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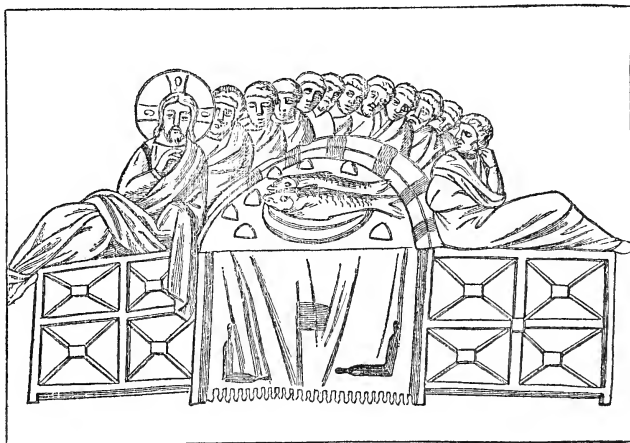
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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER.



THE LAST SUPPER.

A mosaic in Ravenna regarded as the oldest known presentation of that event.
(See "Pagan and Christian Love-Feasts," p. 520.)

The Open Court Publishing Company
CHICAGO

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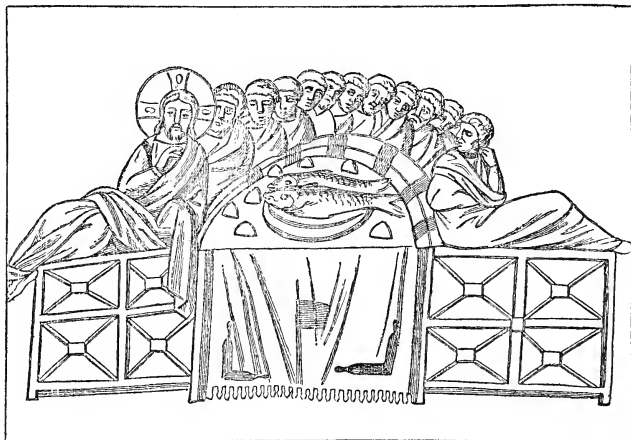
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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> The Genius of Vaccination Driving Out the Demon of Small-pox (Japanese print).	
<i>Pagan and Christian Love-Feasts</i> (Illustrated). EDITOR	513
<i>The Introduction of Vaccination Into the Far East.</i> BERTHOLD LAUFER ...	525
<i>Imperial Songs of Japan.</i> Translated by ARTHUR LLOYD	532
<i>Idols and Fetiches</i> (Conclusion). JAMES B. SMILEY	540
<i>The Ah Fang Palace.</i> Translated by JAMES BLACK	572
<i>Melanchthon on Dürer's Melancholy.</i> EBERHARD NESTLE	574
<i>The Tabu of Horseflesh</i>	575
<i>Book Reviews and Notes</i>	576

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THE GENIUS OF VACCINATION DRIVING OUT THE DEMON OF SMALL-POX.
 Japanese Colorprint by Shuntai.

Frontispiece to *The Open Court*.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and
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VOL. XXV. (No. 9.) SEPTEMBER, 1911.

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PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN LOVE-FEASTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ONE most obvious difference between paganism and Christianity has been pointed out again and again as the prevalence of joy in the former and of a somber gloom in the latter. The reason is easily traced in the nearness of the pre-Christian religions to



A BABYLONIAN COMMUNION.

nature, while in the Christian era the seriousness of the Christian conception of life is so emphasized as to look upon pleasure as sin. It is only of late that Christianity in its most modern phases begins to overcome its hostility to the world and in this sense to approach

again the pagan spirit which appears in its noblest form in the religious sentiment of ancient Greece.

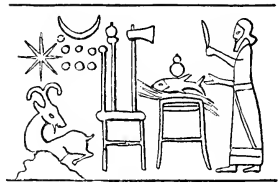
Love-feasts, however, are older than Greek civilization. They are pictured in the ancient Babylonian monuments and it is remarkable that they contain two features of special significance. In one monument we see worshipers partaking of a drink, raising their cups in solemn consecration. In other monuments a sacramental fish plays a conspicuous part. We here reproduce two such Babylonian ceremonies.

The deities who are present are represented by their symbols. In one case, a fish *eucharist*, we see sun, moon, and the seven planets; in the other, a fish *sacrifice*, the star, the moon, the seven planets, the capricorn and the three symbols, the scepter, the mace and the axe.

The reason for this fish sacrament in Babylonia is easily found in the fact that Nina, the spouse of Tammuz, the vegetation god who



A BABYLONIAN FISH EUCHARIST.



A BABYLONIAN FISH SACRIFICE.

annually dies in the fall and rises to life again in spring, is a fish goddess. Perhaps for this reason the fish is sacred also to the fish goddess of Hierapolis. Considering that Tammuz plays the same part in Babylonia and Assyria as Christ in Christian countries, we need not be astonished that the capital of Assyria was called Nineveh, which means the house of the fish.

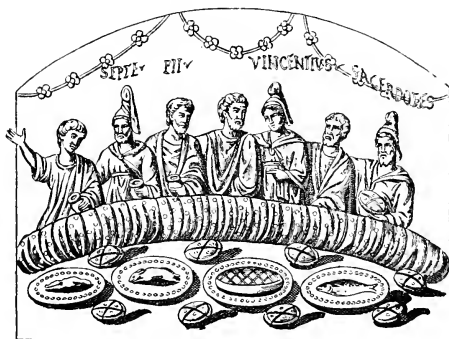
The Open Court for January 1910 contained a translation of the Egyptian Harper's Song which is an ancient version of the German student song *Gaudeamus igitur*. In fact we have reason to believe that the *Gaudeamus* is historically connected with the Harper's Song and may be considered a lineal descendant of it. The same sentiment has come down to us through the ages in the mysteries of Dionysus and other religious institutions. Traces of it have been preserved in ancient Babylon and also in the convivial scenes depicted on pagan tombs of the worshipers of Mithras and Dionysus. The most remarkable forms of these are found in

the tomb erected in honor of Vibia who was the wife of Vincentius, a priest of Sabazius (Dionysus). The death of Vibia is represented as the rape of Persephone by Pluto under the guidance of Mercury.



THE EUCHARIST OF VIBIA.
Painting on the Tomb of Vincentius.

The latter leads her before the throne of the rulers of the nether world. In the relief here reproduced the good angel guides Vibia through the portal of death into the Elysian Fields where men sow and reap without labor fruits that can be eaten without cooking.



THE SEVEN PRIESTS OF SABAZIUS.
Painting on the Tomb of Vincentius.

Vibia is represented twice on the picture, first at the entrance and second seated among the blessed ones who have been deemed worthy of the bliss of Elysium (*bonorum iudicio iudicati*). The fish is con-

spicuous among the viands on the table. Vincentius himself takes part in a love-feast as a member of a sacred seven, some of whom wear the Mithraistic miter.

Cumont¹ hints at the possibility that though Vincentius was certainly a pagan he may have belonged to a Jewish pagan sect in which Judaism had influenced the worship of Sabazius, but there is not the slightest foundation in fact for this hypothesis. It is based on the obvious similarity between the conception of life that we find portrayed in pre-Christian catacombs and that of Christianity



A LOVE-FEAST OF THE FABIAN FAMILY.

Painting in the cemetery of Peter and Marcellinus in the Via Labicana (Roller, pl. LIII).

which can be traced in the catacombs of a later date. But on the one hand we can explain all the ideas of the Vincentius frescoes from pagan customs and on the other hand Judaism proper contains nothing of these ideas, nor do we know anything of Jewish pagan sects which "admitted neophytes of every race to its mystic ceremonies." We do not deny that in such a secret society or sort of lodge as the one to which Vincentius belonged Jews might have been admitted as well as Gentiles, but there is no question that the character

¹ See his article "Asia Minor," *Open Court*, May, 1910. To be found also in his *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Chicago, Open Court Publishing Co., now on the press), p. 65.

of the cult was decidedly un-Jewish, and if there were Jews among its members they had certainly abandoned the faith of their fathers.

This tomb being so undeniably pagan deserves a few more words. Prof. Ernst Maass in his *Orpheus* (p. 209) describes the inscription as follows:² "The head priest of Sabazius (Dionysus) and other gods, a certain Vincentius, had erected in Rome a family sepulcher for himself and his wife Vibia. The inscription reads: 'Vincenti hoc (ostium) quetes [*quietis*] quot [*quod*] vides; plures me antecesserunt, omnes exspecto. Manduca bibe lude et veni at me; cum vives [*vives*], benefac; hoc tecum ferēs.'

"Numinis antistes Sabazis Vincentius hic est,
qui sacra sancta deum mente pia coluit."

[“This which thou seest is the entrance of the rest of Vincentius. Several have preceded me, all I expect. Eat, drink, frolic, and come



A PAGAN FISH EUCHARIST.

Now in the Lateran. From d'Agincourt, *Sculpture*, pl. VIII, 20.

unto me. As long as thou livest thou shalt act righteously (*benefac*): this thou wilt take with thee.”]

The idea contained in this last maxim seems to have crept into the Greco-Roman world from India. It incorporates the main Buddhist doctrine of *karma*, that the works of a man are his very self and that in them he survives. The same sentence is found almost literally in the Buddhist Samyutta-Nikaya (iii. 1, 4) where we read concerning the *karma*:

“’Tis this that he can call his own,
This with him take as he goes hence.”

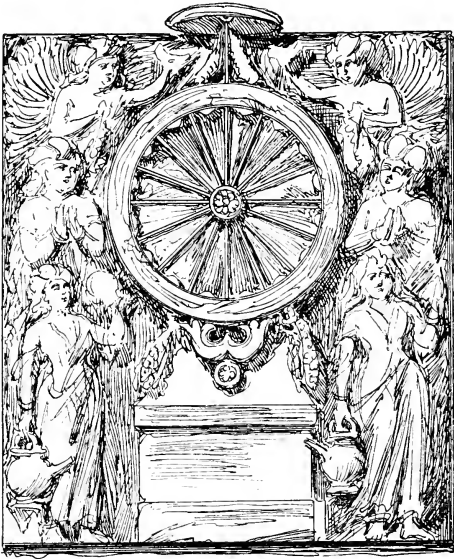
—Tr. by Warren.

It has entered Christianity in the proclamation of the voice from heaven recorded in the Apocalypse (xiv. 13), “They rest from their

² An English translation of this chapter of Maass's work is given in *The Open Court*, XIV, 321-332. For this passage see page 322.

labors and their works do follow them." This tomb of the pagan priest Vincentius is by some accident situated in the vicinity of the catacombs though not connected with them. Its presence there is no argument for the assumption that it is Christian, though this has sometimes been claimed for it.

Other representations of pagan feasts have been preserved on sarcophagi which are probably Mithraistic. One of these (see p. 517) is preserved in the Lateran and has been reproduced by d'Agincourt in his *Sculpture* (pl. VIII, 20) and republished by Becker (p. 121).



THE BUDDHIST TRINITY SUPPORTING THE WHEEL OF THE LAW.

Another one is preserved in the Borgia collection in the National Museum at Naples, and a third one according to Roller (pl. LIV) in the Lateran. Incidentally we may mention that Becker in his *Darstellung Jesu Christi* (page 21) locates this monument in the Villa Borghese before the Porta del Popolo.

It will be noticed that these pagan eucharists preach the joy of life and seem intended to consecrate the convivial pleasures in so-called love-feasts or eucharists, and the same idea pervades the

Christian love-feasts or agapés, both with reference to the number seven of the participants and the conviviality of the scene.

This relief preserved in the *Musco cristiano* of the Lateran has been claimed as Christian on account of the fish and the breaking



A CONVIVIAL SCENE.

A sarcophagus preserved in the National Museum at Naples. The pagan character is assured by the gaiety of the scene.

of the bread, but this interpretation is very doubtful because the fish appears on other pagan monuments, and so does the cross on the loaves and the secular character of the drinking. Further we note



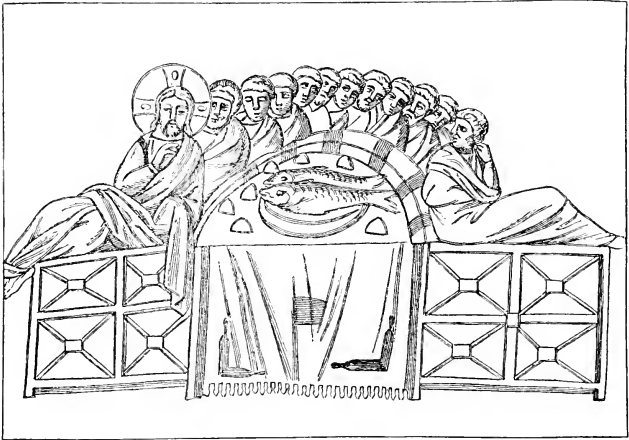
A PAGAN LOVE-FEAST.

