity, depends on the sacrifices. Probably they were worshipped upon the 19th day of each month: their chief feasts, however, were on the . . . intercalatory days added to the year at its termination. About that time the *fravashis* descend to the earth, and stay there for 10 nights, expecting to be met with appropriate sacrifices of meat and clothes. (Yt. 13, 49.) [Compare with the German and Sclavonian superstitions.] . . . There cannot be any doubt that the worship of the *fravashis* played an important part with the Iranians, though perhaps more in private

than in public. It would appear that there were two different sorts of it. General, certainly, was the hero-worship—the veneration of the Paoiryô-tkaeshas [pious men before the law]. With this, in some ages perhaps, the worship of *fravashis* of the royal family was combined. The ancestor-worship, on the other hand, was of a strictly private character."

Parallelisms.—(p. 98.) "The custom of honouring the memory of ancestors by sacrifices would appear to have been characteristic of the Indo-Germans from the very first. It is for this reason that quite striking similarities are found in the cult, which no doubt refer to very old times. . . . It has been justly pointed out that, as the *fravashis* are conceived as stars, so, in the opinion of the ancient Hindoos, the blessed men beam in form of stars (see *Justi, Handbuch, s.v., fravashi*, p. 200). Nor should it be overlooked that this star-worship is very like the worship of the heavenly host mentioned in the Old Testament."

Here, then, concerning these ancient Aryans of Persia, we have, on high authority, statements proving a dominant ancestor-worship; and also yielding support to various of the doctrines set forth in Part I. While it is only one of several souls possessed by each individual, the *fravashi* is the predominant and propitiated soul. It is supposed to need food, like the other-self of the dead savage. Not ordinary men only, but deities, up to the supreme one, have each his ghost; implying that he was originally a man. We see, too, that these *fravashis* which are ancestral ghosts, become the agents to whom the powers of surrounding objects are ascribed—fetich ghosts. We see that they have peopled the heavens—have become the in-dwelling spirits of sun, moon, and stars. And we see that worship of them, beginning with worship of those of the family and the clan, originates in time the worship of conspicuous traditional persons, as ancient heroes and gods; just as among the Fijians and others at the present day.

Aryan Ancestor-worship.—The more I have looked into the evidence, the more I have marvelled at those who, in the interests of the mythological theory, assert that the Aryans have been distinguished from inferior races by not being ancestor-worshippers; and who ascribe such ancestor-worship as cannot be overlooked, to imitation of inferior races. If the American fillibuster Ward, now apotheosized in China, has a temple erected to him there, the fact is accepted as not unnatural among the ancestor-worshipping Chinese. But in India, among Aryans, we must ascribe to the bad example of lower peoples, the erection of a temple at Benares to the English fillibuster Warren Hastings. —(*Parl. Hist.*, xxvi, pp. 773–7.)

I find nothing but such unwarranted assumption to place

against the clear evidence that ancestor-worship was dominant among primitive Aryans, long remained dominant among civilized Aryans, survived in considerable strength in mediæval Christendom, and has not yet died away. When we learn that the *Avesta* describes sacrifices for the dead, and contains prayers calling upon them—when we read in the *Institutes of Menu* (Sir W. Jones's translation, vol. iii, p. 147) that "an oblation by *Bráhmens* to their ancestors transcends an oblation to the deities; because that to the deities is considered as the opening and completion of that to ancestors"—when, turning to the Aryans who migrated West, we remember how active was their propitiation of the dead, calling from Grote the words "sepulchral duties, sacred beyond all others in the eyes of a Greek"—when we are reminded how the early Romans, ascribing to their manes-gods a love of human blood, duly administered to it; our boldness of assumption must be great if we can say that Aryan ancestor-worship was not indigenous but adopted.

Were it true that necrolatry was not rooted in the primitive Aryan mind, as in other primitive minds (a marvellous difference, did it exist), it would be strange that though superficial it was so difficult to extirpate. Christianity spread without extinguishing it. In a capitulary of 742, Karloman prohibits "sacrifices to the dead" (*Baluzius*, i, 148). Nor has it been extinguished by modern Christianity, as was shown in § 152. Here is further evidence from Hanusch, *Die Wissenschaft des Slawischen Mythus*, p. 408:—

"According to Gebhardi . . . the Misnians, Lausitzians, Bohemians, Silesians, and Poles, upon the first of March, early in the morning, went forth with torches, going to the cemetery and offering up food to their ancestors. [According to Grimm] the Esthonians leave food for the dead in the night of the second of November, and are glad if in the morning something is found to be consumed. . . . With all Slaves it was a custom to have a meal for the dead, not only upon the day of funeral but annually; the former was intended for the particular dead, the latter for the dead in general. . . . At the latter they believed the souls to be present personally. Silently little bits of food were thrown for them under the table. People believed they heard them rustle, and saw them feed upon the smell and vapour of the food."