Now in the Lateran Museum. From Roller, *Les cata. de Rome*, pl. LIV. The pagan character is assured by the winged Eros at the left.

an apple in the hand of one of the guests and the support on which the dish rests resembles very strongly the Buddhist trisul, the symbol of the Buddhist trinity.

The other two reliefs where the guests feast on a boar's head are typical illustrations of the *Gaudeamus* spirit that prevailed in Dionysian love-feasts, which is preserved in a pagan epitaph quoted by Orelli (II, 7410) as follows: "Omnes qui legitis moneo: Miscete Lyaeum et teneros coitus formosis ferte puellis. Caetera post obitum tellus consumit et ignis." This may be freely translated: "All ye who read be warned to drink and kiss. All else is doomed to death."

Present Christianity knows nothing of a fish eucharist, and if we did not possess definite indications and inscriptions proving that

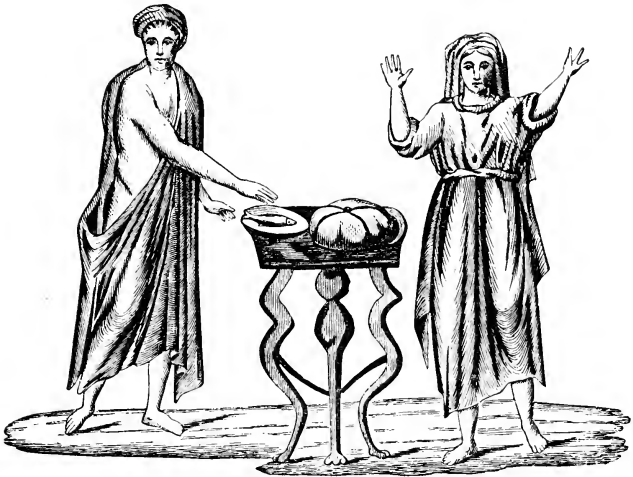


THE LAST SUPPER.

A Mosaic in the Church of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna. After Garrucci.—According to Kraus (*Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, 435), this picture is the oldest known presentation of the Last Supper, and it is noteworthy that here the fish diet is made very prominent. It pictures the moment when Judas has left the table to betray his master, and accordingly we count only eleven disciples.

such an institution existed we would scarcely believe it, for it is never mentioned in church history nor in any official doctrines of the church. It came and went, but while it existed—which was about the same time as when Christ was worshiped under the symbol of the fish and a little later—it played a very significant part and was deemed highly important. This is evidenced by the numerous fish eucharists painted in the catacombs. In one case the scene appears more like a family supper. In one of the many frescoes of

St. Calixtus the eucharist character is rendered apparent by the presence of a woman in the attitude of prayer and of a priestly person



A EUCHARIST OF BREAD AND FISH.
Fresco in the cemetery of St. Calixtus.



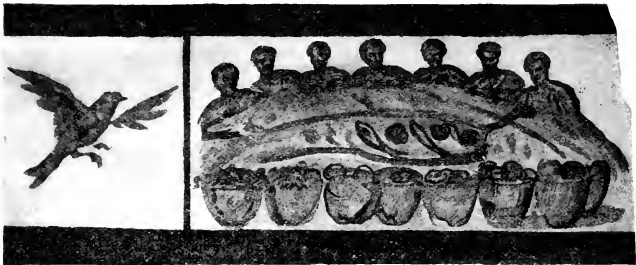
FRESCO IN THE CEMETERY OF DOMITILLA.

A meal of fish and bread, presumably a eucharist and possibly Christian.

extending the right hand in blessing over the fish, in spite of the fact that the dress of the latter is more pagan than Christian, his right

arm being bare after the fashion of Buddhist priests and Greek ascetics. While the picture is not badly executed we are struck by the awkwardness of the three fingers of the praying woman. At any rate it is noticeable that the fish is plainly pictured as a part of the eucharist, and if we had not additional evidence that such was the case we might assume it merely from these illustrations in the catacombs.

The significance of the fish eucharist is also attested by two inscriptions, one the epitaph of Pectorius dating about the fourth



TWO CHRISTIAN EUCHARISTS.

(Matt. xv. 37). Note the seven participants in both.
From the cemetery of St. Callixtus.

century, discovered in 1839 in the St. Pierre l'Estries cemetery near Autun in Gaul (the ancient Augustodunum), the other the epitaph of Abercius quoted in the *Vita Aberici* by Simon Metaphrastes and also in *Anecdota Graeca* by Boissonade (p. 462). Both are written in Greek hexameters, but the texts are doubtful in many places. Pitra publishes a complete bibliography on the former in his *Spicilegium Solesmense* and Garrucci in his *Mélanges d'épigraphie ancienne* (Paris, 1856) has published both.

The inscription of the tomb of Pectorius reads as follows: "Preserve, oh divine generation of the heavenly fish, a holy heart after

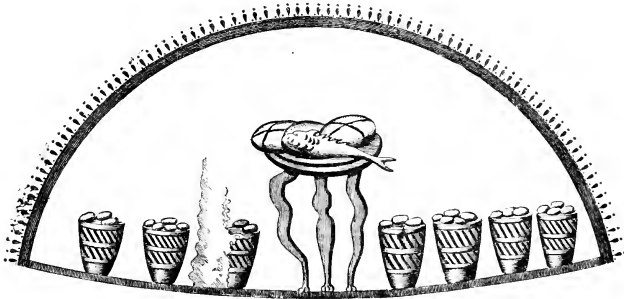
thou hast received among mortals immortal life in the divine water. Refresh thy soul, beloved, with the inexhaustible water of the wealth-yielding wisdom by receiving the honey-sweet food of the Saviour of the saints."



LOVE-FEAST WITH WINE AND BREAD.

Relief in the Kircher Museum at Rome, presumably pagan. After Roller, pl. LIV, 7.

The lines thus far show the acrostic IXΘΥΣ. They continue: "Eat hungrily holding in thy hands the fish. With the fish fill me I pray, Lord, Saviour. Well mayst thou rest, mother I pray thee,



THE SEVEN BASKETS OF BREAD.

(Matt. xv. 37.)

From the cemetery of St. Calixtus.

oh Light of the dead. Aschandios, my father, dear to my soul together with my sweet mother and my brothers, in the feast of the fish remember thy Pectorius."

The epitaph of the Phrygian bishop Abercius, who died in the second century, reads as follows:

"A citizen of a distinguished city, I, during my lifetime have ordered this monument to be made, so that when the time comes my body may find here a resting place. Abercius is my name: disciple I of the holy shepherd who tends the sheep upon the mountains as well as in the plain. Great eyes he has, all things beholding. He taught me the life-giving faith. To Rome he sent me to see the royal city and the people there. I saw the people wearing seal rings and Peter and Paul combined therein. The plain of Syria I also beheld and all the tombs, wandering through Nisibis and the valley of Euphrates. Everywhere found I fellow believers from the East. Faith, however, produced and proposed as food the fish from the spring, the very great, the pure one which the holy Virgin had received. And this one (the fish) he gave to the friends to eat throughout, offering good wine mixed, and bread. This I have declared, myself being present, Abercius writing thus, 72 years old; this in truth is my age. Every one thinking like me pray for me. Let no one make upon my tomb another tomb. Whoever does so shall pay to the treasury of the Romans 2000 gold pieces and 1000 to the city of Hierapolis."

THE INTRODUCTION OF VACCINATION INTO THE FAR EAST.

BY BERTHOLD LAUFER.

IN view of the astonishing wealth of medical illustrative material coming down from the times of classical antiquity and the Middle Ages, it is a matter of surprise to find in this line a blank in the history of the Far East. It is true a large number of the medical books published in China are fairly well illustrated with woodcuts exhibiting the surface characteristics of pathological phenomena, particularly of skin-diseases, and we even hear of careful paintings (water colors) representing infantile eruptions apparently observed and noted down.¹ But there is no artistic element in these productions which even fail in their purpose to impart instruction, and Chinese art is entirely devoid of subjects derived from the activity of the medical profession.

No portrait of any famous physician—and there is a large number of those on record—has been handed down by the brush of an artist, nor are there any pictorial representations of physicians in their intercourse with patients. The sick-bed was not a recognized and approved sphere for the exercise of academic painting, and as portraiture has always been the weak point in Chinese art, because of the lack of individual power, we may safely say that Chinese painters would never have had the ability to portray a sick person in unmistakable distinction from a healthy individual. I have met several finely built and venerable looking Chinese physicians, and when observing them at their work I liked to imagine what fine pictures worthy of a great native artist they would make, if depicted in the act of feeling the pulse, the cornerstone of their practice, or while jotting down their prescriptions with mysterious dashes of the brush. In the catalogues of painters and paintings where all

¹M. Courant, "Catalogue des livres chinois," *Bibl. nat.*, Vol. II, p. 123. Paris, 1903.

the standard subjects are carefully enumerated, the healing art is also conspicuous by its absence. I have inquired and searched in vain for medical pictures in China.

In Japan, conditions are in general about the same, though at least some exceptions seem to exist. W. Anderson² describes a medical roll (*yamai no sōshi*) from Japan as follows: "A series of representations of various morbid conditions, amongst which may be recognized carbuncle, bursal and other tumors, paralysis of the lower extremities, gangrene, acne rosacea, lycanthropy, eye diseases, abdominal dropsy, intestinal fistula, gastric fistula (a man whose mouth is obliterated is introducing food through an aperture in the region of the stomach), and elephantiasis. Descriptive text at end of roll which is 360 inches long." The original is said to be traceable to a painter of the twelfth century: this one was copied in 1780 by Imamura and recopied in 1788 by Kumashin. This picture, No. 276 of the collection in the British Museum, perhaps deserves the attention of students of the history of medicine.

The Japanese colorprint reproduced in our frontispiece is in the possession of the Field Museum, Chicago, and is of great interest in the history of civilization.

The subject of this print (26×37 cm.) is the introduction of vaccination into Japan, as is plainly shown by the explanatory labels added to the two principal figures. The devil on the right is designated as *jitsu-wa akuma bōsōshin*, "really the devil, the spirit of small-pox," and makes his escape from the new young genius riding on a cow's back and chasing him with a long spear. This one is interpreted as *seikoku Oranda gyūtō-ji*, "the youth of vaccination (lit. cow-pox), Holland being the country of his origin." He has three tufts of hair on his head and is clad like a Japanese boy. The small-pox devil is the well-known type of *oni*, only covered with a fur apron and gaiters, of red skin-color, and with animal claws on hands and feet. He wears a straw hat with rim turned up, from the center of which a top-knot and a pair of horns stick out. A paper *gohēi* is stuck into the hair (see further below).

The artist who produced this print is Shuntei, his signature (*Shuntei-gwa*, "picture of Shuntei") and seal being placed in the left lower corner, and the print was published in the first month of spring, i. e., February (*mō-shuu*) of the year 1850, the third year of the period *Kaie* with the cyclical sign *ka-no-e-inu* (on the margin of the right upper side).

² *Catalogue of a Collection of Japanese and Chinese Paintings in the British Museum*, p. 139. London, 1886.

According to E. F. Strange,³ Shuntei, more fully Katsugawa Shuntei, was a pupil of Shunyei; he was an invalid and made but few prints most of which were issued by the publisher Murataya. He lived about 1800-20, and, in addition to book-illustration, produced broadsheets of interest and originality. Among them the most notable are legendary or historical scenes. These are executed with considerable dramatic force and are generally printed in a characteristic color scheme, of which grays, greens, and yellows are the prevailing tints. His color is more harmonious and delicate and his drawing finer when he is at his best, even than in the work of Toyokuni, while his dramatic power and intensity are as great. Early impressions by this artist, with the fine old colors, are by no means common; the later reprints are worthless from the collector's point of view.

Shuntei is said to have died in 1825 at the age of about forty. I have no means to verify this date; should it be correct, we are certainly compelled to admit that the print under consideration presents either a later reprint or a posthumous edition. Because of his poor health Shuntei produced but few works, all of which are now rare.

This cut is interesting from two points of view. It reveals the imaginative power of Eastern artists who even in modern times create new personifications relating to inventions and ideas introduced from abroad. The new method of vaccination leads to the conception of a powerful lucky genius, riding on a cow and driving out with the force of his spear the disease of small-pox. Thus a new deity sprang up shortly before 1850. But the artist did not strain his imagination by attempting to lay down a new type for his novel subject, though its foreign origin might have well tempted his efforts in that direction; he did not represent his new god after a Dutch fashion or in any other foreign style, but made him plainly a Japanese. He is one of that numerous class of joyful muscular lads bestowing bliss on mankind whom we meet so frequently in China in the retinue of Buddhist and Taoist saints and deities, and his costume corresponds to this notion. Even the fact that he is riding on a cow's back, though a most felicitous and cleverly chosen motive in connection with the idea of vaccination, is by no means a novelty: on the contrary, the figure of a boy astride a buffalo or ox occurs so frequently in painting or moulded in bronze or pottery that it is familiar to everybody in Japan and China. The small-pox devil is the typical Japanese *oni* or the Chinese *kuei*, so there is obviously

³ *Japanese Illustration*, p. 38, London, 1899.

no trace of a foreign feature in the picture. The task set before the artist has been accomplished solely by the use of expedients drawn from the domain of native ideas. The old types sanctified and honored by tradition are utilized to express an imported idea; the old form is made to fit a new content. Indeed, if we had only the bare picture before us without the comment of the additional printed matter, we could easily realize that it represents a helpful good genius expelling a bad demon and ridding the country of his presence. It has occurred a hundred and a thousand times in history that new ideas, usually of a religious character, have been introduced from outside into another civilization, and that the native national types and styles already in existence have been chosen to lend them artistic expression. But not all of these cases are of such plain and authentic evidence as the present one, and its very recentness renders it the more valuable for an intelligent appreciation of the psychical basis of similar events.

A rather long inscription composed by Sōsai Setto is spread over the upper part of the print. It opens by relating that in former times only inoculation was known; that it commenced in China under the Emperor Jên-Tsung (1023-1063 A. D.) of the Sung dynasty and consisted chiefly in administering the virus into the nostrils;⁴ that of the various methods of vaccination the latest and best was discovered in Holland by Edward Jenner in the Bunkwa period (1804-17). This error of the Japanese author is not surprising but indeed excusable, since in Japan knowledge of European countries was at that time limited, and acquaintance with Western medicine and science had heretofore been derived from Dutch teachers like Engelbert Kämpfer (1651-1716) who, though a German, was considered a Hollander by the Japanese, because he was in the service of the Dutch East India Company. The Japanese report on our picture goes on to describe briefly Jenner's discovery by transferring cow-pox to a baby's arm, whereupon all the people of Holland were

⁴ There were two chief methods of inoculation in vogue in China, the wet and the dry methods; in the former a piece of cotton impregnated with the virus was inserted in the nose; the latter mode was to dry the crusts, reduce them to powder, and to blow this powder up the nose. Yet another way was to dress the child with clothes that had been worn by some one afflicted with small-pox. The date of the beginnings of inoculation is not yet satisfactorily ascertained. A. Wylie (*Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 103) remarks that small-pox has engaged the attention of the Chinese from near the commencement of the Christian era, and that inoculation has been practised among them for a thousand years or more. But the only evidence produced is a treatise on the disease published in 1323 and reprinted in 1542. Dr. Lockhart, the father of medical missions in China, is quoted as saying (*Medical Missions in China*, p. 226) that inoculation was introduced in 1014, which is practically the same as the above Japanese statement.

operated on, and the new method was then introduced into China, where it was compared with the old methods. "When the physicians and people of China found that there was no better way than the new method of vaccination, they had all reasons for it expounded in a book which was distributed throughout China and then sent to Japan. Afterwards, all nations adopted this method, and the old fashions were abolished."

There is an Uta appended by Fukakawa Mannin, reading:

*"Hōsō no kami to wa tare-ka nazuke-ken,
Akuma gedō no tatarī nasu mono."*

"Whatever the Spirit of Small-pox may be called,
He is a devil, the curse of heretic teaching."

According to Aston (*Shinto*, p. 194, London, 1905), small-pox is a *kijin biō*, or demon-sent disease. The color red is freely employed in combating it. The candles at the bedside are red, and the clothing of the patient and nurse. The god of small-pox is worshiped with offerings of red *gohēi* (there is here some confusion of ideas) and of red *adzuki* beans. Red paper is hung around the necks of the bottles of *sake* offered to him. Red *papier maché* figures of Daruma are placed near the sick-bed.

We have observed that the demon of small-pox on our print is colored red and wears a *gohēi* on his head. In Chinese medicine, all diseases are connected with the principles of heat and cold, and small-pox is caused by the heat principle, which may account for the employment of the red color.

According to B. H. Chamberlain,⁵ vaccination was officially adopted in Japan in 1873 as the outcome of the efforts of Sir Harry Parkes, with the result that whereas the percentage of pox-pitted persons was enormous only a quarter of a century ago, such disfigurement is now scarcely more common than at home. Nevertheless, a Pock-mark Society is believed to be still in existence, though its ranks have been sadly thinned by vaccination.⁶

Vaccination was first introduced to the notice of the Chinese by Dr. Pearson⁷ at Canton, who wrote a tract on the subject; this was afterwards translated into Chinese by Sir G. Staunton and published

⁵ *Things Japanese*, pp. 212, 319, 3d ed., London, 1898.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 373. F. v. Wenckstern (*A Bibliography of the Japanese Empire*, p. 142, London, 1895) quotes a notice under the title "Vaccination and Small-pox in Japan" (*Indian Medical Record*, Vol. III, p. 128, Calcutta, 1892) which is not accessible to me.

⁷ Formerly at the head of a vaccination institute in London founded in 1799 by the advocates of Jenner's theory; then in the service of the East India Company in China.

in 1805 with the title *T'ai-si chung tou k'i fa*, "The European Method of Vaccination (lit. Inoculation)."⁸ With some modifications, the same pamphlet was published shortly afterwards by the missionary Wilhelm Lobscheid in Hongkong (*Ying-ki-li kuo sin ch'u chung tou k'i shu*, "Treatise on the Method of Vaccination, as newly invented in England").⁹

I have never had occasion to look into this treatise myself, but know its contents merely from the brief analysis given by J. v. Klaproth.¹⁰ According to his statement it consists of seven leaves of large octavo size, and the back of the title-page is adorned with the colored illustration of a cow-pock, an arm on which is indicated the spot to be inoculated, the lancet and the small ivory spatula for holding the lymph. The interesting historical fact may be gleaned from this tract that Staunton after describing Jenner's discovery and its marvelous effects goes on to narrate that the new treatment rapidly spreading throughout Europe, Asia and America, had also reached Manila, where it gained such a high reputation that the Spanish governor spared no money but fitted up a ship in which to send small children to China for the propagation of this pock-matter. In this way it came to Macao in 1805, where the best results were shown.

Dr. Pearson carried on the work of vaccination among the Chinese with great vigor and perseverance, and the new practice soon sprang into favor among them, for, though very conservative in their habits and judgments, they take to a new method quite readily when once thoroughly convinced of its benefit. In the course of the winter and spring months of 1805-6, there was an epidemic of small-pox, and thousands were vaccinated. Even many Chinese who had been instructed by Dr. Pearson practised it extensively, not only under his immediate inspection but in distant places as well. Later on, there was certainly occasional opposition on the part of native physicians and the Buddhist priesthood who had derived a certain income from practising inoculation and from the people's offerings to the small-pox deities in times of visitation of this plague. But despite such local prejudices as occurred also in our countries, the Chinese soon recognized the benefit of vaccination which is now almost universally practised by them. In the country they vaccinate from child to child, or from arm to arm, without procuring fresh

⁸ A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, 2d ed., p. 103, Shanghai, 1901.

⁹ *Memorials of Protestant Missionaries to the Chinese*, p. 186, Shanghai, 1867.

¹⁰ *Archiv für asiatische Litteratur, Geschichte und Sprache*, Vol. I, pp. 111-113, St. Petersburg, 1810.

cow-lymph.¹¹ Their long continued practice of inoculation had doubtless prepared them for the reception of the new remedy which indeed has nowhere met with an open hostility or demonstration, another instance of their tolerance and liberal spirit. When inoculation was introduced into England from Turkey in 1718 by Lady Montague and was first tried on condemned criminals in 1721, the divines were indignant at such interference with Providence. Taking Job's boils for his text, Edward Massey, lecturer of St. Albans, is said to have preached the following words at St. Andrews, Holborn, in 1722:

"I shall not scruple to call that a diabolical operation which usurps an authority founded neither in the laws of nature or religion, which tends in this case to anticipate and banish Providence out of the world, and promote the increase of vice and immorality." How much more enlightened and grateful was the attitude of the Chinese and Japanese towards the adoption of vaccination!

¹¹ For a full history of the subject in China see J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*, pp. 750-761, 4th ed., Honkong, 1903.

IMPERIAL SONGS OF JAPAN.

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR LLOYD.

SONGS BY HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF JAPAN.

Isuzu.

[The stream of Isuzu, which flows by Ise, is often taken as the symbol of the imperial house. At Ise are the famous shrines at which is worshiped the goddess Amaterasu (the sun), who is the fabled ancestor of the imperial house. The stream, issuing from that shrine is perennial; like the imperial house, in winter and summer, in prosperity and adversity alike, it flows on unceasingly, whilst many other streams run dry in the droughts of summer.]

There is a stream, men call it Isuzu,
Whose gentle tide hath never ceased to flow,
Whose placid bosom ne'er hath been disturbed,
Whose course adown the ages knows no end.

Go to the wild sea beach, and, gathering there
A handful of smooth pebbles, build therewith
A mimic rockery. Though those few stones
Should grow into a mountain, scarred and steep,
And overgrown with moss, that sacred stream
Shall never cease its soft, perennial flow.

Prosperity.

[This poem is evidently a reply to one made by the empress, which will be found in its proper place. It contains an allusion to a well-known story about the emperor Nintoku (A. D. 313-399) who, standing one day on his balcony and observing that no smoke rose from the houses of the town below his palace, was told that the people were too poor and too heavily taxed to afford the luxury of fire. Thereupon the emperor instituted reforms and himself practised a strict economy which he did not relax until the smoke once more rising at evening over the houses of the people showed that prosperity had been restored.]

Yes, 'tis a happy age; the curling smoke
That rises from the farms and cottages
Seems to increase its volume year by year.

At Sea.

[This is seemingly a very insignificant poem, but, like many Japanese songlets, it has a deeper meaning which does not readily appear on the surface. The poem was written during one of the few sea-voyages that His Majesty has taken, and a fog, which prevented them from seeing the dangerous little islet of Azuki compelled the officers to anchor. But, politically, the rulers of Japan were often in a fog during the early days of the restored empire, when the obstructions of insignificant agitators more than once compelled the ship of state to go slow.]

Slight mists at morn presaged a fair bright day:
 Who would have thought Azuki's tiny isle
 Would thus with fogs delay our mighty ship?

Calling out the Reserves.¹

They're at the front,
 Our brave young men, and now the middle-aged
 Are shouldering their arms, and in the fields
 Old men are gathering the abundant rice,
 Low bending o'er the sheaves. All ages vie
 In cheerful self-devotion.

The Muttering of the Storm.²

My heart's at peace with all, and fain would I
 Live, as I love, in peace and brotherhood;
 And yet the storm-clouds lower, the rising wind
 Stirs up the waves, the elemental strife
 Rages around. I do not understand
 Why this should be. 'Tis plainly not my fault.

The Failure of the Negotiations.³

[Whilst the Japanese are in practice polytheists, it is the belief of many scholars that their native Shinto was originally a primitive monotheism. When we trace back the genealogy of the Japanese gods, we find quite at the beginning of all things a deity who is styled the "Lord, the Possessor of the Center of Heaven" (*ama-no-mi-naka-nushi-no-mikoto*). This god is uncreated and "hides his body," i. e., is invisible. No shrines are erected to his honor, but all the other deities are supposed to have emanated from him. His Majesty is officially a Shintoist, but was educated by Confucianist teach-

¹ In the war with China.² In the war with Russia.³ Spring of 1904.

ers, so that he would also be familiar with the idea of *T'eu*, "Heaven," as the witness and judge of all men.]