I may close with the conclusive testimony of one who has had unusual opportunities of studying Aryan superstitions as now being generated, and whose papers in the *Fortnightly Review* show how competent he is both as observer and reasoner—Sir A. C. Lyall. In a letter to me he says:—"I do not know who may be the author of the statement which you quote [in § 150], that 'No Indo-European nation seems to have made a religion of the worship of the dead;' but it is a generalization entirely untenable. Here in Rajputana, among the purest Aryan tribes, the worship of famous ancestors is most prevalent; and all their heroes are more or less deified."

Ancestor-worship among the Greeks.—The foregoing evidence, published in the first edition, I can now re-inforce. The already-quoted essay *A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum*, by Mr. Percy Gardner, contains clear proofs, brought to light by recent investigations, that ancestor-worship was no less dominant among the Greeks than among inferior peoples. The first two of the following extracts, concerning Lycians and Etrurians, I prefix to show that the Greeks had identical conceptions and usages:—

"Thus so far as Lycia is concerned there can be no doubt that as early as the fourth century B.C. dead heroes were represented on their tombs as receiving homage from the living." (pp. 14–15.)

"And that the feast here [on a sarcophagus] is a feast after death, is shown by the analogy of the wall paintings of several of the large tombs of Etruria, in which the occupant of the tomb is seen eating, drinking, and making merry, as if he had but to continue in the tomb the life which while he was in the flesh he had found so pleasant." (p. 15.)

"These reliefs readily attach themselves to the more archaic class of Spartan monuments, and throw a fresh light on their character, so that after seeing them Milchhoefer retracted his previously expressed opinion, and no longer hesitated to believe that in all alike dead mortals held the post of honour, and that all referred to the cultus of ancestors." (p. 18.)

"The worship of the dead did not occupy among the *élite* of Greece the same space in men's minds which at an earlier time it had held, and which is still held in the more conservative districts."

"Nevertheless, a careful search will disclose many passages even in the Attic writers which illustrate this form of religion. The opening passage of the *Choephori*, for example, tells of cultus kept up at the tombs of deceased worthies. In the *Alcestis*, the heroine of the play is scarcely dead before she is invoked by the chorus as a spiritual power, able to give and to withhold favours." (p. 21.)

"At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, more especially the burial-customs, of the Greeks, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense, and were willing in return to furnish protection and aid." (p. 22.)

"The dead man, living in his tomb as he had lived in his house, requires frequent supplies of food and drink, rejoices in the presence of armour and ornaments, such as he loved in life, and is very sensitive to discourteous treatment. These ideas were part of the mental furniture of the whole Aryan race, before it separated into branches, and are found in all the countries over which it spread." (p. 22.)

"It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse, all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its life. Wine and food of various kinds were there laid up in a little store, a lamp was provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness; and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted; sometimes even, by a refinement of realism, a whetstone to sharpen the edge of sword and spear in case they should grow blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at the tomb of a noted warrior some of a hostile race to be his slaves thereafter." (p. 23.)

"If a body was left unburied, or if the tomb in which it was laid was not

from time to time supplied with food and drink, then the ghost inhabiting such body became a wretched wanderer on the face of the earth, and neither had peace itself nor allowed survivors to be at peace." (p. 24.)

"The lectisternia of the Romans, in which they spread feasts for certain of the gods, and laid their images by the tables that they might enjoy what was provided are well known, and most people fancy that the custom was of Latin origin, but it is certain that the Romans in this matter were mere imitators of the Greeks. We should naturally suppose that the custom of feasting the gods arose from that of feasting deceased ancestors. And this view receives fresh confirmation when we consider that these banquets were, among the Greeks, bestowed not upon all the gods, but nearly always on those of mortal birth, such as the Dioscuri, Asclepius and Dionysus. They are bestowed indeed upon Zeus and Apollo, and this may seem strange, unless we remember how commonly Zeus Patroius or Herceius, and Apollo were confused in cultus with the traditional family ancestor." (pp. 32–33.)