We've tried to be sincere in word and deed,
 And have exhausted every means to state
 A clear and truthful case, but all in vain.
 Now may the God that sees the hearts of men
 Approve of what we do.

*Thinking of the Soldiers at the Front.*⁴

Importunate mosquitoes, light of wing,
 With trivial song and sting disturb my rest,
 This sleepless night,—
 —On what dark, lonesome field,
 'Midst what great hardships lie my soldiers brave?

Thinking of the Field-Laborers.

Complain not thou art hot: but rather turn
 To yonder slushy fields, where laborers
 Wade 'neath the sun, and e'en the water boils.

Patriotism.

There is no second way whereby to show
 The love of Fatherland.

 Whether one stand,

A soldier under arms, before the foe,
 Or stay at home, a peaceful citizen,
 The way of loyalty is still the same.

Compassion for Enemies.

The foe that strikes thee, for thy country's sake,
 Strike him with all thy might.

 But while thou strik'st,

Forget not still to love him.

*My Garden.*⁵

Lo! In my garden all things strive and grow.
 E'en foreign trees and plants, with care bestowed
 Upon their tender shoots, grow strong and green
 Like those indigenous to soil and clime.

⁴ Summer of 1904.

⁵ I. e., the Japanese Empire.

Confidence in the Destiny of the Country.

The ancient pine-trees on the mossy rocks
 Stand firm against all storms: their roots are strong,
 And deeply bedded in the heart of earth.
 So doth Heaven bless our land with rooted strength
 To stand unshaken 'midst the shocks of time,
 'Midst jarring elements and outward foes.

*Fortiter in re, suaviter in modo.*⁶

Water so soft that it will take the shape
 Of goblet, bowl, or cup, to suit the taste
 Of every hand that pours it: yet, withal,
 Mighty to percolate the close-grained rock,
 That makes the frame-work of the eternal hills.

The Son Grows Up.

[It is hard for Europe and America to understand that "little" Japan has grown up. It is also, perhaps, hard for the emperor to understand that his people, over whom he has ruled for forty years, have grown up under his hand.]

Such is the father's heart, that, though his son
 Grow to man's years, and learn to stand alone:
 Yet in his eyes he still remains a boy.

Industry.

No time have I to turn me to my desk,
 And, hand in lap, to take my ease and read.
 Yet is my table-top kept free from dust.

The Straight, Steep Path.

How smooth it seems,
 The way that man, as man, should daily tread:
 But th'actual walking on't,—aye! there's the rub.

Perseverance.

See how the tiny raindrops from the eaves
 Hollow the stones beneath with constant drip.
 Then why should we abandon well-formed plans,
 Simply, forsooth, because we find them hard?

⁶This and the following were published January 1, 1908, and it seems difficult not to see in them some kindly allusions to recent difficulties experienced by Japan.

Caution in the Hour of Success.

When all things go as thou wouldst have them go,
 And Fortune smiles upon thee, then, beware,
 Lest happy days make thee forget thyself.

Prosperity the Object of Envy.

The farmer's house, new-thatched, with clean, white straw
 Heaped thick, defies the cold; but envious frosts
 Have covered all the eaves with glistening rime.⁷

POEMS BY HER MAJESTY THE EMPRESS OF JAPAN.

On Visiting the Tomb of the Emperor Jimmu in the Summer of 1891.

[The emperor Jimmu, the first of the so-called human emperors (to distinguish them from the divine emperors who are said to have preceded them), is said to have reached Japanese soil (whether from Heaven, as some say, or from the continent of Asia) at Mount Takachiho in the island of Kyūshū, somewhere about B. C. 620. He and his followers extended their conquests as far as Yamato in the center of the main island, where he died. The dynasty is said to have continued ever since in unbroken succession. The *tamagushi* is a stick of *sakaki*, with strips of paper attached to it, which is used in Shinto worship. It is said to have the merit of putting the worshiper, by means of visions, into direct communication with the deity worshipped.]

The sacred *Tamagushi* in my hand,
 I bow before the dread sepulchral mound
 Of Jimmu, by the hill of Unebi
 In Yamato; and as I bow my head,
 Lo! the long glory of our line revealed.

Before an old Wooden Effigy of the Emperor Godaigo at Yoshimizu on the River of Yoshino.

[The emperor Godaigo (A. D. 1318-1339) is a favorite subject of Her Majesty's verse, and I have seen more than one poem of hers about him. When he came to the throne he found the imperial power in abeyance, and the country in the hands of regents, who, nominally subjects, were actually rulers. The country was also in danger of a civil war between two rival factions, each claiming the right to the direction of affairs. Godaigo made a noble attempt to save the country from the horrors of a civil war, by trying to re-assert the dignity of the crown. But in this he failed, and in the end was deposed and died ignominiously after many misfortunes. It was not

⁷ It was not until Japan was successful, and as it were had rethatched her house, that she excited the envy of other nations.

until the present reign that the actuality of imperial rule was restored, and Godaigo's unsuccessful attempt has always appealed to the sympathies of the present emperor and empress. The secondary meaning of the poem will be found in the use of the sleeve in wiping tears from the eyes. "The troubles of Godaigo's reign are long over, yet I had to shed a tear of pity," etc.]

I.

The showers have ceased long since, and yet my sleeves
Are wet with tender dew-drops, as I pass
Through the thick shrubberies, and gaze upon
The face of our much-suffering ancestor.

II.

Our feet approach the Sacred Sepulcher
Of great Godaigo. See! the drooping flowers
Are moistened with the dew of Nature's tears.

Storm-bound.

[These two poems both refer to the same occasion as the third of the emperor's songs.]

I.

Storm-bound, I rest beside the broken bridge,
And listen to the sound of roaring waves,
And think, how fares my Lord upon his ship,
Storm-bound in some poor haven, where the waves
Toss him, like rebels, roughly to and fro.

II.

Upon the beach I hear the mad waves break,
Start from my idle dreams, and sadly think
Of my dear Lord upon the Imperial ship.

During the Absence of His Majesty on a Visit of Inspection to the North.

E'en in the cool, broad shade the palace throws,
With splashing sound of water, and the breeze
That sweeps the open halls from end to end,
We hardly bear the heat.

How shall my Lord,
In mountain huts, that scarce ward off the sun
With their poor shingle roofs, endure the grief
Of the long days and sleepless summer nights?

*To the Memory of the Late Prince Iwakura,^s Written shortly After
His Death.*

Thou white Chrysanthemum, that late didst serve,
Brightest of flowers, for His Majesty,
Now that the chilling hoar frost's master hand
Hath nipped thee, utterest fragrance more and more
From thy crushed petals.

Winter.

The Winter with its rigors, touches not
Our bodies, clad in raiment warm and rich;
But when we think upon the shivering poor
That freeze in their thin rags, the cruel tooth
Of pitiless winter bites our inmost heart.

Reading.

The jewel in a lady's coronet
Gleams in her hair, and flashes as she moves,
And yet 'tis nought,—a sparkle, not a light.
The book, whose page enlightens the dark mind,
Is the true treasure.

Circumspection.

Take heed unto thyself! the mighty God,
That is the Soul of Nature, sees the good
And bad that man in his most secret heart
Thinks by himself, and brings it to the light.

Peace of Mind.

Why should I fear the harsh reproof of men,
When my own conscience speaks no word of blame?

To the Students at the Peccresses School.

The water placed in goblet, bowl, or cup,
Changes its shape to its receptacle,
And so our plastic souls take various shapes
And characters of good or ill, to fit
The good or evil in the friends we choose.

^sThe late Prince Iwakura was one of the most distinguished servants of the crown at the time of the restoration.

Therefore be careful in your choice of friends,
 And let your special love be given to those
 Whose strength of character may prove the lash
 That drives you onward to fair wisdom's goal.

*Sugawara Michizane.*⁹

He heard the taunt, that such a studious lad,
 Who never from his book his eye could lift,
 But sat and studied through the livelong day;
 Must be perforce unskilful in the arts
 Of war; and straightway from his desk uprose,
 Seized his long bow, fitted his shaft, and drew.
 The arrow in the middle gold proclaimed
 That brain, hand, eye, alike were trained to serve.

The Battle of Pheng-yang.

(Sept. 1894.)

High o'er the Taidong-gang stood the moated castle of Pheng-yang,
 Guarded with frowning forts, and the flow'r of China's batallions,
 Marshall'd for battle behind strong parapets, walls, and entrench-
 ments.

Space unprotected was none; but our men, with spirit undaunted,
 Forded the stream in the face of a rain of bullets, and straightway
 Charged at the foe, and scaling the walls, rushed into the fortress.
 Irresistible was their charge; the dispirited foemen
 Fell like the falling leaves, or vanished like smoke. On the ramparts
 Up went the Rising Sun, and the jubilant clamor of "*Banzai*."

⁹ A famous student-warrior (A. D. 845-903).

IDOLS AND FETICHES.

BY JAMES B. SMILEY.

[CONCLUSION.]

The worship of stones has existed in various parts of the world. It was common in ancient America. Thus it is stated that among the Indians "stones are sometimes revered on account of their similarity to the human figure, or the figure of some animal. Such stones are called *shingabawassius* by the Ojibways. They have all the essential character of idols, and are supposed to be the locality [habitation] of some god. . . . At the mouth of the Walla Walla two stones, human shaped, were thought to be two Kiuse girls metamorphosed by a jealous husband, and were worshiped. . . . Many stones of the shape of men and women, found in Peru, are according to tradition [human] beings metamorphosed. Arriago mentions the metamorphosis of men to stones, and the worship of those stones. . . . The Laches worshiped every stone as a god, and said they had all been men, and all men were converted into stones after death, and the day was coming when all stones would be raised as men [resurrection]. The shadows of stones were the manifestations of the gods in them.⁶⁰. . . . The Dacotahs claimed descent from a stone, and offered sacrifices to it, calling it grandfather. They thought the spirit of their ancestor was present in this stone, which is their altar for national sacrifice. The Ojibways had such stones, which they called grandfather. . . . Spirits [they believed] transmigrated into stones, and this made them objects of worship. . . . In Central America when a lord died a stone was put into his mouth to receive his soul. . . . Among the Brazilians, the most popular charms worn by the Indians are stones called *Muira-kitana*, which appear to be stones cut from rocks at the bottom of lakes. There are traditions that they were alive in the

⁶⁰ This refers to the wide-spread belief among savages that shadows were the spirits of the objects casting them.

lake, and the women by giving them a drop of their blood could catch them. . . . Among the natives of the West Indies food was regularly offered to certain stones that were objects of worship, and they supposed the food was eaten when it disappeared,"⁶¹ i. e., eaten by the spirit dwelling in the stone.

In some regions the belief developed that spirits inhabited everything, and in New Zealand men said that "anything cooked sends the spirit into the stones on which they are cooked."⁶² Sacred stones were worshiped by the Fijians, the Australians, the Karens, and the Bowditch Islanders.⁶³

They were also worshiped in ancient times in Phœnicia, Syria, Babylonia, Arabia, and "the worship was common to all the branches of the Semitic family. The famous black stone of the Kaaba at Mecca is a standing witness to the fact. So firmly rooted was the belief in its divine character among the Arabs of Mohammed's day that he was unable to eradicate it, but was forced to make a compromise with the old faith by attaching to the stone the traditions of the Old Testament. . . . All around Mecca there were similar stones, termed Anzab."⁶⁴ Among the Arabs a sacred stone was sometimes called *ghariy*, "blood-bedaubed," the name evidently growing out of the world-wide custom of daubing blood on such stones. "When the Arab daubed blood on the *nosb* [sacred stone] his object was to bring the blood offering into direct contact with the deity"⁶⁵ inhabiting it.

In their early days the Greeks believed that "ghosts dwelt in stones; and stones were the shrines of their gods. Pausanias gives several 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 honored."⁶⁶ The Turanian tribes of North Asia worshiped stones, "especially curious ones and such as were like men and animals. . . . but we learn that they were venerated because mighty spirits dwelt in them." The Samoyeds worshiped a black stone which they "smeared with sacrificial blood."⁶⁷

The worship of sacred stones was common in India. In Behar

⁶¹ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 130-134. Many other examples are there given.

⁶² Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 159.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 789-791.

⁶⁴ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures for 1887*, pp. 408-410.

⁶⁵ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 184, 188.

⁶⁶ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, pp. 790, 791.

⁶⁷ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 163.

a stone under a tree "will represent the deified soul of some dead personage" and receive worship. The Bakada and Betadara keep a sacred stone in every house "which represents their god Buta," and they sacrifice to it.⁶⁸ The Hindu term *deva*, or deity, is often applied to the spirits worshiped in stones.⁶⁹ In Southern India "four or five stones may often be seen in the ryot's field, placed in a row and daubed with red paint, which they consider as guardians of the field, and call the five Pandus."⁷⁰ The red paint is a substitute for blood in the offering.

Stone worship was also common in ancient Europe, and "it is remarkable to what late times full and genuine stone-worship has survived" there.⁷¹ It is stated that "the Chinese still retain many of the customs associated with the remotest antiquity, among which may be cited the adoration of stones as objects of worship."⁷²

At times we find the belief that the spirits that entered stones could speak through them, so that they became oracles. Thus it is stated that in Central America "the blood of birds and deer was poured by the hunters on the stone of Tohil and Avilix [gods], and when the gods had drunk the blood the stone spoke." So, too, the offering of blood gave the stones worshiped by the Scandinavians the power of prophecy.⁷³ The exact manner in which the god was believed to speak through the stone is not stated.

It has often been the custom to go to sacred stones and offer sacrifices and prayers for help, as was done to idols. Thus we are told that among the Bulloms in Africa certain women "make occasional sacrifices and offerings of rice to the stones which are preserved in memory of the dead. They prostrate themselves before them."⁷⁴ Numerous examples could be given if needed.

It will be seen that the wide-spread worship of sacred stones was closely allied to idolatry, and that, like idolatry, it was based on the belief that spirits entered and dwelt in the objects worshiped.

Animal worship has been common in various parts of the world. In ancient Egypt it long flourished. "Egyptian animal worship seems to show, in a double line, traces of a savage ancestry extending into ages lying far behind even the remote antiquity of

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 254.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 164.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167. See other examples there given.

⁷² Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 586.

⁷³ Jevons, *Introduction to the History of Religion*, p. 134.

⁷⁴ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 159.

the Pyramids. Deities patronizing special sacred animals, incarnate in their bodies or represented in their figures, have nowhere better examples than the bull-dynasty of Apis, Horus wearing the head of his sacred hawk, Bubastis and her cat, Thoth and his cynocephalus and ibis, the cow-headed Hather, or the hippopotamus Typhon." In India "the sacred cow is not merely to be spared, she is as a deity worshiped in annual ceremony, duly perambulated and bowed to by the pious Hindu, who offers her fresh grass and flowers; Hanuman the monkey-god has his temples and idols, and in him Siva is incarnate, as Durga is in the jackal; the wise Ganesa wears the elephant's head; the divine king of birds, Garuda, is Vishnu's vehicle."⁷⁵ We are told that the animals worshiped by



THE BABYLONIAN GODDESS ISTAR.

(Bas-relief in the British Museum, Lenormant, V, p. 259).
Her idol in the form of a dove being carried in procession.

the Egyptians "were not, however, venerated in dynastic times as animals, but as *the abodes of gods*,"⁷⁶ and this is equally true of India and other places where animals were worshiped. It was the indwelling spirit, not the animal, that men worshiped.

We have seen how the bodies of men were mummified in order to preserve them as homes for the spirit to reside in, and in Egypt the bodies of sacred animals appear to have been preserved and mummified for the same purpose. So also idols of animals were made, in which spirits were believed to dwell, and which were worshiped. The chief difference between the idols of animals and of men was in their form. Both were worshiped because they were believed to be inhabited by gods.

⁷⁵ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 238, 239.

⁷⁶ Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, p. 2.

The development in the primitive mind of the idea that spirits teemed everywhere and could enter various objects seems to have led to fetichism. The word "fetich" is "of Portuguese origin, and is a corruption of *feitico*, an amulet or charm. At the time of the Portuguese discoveries in West Africa, that is to say, from about 1441 to 1500, Catholic Europe abounded in relics of saints, charmed rosaries, images, and crosses, which were, in the majority of cases, regarded by their wearers as amulets or charms. Such articles were termed by the Portuguese *feiticos*. . . . When, therefore, during their voyages along the West African coast, the Portuguese found the natives reverencing or worshipping certain objects, such as those tenanted by tutelary deities, . . . they naturally spoke of them as the *feiticos* of the natives, having, in fact, no other word commonly in use with which to describe" them. . . . "From the origin of the word, and its application in Europe in that age, it appears clear that the Portuguese could only have applied the term *feitico* to tangible and inanimate objects, to the wooden figures, stones or cones of earth believed by the natives to be the abiding places of indwelling gods, or to the charms obtained from a *suhman*. . . . Hence, since a *feitico* is, properly speaking, a tangible and inanimate object alone, fetichism can properly only mean the worship of such objects. The practice of propitiating by offerings beings who are believed to dwell in the woods or mountains, the rivers or the sea, is not fetichism; nor is the worship paid to certain animals by particular tribes fetichism. Neither can the worship of idols be so termed."⁷⁷

De Brosses, a French writer who published a book entitled *Du culte des dieux fétiches*, in 1760, termed "all terrestrial and natural objects apparently worshiped by the negroes 'fetiches,' and this cult he denominated 'fetichism.' His theory was, that as it was impossible to conceive a lower form of religion than fetichism, it might therefore be assumed to be the beginning of all religion."⁷⁸ This misconception was adopted by other writers, and it became current in much of the discussion regarding the origin of religion.

The Rev. R. H. Nassau, who lived in Africa for forty years and who made a careful study of the customs and beliefs of the natives, says regarding their fetichism: "A spirit could live anywhere and in any thing. . . . The thing itself, the material itself, is not worshiped. The fetich worshiper makes a clear distinction between the reverence with which he regards a certain material

⁷⁷ Ellis, *Tshi-Speaking People*, pp. 177, 178.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

object, and the worship he renders to the spirit for the time being inhabiting it. For this reason nothing is too mean or too small or too ridiculous to be considered fit for a spirit's *locum tenens*; for when, for any reason, the spirit is supposed to have gone out of that thing and definitely abandoned it, the thing itself is no longer revered, and is thrown away as useless. . . . It is not true, as is asserted by some in regard to these African tribes and their degraded form of religion, that they worship the actual material objects in which the spirits are supposed to be confined."⁷⁹

The *oganga*, or magic doctor, often prepares fetiches for the use of the natives, "with a variety of ceremonies and processes, by virtue of which some spirit becomes localized in that object, and subject to the will of the person. . . . In preparing a fetich the *oganga* selects substances such as he deems appropriate to the end in view, —the ashes of certain medicinal plants, pieces of calcined bones, gums, spices, resins, and even filth, portions of the organs of the bodies of animals, and especially of human beings. . . . Human eye-balls (particularly of a white person) are a great prize. New-made graves have been rifled for them."⁸⁰

Sometimes the word "dead" is used of a fetich amulet that has been abandoned by the spirit conjured into it by a native doctor. "The phrase does not mean that the spirit is actually dead, but that it has fled from inside the fetich, and still lives elsewhere. Then the native doctor, to explain to his patient or client the efficiency of the charm, says that the cause of the spirit's escape and flight is that the wearer has failed to observe all of the directions which had been given, and the spirit was displeased."⁸¹

It is not certain that a fetich will possess extraordinary powers. They must be tested and tried before they can be relied on, and one man may have a fetich inhabited by a stronger spirit than that dwelling in another. In case of failure a man may go to the *oganga* and complain, and in reply he will be told, "Yes, I know. You have an enemy who possesses a fetich containing a spirit more powerful than yours, which made your bullet miss its mark, which caused your opponent's spear to wound you. Yours is no longer of use; it's dead. Come, pay me, and I will make you a charm containing a spirit still more powerful."⁸²

The fetichism practiced by savages may continue to flourish

⁷⁹ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 75, 76.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 82.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 86.

among more civilized nations. Thus of the Japanese peasant it is said that "before he will strike mattock or spade in the soil, lay ax to a tree, collect or burn underbrush, he will select a stone, a slab of rock, or a stick of wood, set it upon hill-side or mud field boundary, and to this he will bow, prostrate himself and pray. To him this stone or stick is consecrated. It has power to placate the spirits and ward off their evil. . . . His fetich is erected to 'the honorable spirits.' . . . Were this not attended to, some known or unknown bad luck, sinister fortune, or calamity would befall him. . . . Of the 7,817,570 houses in the empire enumerated in the census of 1892, it is probable that seven million of them are subject to insurance by fetich. They are thus guaranteed against fire, thieves, lightning, plague and pestilence. It is because of the money paid to the priests that the wooden policies are duly nailed to the walls."⁸³

We are told that in China people believe that "every plant, even every object which we are wont to call a dead object, has received from the universe the souls which constitute its life, and which may confer blessing on man or may harm him." And the same author says that China is "the principal country in the world for fetichism."⁸⁴ In India it is stated that "in Bengal the carpenters worship their adze, chisel and saw; the barbers their razors, scissors and mirror. . . . the writer class worship their books, pens and inkstand. . . . In Bombay, jewelers worship their pincers and blowpipe; carriers worship an axe, and market gardeners a pair of scales."⁸⁵ In fact, fetichism seems to be common in India, surviving from early times.

Even in modern Europe the ancient belief survives among many of the peasantry, for it is said that "modern peasant folklore knows that spirits must have some animal body or other object to dwell in, a feather, a bag, a bush for instance. The Tyrolese object to using grass for toothpicks, because of the demons that may have taken up their abode in the straws."⁸⁶

From our study of the subject we reach the conclusion that instead of fetichism being the earliest and lowest form of religion out of which later and higher forms developed, it is more probable that the belief in spirits was first evolved, and then came the belief that they could enter various objects, even such things as sticks, twigs, etc., and this gave rise to fetichism. And so it would be a later, instead of the primary or original, form of religion.

⁸³ Griffin, *Religion of Japan*, pp. 23-25.

⁸⁴ De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 4, 162.

⁸⁵ Crooke, *Folk-Lore of North India*, p. 305.

⁸⁶ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 159.

While men have feared and worshiped the spirits believed to reside in idols and fetiches, they have at times sought to coerce or control them. Thus we are told about the negro "who feeds ancestral images and brings them a share of his trade profits, but will beat an idol or fling it into the fire if it cannot give him good luck or preserve him from sickness;" of the Ostyak, "who clothes his puppet, and feeds it with broth, but if it brings him no sport will try the effect of a good thrashing on it, after which he will clothe and feed it again." We read stories of worshipers in China abusing some idol that has failed in its duty. "'How now,' they say, 'you dog of a spirit; we have given you an abode in a splendid temple, we gild you, and feed you and fumigate you with incense, and yet you are so ungrateful that you won't listen to our prayers!' So they drag him in the dirt, and then, if they get what they want, it is but to clean him and set him up again, with apologies and promises of a new coat of gilding."⁸⁷

The Indians on the banks of the Orinoco deify the toad "and attribute to him the power of sending rain; and they beat him when he does not grant their request."⁸⁸ In Mexico two battle-gods "gave oracles and were supposed to join the people in their dances . . . It is related that when a prediction of the oracle was not fulfilled the priest without hesitation castigated the idol."⁸⁹ We are told about the Italian peasant, "who beats or scolds his bambino when his prayers are not answered or his wishes gratified," and so in Japan "the fetich is punished or not allowed to know what is going on by being covered up or hidden away."⁹⁰

Among the Yucatanese, "Villagutierre describes the beating of an idol said to have predicted the arrival of the Spaniards, but who had deceived them respecting the result."⁹¹ In several villages of Navarre in France, "prayers for rain used to be offered to St. Peter, and by way of enforcing them the villagers carried the image of the saint in procession to the river, where they thrice invited him to reconsider his resolution and to grant their prayers; then, if he was still obdurate, they plunged him in the river, despite the remonstrances of the clergy."⁹²

This custom seems to have been common in ancient as well as

⁸⁷ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 170, 171.

⁸⁸ Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 288.

⁸⁹ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. III, p. 483.

⁹⁰ Griffin, *Religion of Japan*, p. 27.

⁹¹ Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 158.