Origin of Egyptian Gods.—Amid incongruities, the general meaning of the passages which follow is sufficiently clear. Brugsch writes:—

"In . . . the primeval history of their land" the Egyptians "supposed three ages which followed one another, till Mena placed the double crown upon his head. During the first age, a dynasty of the Gods reigned in the land; this was followed by the age of the Demi-gods, and the dynasty of the mysterious Manes closed the prehistoric time. . . . It is to be regretted that the fragments of the Turin papyrus (once containing the most complete list of the kings of Egypt in their chronological order) have preserved not the slightest intelligible information about those fabulous successors of the God-Kings. A single shred allows us to make out with tolerable certainty the names of sacred animals, such as the Apis of Memphis and the Mnevis of Heliopolis, so that it would appear as if these also had contributed to the number of the prehistoric rulers of Egypt." (*History of Egypt*, i, 33, 39.)

The continuity of the series from these early divine personages, some of them figured as animals and half-animals, down to gods who were unquestionably deified men, is implied by the fact that to the worship of those earliest rulers whose vague personalities, surviving from remote times, had become gods proper, there was joined a worship of early historic kings, which, similar in nature, similarly lasted through many ages. Here is a passage from Maspero's *Une Enquête Judiciaire à Thèbes* (*Mém. de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. viii), pp. 62–3:—

"A Memphis on trouve, jusque sous les Ptolémées, des prêtres de Ménès, d'Ata, de Sahûra et d'autres pharaons appartenant aux plus anciennes dynasties (De Rougé, *Étude sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties de Manéthon*, pp. 31, 53, 83); à Thèbes, le culte des Usortesen, des Ahmès, des Aménophis (voir au *Papyrus Abbott*, pl. i, l. 13, la mention d'un prêtre d'Aménophis), ou de certaines reines comme la reine *Nefer-t-arï* (Lieblein, *Deux papyrus, etc.*, p. 31, pl. iii. l. 6; Sharpe, *Eg. Insc.* ii), fut florissant pendant des siècles. Si nous ne saisissons pas chez les particuliers les indices d'une vénération aussi vivace, c'est que, dans les tombes privés, les cérémonies étaient accomplies non par des prêtres spéciaux, mais par les fils ou les descendants du défunt. Souvent, au bout de quelques générations, soit négligence, soit déplacement, ruine, ou extinction de la famille, le culte était suspendu et la mémoire des morts se perdait."

To which passage, showing that the permanent worship of the dead kings was a more developed form of the ordinary ancestor-worship, I may add a confirmatory passage from E. de Rougé :—

"Each pyramid had by its side a funeral building, a sort of temple, where were performed the ceremonies of a cult dedicated to the deified sovereigns. I have no doubt that this cult commenced during their lifetime."—*Mém. de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, pt. xxv, 2, p. 254.)

And yet in face of such evidence, harmonizing with all the other evidences we have found, it is alleged that the early Egyptian gods were personalized powers of nature!

"*Gods and men*" *in Hebrew Legend.*—Further grounds for taking the view expressed in § 200, respecting the "gods and men" of the Hebrew legend, have since been disclosed in the *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. Here is a passage from the new edition edited by Prof. Sayce, published in 1880:—

"One of the most curious statements made in these hymns is that the race of men created by the deity was black-headed. The same race of men is mentioned elsewhere in the ancient literature of the Accadians. . . . In the bilingual tablets the black race is rendered in Assyrian by the word *Adamatu* or 'red-skins.' A popular etymology connected this word *Adamatu* with the word *Adamu*, or *Admu*, 'man,' partly on account of the similarity of sound, partly because in the age of Accadian supremacy and literature, the men *par excellence*, the special human beings made by the Creator, were the dark-skinned race of Accad. The Accadian Adam or 'man' was dark; it was only when the culture of the Accadians had been handed down to their Semitic successors that he became fair. The discovery that the Biblical Adam is identical with the Assyrian *Adamu* or 'man,' and that the Assyrian *Adamu* goes back to the first created man of Accadian tradition who belonged to the black, that is, to the Accadian race, is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson. He has also suggested that the contrast between the black and the white races, between the Accadian and the Semite, is indicated in the sixth chapter of Genesis, where a contrast is drawn between the daughters of men or *Adamu*, and the sons of God." (pp. 81–83.)

Verification is also hereby afforded of the suggestion made in § 178 (note), that the forbidden fruit was the inspiriting and illuminating product of a plant which the conquering race forbade the subject race to consume. The objection, not unlikely to be raised, that the words "fruit" and "eating" do not countenance this interpretation, would be sufficiently met by cases of our own metaphorical uses of these words ("fruit of the womb," "opium-eating"); but it may be met more directly. Of the Zulus, Bp. Callaway says—"The natives speak of beer as food—and of eating it. They also call snuff food, and speak of eating it."