⁹² Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Vol. I, p. 111.

in modern times. In Rome, "Augustus punished the Neptune in effigy because he had behaved badly. The ancient Arcadians used to beat their god Pan if they came back from the chase empty handed. On the day of the death of Germanicus all the idols in Rome were broken."⁹³

For thousands of years, in various parts of the world, human beings were killed in order to send their souls to the other world to serve as wives, servants and slaves for spirits and gods. In an article on "Religious Sacrifices"⁹⁴ I have discussed this subject. We also find in various places attempts to supply spirits with idols. Thus among the Miztecs in Oajaca, Mexico, when a chief died, male and female slaves were killed and buried in the grave with his body to accompany his spirit to the other world "together with idols to serve as guides;"⁹⁵ i. e., that the god dwelling in the idol might act as guide for the soul of the chief in the spirit world, or as Bancroft explains a similar custom elsewhere, "to serve as a guide and fellow traveler to the departed on the long journey"⁹⁶ to the spirit realm.

Occasional allusions are made to jealous gods. Thus in America Uxmal was "said to have been destroyed through the anger of their idols, who were outraged because a new clay god was made by a usurper and worshiped by the people."⁹⁷ In other parts of the world the belief has prevailed that gods were jealous.

In some cases priests have found it convenient to use idols for purposes of deception. Thus it is said that "the Haytian idols were hollow, and so large that the priests could speak through them and delude the people, who thought the idol spoke. The priests would often get inside of these idols in order to practice this imposition." Many such idols were found in Mexico, Yucatan and the West Indies. "In Hispaniola the Spaniards found a conspiracy between the cacique and priesthood to deceive the people. Hearing that a certain idol spoke to the people, the Spaniards were present at one of these performances, and they found that the statue was hollow, with a hollow tube connecting with it through which the priest spoke. The cacique begged the Spaniards not to disclose this to the Indians, because by that artifice he kept them in subjection."⁹⁸ In Madagascar they had idols which spoke to the

⁹³ Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 313.

⁹⁴ In *The Open Court* for February, 1911.

⁹⁵ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. II, p. 622.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 590.

⁹⁷ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 125.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-125.

people—"at least they did this until they were ignominiously found out a few years ago."⁹⁹

In order to cure a Semitic princess the idol of Khonsu was sent to Asia by a Pharaoh of the twenty-first dynasty,¹⁰⁰ thus showing his belief that the resident spirit could cure her disease, and he seems to have loaned her the idol for that purpose.

In ancient times individuals, families, cities and nations were believed to have guardian spirits, or gods, who had a local habitation and only local power. The growth of this belief among the Greeks and Romans has been admirably described by Coulanges, and I cannot do better than to follow and quote from his excellent work. Although tracing the development of the belief in those countries, it would apply equally to other parts of the world.

In ancient Greece and Rome "every city had gods who belonged to it alone. . . . They were called Lares, Penates, Genii, Demons, Heroes; under all these names were human souls deified." After death "the bodies were buried either in the city itself or upon its territory; and as, according to [ancient] belief. . . . the soul did not quit the body, it followed that these divine dead were attached to the soil where their bodies were buried. From their graves they watched over the city; they protected the country, and were, in some sort, its chiefs and masters. . . . These notions came from the very great power which the ancient generations attributed to the human soul after death. Every man who had rendered a great service to the city. . . . became a god to that city."¹⁰¹ After death the *power* of a spirit was believed to be greatly increased, but otherwise it remained unchanged.

Thus an oracle addressed by the Pythia to Solon expressed the belief of the time, saying, "Honor with a worship the chiefs of the country, the dead who live under the earth. . . . Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, was a god at Delphi only because he died and was buried there. . . . And so Euripides makes Eurystheus say to the Athenians when about to die, 'Bury me in Attica. I will be propitious to you, and in the bosom of the ground I will be for your country a protecting guest.' The entire tragedy of *Œdipus Colonus* rests upon this belief. Athens and Thebes contend over the body of a man who is about to die, and who will become a god."¹⁰²

Pindar relates an instance of a Greek who died in a foreign

⁹⁹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 170.

¹⁰⁰ Saussaye, *Science of Religion*, p. 82.

¹⁰¹ Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, pp. 195, 196.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 196, 197.

country; his spirit was said to appear to Pelias and order him to bring back the body, for the soul, being bound to the body, could not return to dwell in the land of its forefathers without it. As the spirit was believed to be connected with the body it would reside underground, where that body was buried; but it was thought to have the power to leave the corpse, flit about, and act as a protecting god, for the individual, tribe or city, as the case might be.

It was a great piece of good fortune for a city to possess the dead bodies of noted men. "Mantineia spoke with pride of the bones of Arcas, Thebes of those of Geryon, Mesene of those of Aristomenes. To procure these precious relics, ruse was sometimes resorted to. Herodotus relates by what unfair means the Spartans carried off the bones of Orestes. These bones...to which the soul of a hero attached, gave the Spartans a victory immediately. As soon as Athens had acquired power, the first use she made of it was to seize upon the bones of Theseus, who had been buried in the isle of Scyrus, and to build a temple for them in the city, in order to increase the number of her protecting deities."¹⁰³ The spirit, being attached to the body or bones would be transferred with them. When idols were developed their possession was sought for the same reason that these bones were desired.

But while the gods were believed to watch over and protect the individual, or the family, or the city, or the state, as the case might be, the benefit was believed to be mutual, for in return they received the offerings and sacrifices on which, as we have elsewhere explained, their welfare and even their existence was believed to depend. The "gods were eager for offerings, and they received victims only from their own city. If they wished the continuation of the sacrifices and hecatombs, it was necessary that they should watch over the city's safety."¹⁰⁴ Every family, or city, or state, offered sacrifices to its protecting deities. The same may be said of China and Japan, for we find evidences of their family, clan or tribal, and national gods, and to them they offer sacrifices in the same way. This has been the custom in various parts of the world.

On the assistance of these spirits and gods men relied for success. When they went to war, or engaged in battle, they often carried with them the idols in which they believed the gods resided. Thus it is said that "the gods had the same interests as the citizens themselves, and in times of war marched to battle with them. In Euripides we see a personage who says on the eve of battle, 'The

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

gods who fight with us are more powerful than those who are on the side of the enemy.' The Æginetans never commenced a campaign without carrying with them the statues [idols] of their national heroes, the Æacidae. The Spartans in all their expeditions carried with them the Tyndaridae. In the combat the gods and the citizens mutually sustained each other."¹⁰⁵

In some parts of ancient America men "were so devoted to idolatry that wherever they went they carried an idol. In battle they would hold an idol with one arm and fight with the other,"¹⁰⁶ thus, they believed, securing the assistance of the god. In the Sandwich Islands the hideous image [idol] of the war-god of king Kamehameha "was carried into battle by his special priest,"¹⁰⁷ and in Arabia the idol of the god Yaghuth was "carried into the fray," to secure his help.¹⁰⁸ The Phenicians carried "images of gods in the prows of their ships, to which sacrifices were made, and figure-heads similar to idols were carried in Polynesian war canoes,"¹⁰⁹ evidently to secure their protecting care. Other instances are found of a similar custom, for it has been world-wide.

In some instances men believed that a city could never be taken so long as its gods remained in it, or were true to it. "When Æneas sees the Greeks the masters of Troy, he cries that the gods [of Troy] have departed, deserting their temples and their altars. In Æschylus, the chorus of Thebans expresses the same belief when at the approach of the enemy it implores the gods not to desert the city. . . . Even in the time of Thucydides, when the Greeks besieged a city, they never failed to address an invocation to its gods, that they might permit it to be taken."¹¹⁰ When Solon wished to capture the Isle of Salamis he consulted an oracle, which said, "'If you wish to conquer the isle you must first gain the favor of the heroes [gods] who protect it and who inhabit it.' Solon obeyed; in the name of Athens he offered sacrifices to the two principal heroes of Salamis. These heroes did not resist the gifts that were offered them, but went over to the Athenian side, and the isle, deprived of protectors, was conquered."¹¹¹

The Romans had a regular form of prayer, preserved by Macrobius, which, before attacking a city, they addressed to its protecting

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202.

¹⁰⁶ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, pp. 120, 130.

¹⁰⁷ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 307.

¹⁰⁸ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁹ Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*, pp. 263, 204.

¹¹⁰ Coulanges, *Ancient City*, pp. 202, 203.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 204.

god, beseeching him to desert, go to Rome, and become their protecting deity. . . . offering to build him a temple there.

If a city was conquered the gods were supposed to have been conquered also. If a city was taken the gods that dwelt in and protected it were captured. Capturing an idol, with its indwelling deity, served two purposes. It showed the inferiority of the conquered to the victorious god, and often men also believed that they could secure the protecting care of the captive deity. Thus when the Roman general Camillo conquered the Veii, he carried away their idol of Juno "well persuaded that he gained possession of the goddess at the same time, and devoutly transported her to Rome. From that time Rome had two protecting Junos."¹¹² So also Ulysses carried off the Pallas [idol] of the Trojans. "At another time the Æginetans, wishing to make war upon Epidaurus, commenced by carrying off two protecting statues [idols] of that city, and transported them to their own city,"¹¹³ thus weakening the enemy by holding his gods in captivity. As this custom has been common a few other examples may be given.

Of ancient Peru we are told that "as for the conquered neighboring tribes brought under the dominion of the Incas, their idols were carried, half trophies and half hostages, to Cuzco, to rank among the inferior deities of the Peruvian Pantheon."¹¹⁴ Thus they secured the control of the conquered gods, and "the burdensome charges of their worship were defrayed by their respective provinces,"¹¹⁵ i. e., they were required to furnish sacrifices etc. for them. In ancient Assyria the idol of the goddess Nanea was stolen from the temple at Erech, about 2280 B. C., and held captive for 1635 years, when it was recovered by Assurbanipal; and the idols of the gods Ramman and Sala, of the city of Ekallati, were held captive for 418 years, and then recovered.¹¹⁶ This was holding gods captive for many years. The victorious Romans carried to Rome the idols of what were believed to be the principal gods of the nations they conquered, thus holding them as hostages, and also securing their protecting care. Hence the value of their Pantheon. Capturing and holding idols in order to secure the resident deities has been prevalent throughout the world.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 199.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

¹¹⁴ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 173.

¹¹⁵ Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, II, p. 98.

¹¹⁶ *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, articles "Nanea" and "Assyria." So also the kings of Assyria presented to their temples "the captured gods [idols] as votive gifts pleasing to their deity." Tiglathpileser presented "twenty-five gods of the land of Sugi."—Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 675.

In some instances to prevent a god from deserting they bound his idol with chains. In other cases they hid it. Again, "they opposed to the formula by which the enemy attempted to bribe the god, another formula which had the power to retain him." The Romans often "kept secret the name of the principal and most powerful of their protecting gods. They thought that, as the enemy could never call their god by name, he would never abandon thier side, and that their city would never be taken."¹¹⁷ Keeping secret the name of the god has been common in other parts of the world.

In some parts of Africa men never engage in a war without first consulting the gods, and after a victory a "dreadful slaughter of prisoners takes place...as a thank offering to the deity or deities to whose assistance the natives believe they owe their success."¹¹⁸ The prisoners were killed in order to send their spirits to the other world, to become the slaves of the deity that gave victory to his worshipers, or from the cannibalistic desire to give him their flesh and blood to eat. An this is true of all similar sacrifices. In praying the gods for help men would promise them liberal sacrifices if victorious. The custom has been wide-spread of thanking, and offering sacrifices to, the god or gods to whose assistance men, believed their success was due.

In the "older art of Babylonia, of which that of Assyria was but a modification, the deities of the popular faith were all represented in human shape."¹¹⁹ So also of the Greeks it is said that "at the earliest stage of iconism of which literature or monuments have left a record, we find the form of the god darkly emerging from the inorganic block...but the features of this embryo form are human...The earliest image under which the Greek divinity proper was figured was the image of man."¹²⁰ Here the idols were clearly deveioped from ancestor worship, and so the early idols were in human form, and were believed to embody human spirits. In ancient Mexico, however, we are told that they "had idols of stone, and of wood, and of baked clay; they also made them of dough; some of them were shaped like men...some were like women, some like wild beasts...some like snakes of many fashions, large and coiling...of the owl and other night birds, and of others as the kite, and of every large bird, or beautiful, or fierce, or preciously feathered, they had an idol...Of many other things they had figures

¹¹⁷ *Ancient City*, p. 204.

¹¹⁸ Ellis, *Tshi-Speaking People*, p. 170.

¹¹⁹ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 277.

¹²⁰ Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I, pp. 19, 20.



MIXE IDOL OF MIXISTLAN.

From a photograph. Venerated by Mexicans until very recently when the original was removed from the altar of a Christian church by the Archbishop of Antequera who now retains it in his possession.

and idols, carved or painted, even of butterflies, fleas and locusts."¹²¹ This appears to be a more advanced stage, so that in addition to human figures they had idols of animals of all kinds, of birds, snakes and even of insects, and such idols have been found elsewhere. We have already seen that in China idols were erected which were believed to be inhabited by the spirits of mountains, brooks, streams, and other gods of nature.

It has not always been the custom to wait until a man was dead before the worship of his spirit began, and in various parts of the world idols have been erected for living men, and then worshipped. This custom appears to have been very ancient in China and is mentioned in a book written as early as the fourth century before our era. "Instances abound in Chinese literature" of this custom. De Groot, who visited China, says that he saw a number of images [idols] and tablets erected to a viceroy who had been "removed to another high post." Altars, temples and idols are often erected "in honor of mandarins after they have departed from the region where they gained the sympathy of a grateful people. . . . Solemnly, every year, on the birthday of such a one, the administrators of the building do reverence there, sacrificing incense, food, spirits, and tea, with bows and prostrations to his soul *residing in the image or tablet*; and they entertain it on the spot with a theatrical performance or a puppet show."¹²²

Similarly in ancient Peru they "made statues [idols] of their chiefs during their lives, and these statues, made in the likeness of the chief, were served as if they had been alive, and villages were set apart to provide them with the necessaries,"¹²³ i. e., as sacrifices to the idol. So, also, in ancient India the Veda represents a man as saying, "'My father and mother are my highest idols; I do for them what I do for idols'. . . and he is represented as saying that he offers fruits and flowers to his parents as if they were idols."¹²⁴ In some parts of Africa at present the savages believe that insanity is caused by a spirit which has taken possession of the victim. "Therefore it is considered proper to make offerings and some degree of worship to the incarnated spirit. But it is not true that the lunatic himself is the object of worship. The gifts and sacrifices are made solely to and for the spirit"¹²⁵ believed to dwell in him.

¹²¹ Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, p. 196.

¹²² De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 65, 66.

¹²³ Dorman, *Primitive Superstitions*, p. 119.

¹²⁴ Hopkins, *The Religion of India*, p. 370.

¹²⁵ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 272.

In ancient Babylonia, after the death of kings temples were erected to them, "their images [idols] were placed in the temples and sacrifices were offered to them. One king, Gimel-Sin (about 2500 B. C.) appears to have been deified during his lifetime, and there was a temple in Lagash which was named after him,"¹²⁶ where he appears to have been worshiped. So also in Rome the senate decreed the divinity of Cæsar, and temples were erected to Augustus, and people began to worship him before he died. It is said that in ancient Egypt it was the "belief that the ruling king or sovereign of Egypt was the living image and viceregent of the sun-god (Ra). He was invested with the attributes of divinity, and that in the earliest times of which we possess monumental evidence,"¹²⁷ and in some cases the king appears to have been worshiped while alive.

In New Zealand a Tampo chief said to a missionary, "Think not that I am a man, that my origin is of the earth. I come from the heavens; my ancestors are all there; they are gods, and I shall return to them."¹²⁸ This appears to be the origin of the belief in "the divine right" of kings. The ancestors of the kings had been deified and were worshiped, and so the kings claimed to be descended from the gods, and to rule by divine approval, i. e., by the approval of the spirits of their deified ancestors. After death the kings also would often be deified and worshiped as gods. So in China and Japan worship of the spirits of their emperors has flourished for centuries. The same practice has been found among other people.

When idols were in general use, and the demand for them large, their manufacture would naturally develop into an industry. Thus when America was discovered idols were found by thousands in the West Indies, and it is stated that "an island near Hayti had a population of idol-makers. . . . The spirit could be conveyed with the image, both were called *cmi*, and in the local account of sacrifices, oracles, and miracles, the deity and the idol are mixed together in a way which at least shows the extreme closeness of their connection in the native mind." "The natives carved their little images in the shapes in which they believed the spirits themselves to have appeared to them."¹²⁹ At Ephesus the making of idols appears to have been a business, and the craftsmen who made their living by it started

¹²⁶ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 561. "The early monarchs of Babylon were worshiped as gods in their lifetime. . . . The kings of Tyre traced their descent from Baal, and apparently professed to be gods in their own person."—Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, pp. 10, 11.

¹²⁷ Renouf, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, p. 161.

¹²⁸ Thompson, *The Story of New Zealand*, I, p. 95.

¹²⁹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 172.

a riot against St. Paul, who was denouncing idolatry, because "this our craft is in danger to be set at naught" (Acts xix. 23-41). Fearing the injury to their trade they desired to kill the man who interfered with it.

Among the innumerable spirits worshiped by primitive men certain gods would in time loom up above others, much as certain men became chiefs and then kings, dominating many nobles and all their subjects. So great gods appeared such as possibly the imaginary first ancestor, faintly remembered but deified and greatly magnified, or the deified spirit of some powerful ancient king; or when nature gods appeared the greatest one might be the spirit dwelling in the sun, or sky or heaven. Various causes might work to elevate one god above another in the popular belief. And a time would come when some of the more thoughtful and intelligent men would doubt whether the exalted spirits which their conceptions imagined could dwell in idols and fetiches.

With the development of ancient philosophy we find such ideas taking shape in the minds of various writers. Thus Zeno said that neither temples nor idols were suited for gods; Empedocles and Heraclitus satirized prayers to idols; Zenophanes made an attack on all idolatry, and Varro and Maximus Tyrius wrote a treatise on the question of whether images should be erected to gods. Probably many shared their views. Similarly in ancient Peru. Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, expressed contempt for idolatry, and recognized "a high, holy, and to a great extent, unknowable supreme power. This thoughtful monarch 'found false all the gods adored by the people of this land, saying that they were statues and demons.'"¹³⁰ In Peru with the development of intelligence there also appeared a tendency to trace many spirits to a larger spirit from whom they sprung.¹³¹ But relatively exalted conceptions such as these, held by the few, did not stop the idolatry practiced by the masses of the people. It took centuries of development to prepare some of the nations for the abolition of idols, and even now a large proportion of the people of the world make and worship them.

Moral codes and ideals are the result of social development. They are the necessary outgrowth of social advance. But savages, unrestrained by such requirements, violate them because they lack the moral laws which civilization imposes. Hence the spirits and gods which the savages worshiped were tainted with all the barbarities of savage life. Thus we are not surprised when we find it stated that

¹³⁰ Bancroft, *Native Races*, Vol. III, pp. 107, 108.

¹³¹ Payne, *New World*, Vol. I, pp. 507-510.

"in Greece, as early as the sixth century B. C., we are all familiar with Zenophanes's poem complaining that the gods were credited with the worst crimes of mortals—in fact, with abominations only known in the orgies of Nero and Elagabalus. We hear Pindar refusing to repeat the tale which told him the blessed were cannibals. In India we read the pious Brahmanic attempts to expound decently the myths which made Indra the slayer of a Brahman; the sinner, that is, of the unpardonable sin. In Egypt, too, we study the priestly or philosophic systems by which the clergy strove to strip the burden of absurdity and sacrilege from their own deities."¹³² When intelligent men, owing merely to the advance in moral standards resulting from a developing civilization, thus revolt at the numerous tales of the immoralities of the ancestral gods, they either take refuge in skepticism and reject the popular religion, or else conceptions of the gods must be framed to meet the new and higher ideals.

The idolatry of the ancient Hebrews does not appear to have differed essentially in origin or character from that of other nations. Their early traditions represent their ancestors as dwelling "on the other side of the flood" (the Revised Version says "river," i. e., the Euphrates), and there "they served other gods." (Josh. xxiv. 2). When they migrated to Palestine from beyond "the river," they appear to have carried with them the worship of the idols and gods of their ancestors, which were similar to those of other branches of the Semitic race. When Rachel fled with Jacob she stole "the images¹³³ that were her father's" (Gen. xxxi. 19). Then Laban started in pursuit of Jacob, and when he overtook him he said, "Wherefore hast thou stolen my gods?" (Gen. xxxi. 30).

We have already seen the ancient belief that when an idol was carried away the indwelling spirit or god was believed to be carried with it. Hence Laban accuses Jacob of having "stolen his gods." So also Micah "had a house of gods. . . . and teraphim" (Judg. xvii.

¹³² Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, Vol. I, p. 6.

¹³³ The Revised Version says *teraphim*. The Assyrian *tarpu* "is the Hebrew *teraphim*, which, as Dr. Neubauer has pointed out, must be connected with the *Rephaim* or 'shades of the dead,' and hence. . . . signify the images [idols] of dead ancestors" (A. H. Sayce in *The Hibbert Lectures* for 1887, p. 143). The Hebrew *teraphim* appear to have been household idols, which they believed to be inhabited by spirits of their ancestors or by gods. We find references to the ancestor worship of the Hebrews, and their attempts to feed (sacrifice to) spirits of the dead (Deut. xxvi. 14; Hos. ix. 4; Jer. viii. 1, 2). These ghosts were believed to be far more powerful than men, and "in all the Semitic languages they were called by the general name *il* (Hebrew *ēl*, 'god,' cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 13) which probably originally meant 'power'; and they received the same rights of worship that were paid to other divinities" (Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel*, p. 3).

5) which some of "the children of Dan" stole. And Micah started in pursuit, and when he overtook them he said, "Ye have taken away my gods [idols] which I made, and the priest, and ye are gone away; and what have I more?" (Judg. xviii. 24). Evidently he believed that he lost his gods when their images were stolen. On conquering the city of Laish "the children of Dan" changed its name to Dan, and there they "set them up Micah's image which he made" (verse 31), and it seems to have been long worshiped.

David appears to have kept a household idol and to have been an idolater. Saul in his anger "sent messengers unto David's house, to watch and to slay him in the morning; and Michal, David's wife," who was the daughter of Saul, told him, and she "let David down through the window; and he went and fled and escaped" (1 Sam.



HEBREW TERAPHIM.



HEAD OF BAAL.
From a Tyrian coin.

xix. 11, 12). Then, to mislead the messengers, Michal "took an image (Revised Version says *teraphim*, i. e., household idol), and laid it in the bed" (verses 13-16), and said that David was sick. Thus David's household idol (*teraphim*) appears to have been about the size and form of a man, else it would not so readily have deceived the messengers of Saul. Idols in human form are also mentioned in Ezek. xvi. 17; Is. xlv. 13. The idols which Rachel stole from her father appear, however, to have been much smaller, otherwise she could not so easily have hidden them by sitting on them (Gen. xxxi. 34). In nations where idols were common they were often made of various sizes.

Apparently among the Semites in quite early times the belief arose that the spirits, thought to reside in graves, could enter and reside in stones resting upon them. Then would come the belief

that they could also reside in other stones, giving rise to a belief similar to that which we have found in other parts of the world. Worship of such stones was common in Babylonia, and in fact "the worship of these sacred stones was common to all the branches of the Semitic family."¹³⁴ The sacred stones were regarded as "the dwelling place of deity itself."¹³⁵ Such stones seem to have been of various shapes and sometimes pillars. Among the Semites we find mention of the "pillar as a visible symbol or embodiment of the presence of the deity, which in process of time comes to be fashioned or carved in various ways, till ultimately it becomes a statue or anthropomorphic idol of stone, just as the sacred tree or post [grave post?] was ultimately developed into an image of wood," or wooden idol.¹³⁶ Among the early Semites "heaps of stones, or pillars set upon graves, were believed to be occupied by them [i. e., by spirits]. In Nabatean, Palmyrene, and Aramaic *nefesh*, 'soul,' means also 'tombstone,'"¹³⁷ evidently growing out of the belief that the soul entered and dwelt in the tombstone.