Theology of the Accadians.—The distinguished Assyriologist, Prof. A. H. Sayce, in his article on "Babylonia" in the new

edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (iii, 192–3), writes as follows:—

"The earliest religion of Accad was a Shamanism resembling that of the Siberian or Samoyed tribes of to-day. Every object had its spirit, good or bad; and the power of controlling these spirits was in the hands of priests and sorcerers. The world swarmed with them, especially with the demons, and there was scarcely an action which did not risk demoniac possession. Diseases were regarded as caused in this way. . . . In course of time certain spirits (or rather deified powers of Nature) were elevated above the rest into the position of gods. . . . The old Shamanism gradually became transformed into a religion, with a host of subordinate semi-divine beings; but so strong a hold had it upon the mind, that the new gods were still addressed by their spirits. The religion now entered upon a new phase; the various epithets applied to the same deity were crystallized into fresh divinities, and the sun-god under a multitude of forms became the central object of worship."

Now though Prof. Sayce espouses the theory of the mythologists concerning the origin of Nature-worship, it seems to me that this description tallies better with the theory I have opposed to it. The earliest stage he indicates is that in which ghosts, originally human, have become identified with, or inhabitants of, surrounding objects, as we saw they everywhere tend to do. Just as among the Esquimaux and others, Sun and Moon thus come to be residences of particular ghosts, so with the Accadians. As described by Mr. Sayce, this Accadian Nature-worship, instead of being primordial, was developed out of ghost-worship.

As given by M. Lenormant, in his *La Magie chez les Chaldéens*, the following is part of an incantation against pestilence:—

"De la fièvre, esprit du ciel, souviens-t'en! Esprit de la terre, souviens-t'en! . . . Esprits mâles et femelles, seigneurs des étoiles, souvenez-vous en! . . . Esprits mâles et femelles de la montagne sublime, souvenez-vous en! Esprits mâles et femelles de la lumière de vie, souvenez-vous en! . . . Esprits femelles du père et de la mère de Moul-ge [the Assyrian god Bel] souvenez-vous en! . . . Esprit de la Déesse-onde, mère de Êa, souviens-t'en! Esprit de Ninouah, fille de Êa (Nouah), souviens-t'en! . . . Esprit du dieu Feu, pontife suprême sur la surface de la terre, souviens-t'en!" (p. 128.)

Here, then, the address is uniformly made to ghosts; and these are the ghosts of beings allied by name to traditional human beings—the ghosts of beings who have come to be called gods and goddesses: ghosts regarded as lords and spirits of stars, mountains, fire. And this too, as we saw above, was the creed of the Iranians. The *fravashis* were the ghosts or spirits possessed alike by men and by gods—even by the chief god.

Moreover, little as the fact is recognized, the Hebrew god is habitually spoken of in a parallel way and with the same implication. "The Spirit of the Lord" is a consistent expression if, as in the Accadian belief, and in the beliefs of existing Bedouins, the original conception of a god was that of a powerful

terrestrial ruler—a ruler such as the one hospitably entertained by Abraham, with whom he covenanted to yield allegiance in return for territory. But the expression "Spirit of the Lord," reasonably applied to the double of a potentate after his death, is nonsense if otherwise applied; since, as every critical reader must have observed, if the Lord was originally conceived as a Spirit, then the Spirit of the Lord must have been conceived as the spirit of a spirit. Such an expression as that in Isaiah xlviii, 16, "the Lord God, and His Spirit, hath sent me," which is reconcilable with the primitive idea that every human being, whether king or subject, includes at least two individualities, is irreconcilable with the current theology; for the word spirit, whether interpreted in the sense accepted alike by savage and civilized, or whether referred back to its derivation as meaning breath (which it does in Hebrew as in various other languages), inevitably connotes a body of which it is the spirit.

Thus all three of the widely unlike types of men inhabiting these eastern regions—the so-called Turanians, the Aryans, and the Semites—had the same theory of supernatural beings. However otherwise different, deities, like men, were conceived by them as having doubles. The notion is perfectly congruous with the conclusion everywhere else forced upon us, that deities are the expanded ghosts of dead men, and is utterly incongruous with any other theory.

It was pointed out in § 202 that in various essential respects the Hebrew conception of god was at one with all other conceptions of gods; and here we see this unity implied even in the descriptive phrases used by the Hebrews in speaking of their god.

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