In the Old Testament we find numerous allusions to the stone worship of the Israelites. Thus Jacob, as the result of a peculiar dream, set up the stone on which his head had rested, and he called it *Bêth-êl*, meaning the house of *êl*, or of the god *êl*. He seems to have believed that the god had entered and dwelt in the stone and he said, "this stone which I have set for a pillar, shall be God's house" (Gen. xxviii. 22). And he anointed the stone with oil, "just as idols were in antiquity."¹³⁸ Anointing sacred stones in this way was common in Babylonia and Assyria.¹³⁹ The Hurd Islanders had in their homes, "several stocks or small pillars, 4 or 5 feet high, as the representatives of household gods, and on these they poured oil."¹⁴⁰ In the Society Islands, logs or fragments of basalt columns, "by virtue of the *atua* or deity which had filled them,"¹⁴¹ were anointed with oil, and this custom has been found in various parts of the world. The oil was intended as a sacrifice to the deity dwell-

¹³⁴ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 408.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 187.

¹³⁷ Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel*, p. 9.

¹³⁸ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 187.

¹³⁹ Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 1887, p. 410. See also Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 664-665 for comments on this custom.

¹⁴⁰ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 294.

¹⁴¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, II, p. 162.

ing inside, just as fat and blood were often daubed on idols, as we have seen.

Some of the proper names indicate the early stone worship, as Tsuriel, meaning "my rock is God"; Pedatsur, "the rock deliver"; Tsurishaddai, "Shaddai, or the mighty one is my rock"; Elitsur, "the rock is my god," etc. For allusions to stone worship see Deut. xxxii. 37; Hab. ii. 19. In some cases descent from a stone was claimed (Jer. ii. 27), which was a belief elsewhere as previously shown.

* * *

It is uncertain just what was contained in the Ark. The word simply means a chest. The compiler of the Old Testament narratives represented it as containing the tables of stone on which the ten commandments were written. This was probably an attempt of the compiler, in the time of the prophets, to gloss over the facts. It may have contained an ancient sacred stone.¹⁴² In this sacred object, whatever it was, Yahveh was believed to dwell¹⁴³ (Num. x. 35, 36; 2 Sam. xv. 25). It was at times carried into battle in order to have the help of the indwelling spirit (1 Sam. iv. 3, 7), much as we have already seen that idols were carried into battle among other people for this purpose. When it was captured Yahveh was thought to be carried into captivity, but the troubles of his captors were attributed to his presence (1 Sam. v. 2-8). On regaining the Ark sacrifices of food were offered to the indwelling god (1 Sam. vi. 14, 15), and there was great rejoicing because their deity had been recovered (2 Sam. vi. 12-16). Defeat in battle was sometimes attributed to the absence of the Ark (Num. xiv. 44, 45), just as among other nations defeat was often attributed to the absence of an idol or a god. The Philistines also carried their idols into battle, and when defeated by David they fled leaving them on the field, and "David and his men took them away" (2 Sam. v. 21 R. V.), thus capturing the gods of their enemy. Similarly Jeremiah writing in Egypt, where he went to live after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., predicted that the king of Babylon would conquer that country and "kindle a fire in the houses of the gods of Egypt," and "carry them away captive," i. e., he would burn their houses (temples), and carry the idols and gods into captivity (Jer. xliii. 10-13).

It was a Semitic custom in appealing to a god believed to re-

¹⁴² For a discussion of the contents of the Ark see the articles on "Ark" in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, and the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. by Hastings.

¹⁴³ "By the popular mind, at least, Jehovah was conceived as actually residing in the Ark." Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Ark."

side in a sacred object to stroke, embrace or kiss it. "The practice of stroking the sacred stone with the hand is identical with the practice of touching or stroking the hand of a man in acts of supplication before him."¹⁴⁴ So also we find allusions to the Hebrew custom of kissing their idols (1 Kings xix. 18; Hos. xiii. 2). We have already noticed the custom in Egypt and elsewhere of embracing and kissing mummies and idols embodying the spirits of friends.

The Hebrews also made idols of animals, in which a god was believed to reside, to whom they offered sacrifices (Exod. xxxii. 4, 6; 1 Kings xii. 28, 32, 33). The idol of a calf was really an idol of a bull, but was called a calf because of its small size. The Israelites carried idols in procession (Is. xlvi. 7; Jer. x. 5), as was the custom in Egypt and elsewhere; they were bound with chains (Is. xl. 19; Jer. x. 4) and Ezekiel speaks of a jealous idol at Jerusalem (Ezek. viii. 3, 5). We have previously mentioned jealous idols. They also put clothes on their idols (Ezek. xvi. 18), a custom found elsewhere.¹⁴⁵

The Semitic word *ba'al* "is primarily the title of a god as inhabitant or owner of a place."¹⁴⁶ Hence we find such names as Bêl-shashi, "owner of the wild boar"; Ba'âlath-bê'êr, "proprietary of the well"; Ba'al-Carmel or B'al Lëbânôn, "owner of those mountains"; Ba'al Hammân, "owner of the pillar"; Ba'al-tâmâr, "owner of the palm." Ba'al-perazim, "owner of the cleft"; Ba'al-hamon, "owner of the torrent." In these cases the spirit believed to dwell in the wild boar, well, palm-tree, mountain, pillar, cleft or torrent, was regarded as owning or possessing them. Other similar names are found, indicating the early belief in spirit habitation of different objects.

We find allusions to the wide-spread belief that the power of the gods was local and confined to their own territory. Thus the Syrians said of the Israelites, "Their gods are gods of the hills; . . . but let us fight against them in the plains, and we shall be stronger than they" (1 Kings xx. 23). So also Naaman, the Syrian, asked that he might be given two mule-loads of the soil of Canaan in order that he might carry it home with him, and then he could worship Yahveh on the earth he dominated (2 Kings v. 17). So David lamented that if Saul drove him out of the land of Israel he would

¹⁴⁴ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 188.

¹⁴⁵In Babylonia "garments for the statues of the gods appear to have been favorite votive offerings at all times. . . . It would appear. . . . that for the various festive occasions of the year, the garments of the gods [idols] were changed."—Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 670.

¹⁴⁶ Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 94.

be compelled to "serve other gods," i. e., serve the gods of the land he was forced to enter (1 Sam. xxvi. 19), and he would be prevented from "abiding in the inheritance of Yahveh," for Yahveh's rule was thought not to extend outside the land of Israel. So also the foreigners sent by the king of Assyria to settle in Samaria knew not "the manner of the God of the land," and a priest was sent to teach them (2 Kings xvii. 24-28), for the "God of the land" was regarded as a local deity whose "manners" must be observed, just as David would observe those of the Philistine god if forced to enter his territory.

When the Hebrews conquered the land of Canaan, instead of exterminating the Canaanites they appear to have ultimately amalgamated with them (Ps. cvi. 34-38). Since both tribes were branches of the Semitic race this was comparatively easy. Many of the sanctuaries of Yahveh were "the holy places of the land of Canaan that had been appropriated by the Hebrews as a result of the conquest. Wherever Yahveh had supplanted a *ba'al*, and inhabited a sacred tree, spring, stone, or grave, there a 'high place' was established where an altar was set up and sacrifices were offered. More than a hundred of these sanctuaries are mentioned in the older writings of the Old Testament. In the case of most of them it can be shown that they were primitive shrines of the land of Canaan.¹⁴⁷ The idols and idolatry of the early Hebrews had been inherited from their ancestors, and it appears to have been similar to that of the other branches of the Semites. Hence their ready assimilation. "We have convincing proof that the use of teraphim [i. e., household idols] was common, if not universal, among the early Hebrews. . . . So thoroughly were they a part of the national tradition that they continued in use even after the captivity."¹⁴⁸ At the time of the prophets a bitter fight was made to exterminate idolatry, and to concentrate the national worship on Yahveh, who was developed from a local into a universal God. The Hebrews do not appear to have become monotheists until after the captivity. "The later prophetic polemic against images of Yahveh shows how common they were in the pre-prophetic religion of Israel."¹⁴⁹

An attempt appears to have been made in the age of the prophets to gloss over the idolatry of the early Israelites, and to represent them as monotheists from the beginning, worshipping Yah-

¹⁴⁷ Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel*, p. 89.

¹⁴⁸ Kitto's *Cyclopaedia of Biblical Literature*, art. "Teraphim," written by Archdeacon F. W. Farrar.

¹⁴⁹ Paton, *The Early Religion of Israel*, p. 81.

veh alone, and their idolatry as a falling away from the early belief. But to scholars the records clearly show the early customs and the process of development. "Just as the theologians of Islam sought to destroy evidences of pre-Mohammedan heathenism in Arabia, so the prophetic historians of Israel retold the tales of the patriarchs in accordance with the religious beliefs of their own age. Yet even this process did not succeed in obliterating the traces of pre-Mosaic polytheism."¹⁵⁰

SUMMARY.

When, in primitive times, the belief was developed that spirits dwelt in the human body, continuing to reside there during temporary suspensions of activity, such as sleep, fainting spells, etc., the belief would naturally spring up that when bodily activity was suspended by death, the spirit would continue to reside in the corpse. After death the ghosts were imagined to still retain their interest in the affairs of men, but with greatly increased power to help or injure them.

Primitive men, like modern savages, believed that during life the spirit could leave the body, as it appeared to do in dreams, when it engaged in the chase and other occupations, and then returned to the body before it awoke. This belief arose because of their ignorance of the true explanation for natural phenomena. And so, in early ages, men would naturally believe that after death the spirit could similarly leave the corpse and return to it. Hence, in some religions, holes were left in coffins and graves to enable spirits to pass in and out.

Spirits leaving the body and flitting about, were believed to have the power to enter various objects, such as houses and the bodies of other men. And so would naturally arise the belief that all of the diseases of men were occasioned by evil spirits which entered human bodies and caused the sickness. Among many primitive people the world over this has been the prevailing belief regarding the cause of all ill health. To cure any disease it was imagined that it was merely necessary to drive out the evil spirit. That has been the whole science of medicine for many tribes and nations.

If the spirit continued to dwell in the body after death, to destroy it would deprive the ghost of its home. It was an early belief that the corpse would ultimately awaken out of its sleep (resurrection) and then the body would be absolutely essential to

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 27, 28.

the spirit. This led to efforts to preserve the corpse, and various devices were tried, such as dessicating or drying, and, as intelligence increased, by mummifying, as was done in ancient Egypt and Peru. In ancient Babylonia and other places additional protection was sought by building great mounds over the grave, which in Egypt grew into the pyramids.

But in spite of every precaution a mummy might be destroyed, and a ghost left homeless. To provide against such an emergency the Egyptians seem in some instances to have provided several images in human form, or artificial bodies, into which, in case the original was destroyed, the spirit might enter and dwell. This reasoning seems logical, and it appears to be a natural effort to provide against disaster.

As the ghosts were believed still to retain their interest in the affairs of men after death, mummies were in some cases carried to feasts and holiday observances, in order that the resident spirit might look on and enjoy the festivities. Favorite dishes of food were presented to them, incense burnt before them, and at times they were washed, kissed and caressed by friends, and their feet bathed with tears by loved ones.

In early ages, and to modern savages, shadows have seemed strange and mysterious appearances, and the shadows which men cast were regarded as their souls, following them, and appearing and disappearing in a mysterious manner.¹⁵¹ Men would also inevitably notice that stones and posts on graves cast shadows, and it would be a natural inference that the shadows cast by these objects were spirits also. Then it would be a short step to say that the spirit living in the grave had entered them and appeared in such shadows. But a human spirit residing in such objects should have a more natural body, and hence an effort would be made to carve the stones and posts into a resemblance to the human figure, and so they would be shaped into idols in human form. This thought is suggested tentatively as one possible reason—not the only one—for the early belief that spirits, living in graves, entered the stones and posts resting on them. But whatever the chain of reasoning in the savage mind may have been, the fact remains, and has much evidence, that the belief sprang up all over the world, that grave stones and posts became inhabited by the spirits living under them. Objects into

¹⁵¹ "The Benin negroes regard men's shadows as their souls. . . . The Greenlanders say a man's shadow is one of his two souls—the one which goes away from his body at night. Among the Fijians, too, the shadow is called 'the dark spirit,' as distinguished from another which each man possesses."—Spencer, *Sociology*, Vol. I, sec. 56.

which spirits had entered were regarded as sacred, but their sanctity was based solely on the presence of the indwelling spirit.

Grave stones and posts have been found in various parts of the world, with a rudely carved human head at the top, or having a rude resemblance to the human body—rough stones and posts being slowly developed into human form. Savages, having little artistic or mechanical skill, could only produce crude figures. Some statues were made in grotesque form, and some were fierce and were occupied by gods of war. As civilization developed and skill increased, statues of surprising beauty were at times produced by advanced nations, as seen in some of those of ancient Greece. But whether



HINDU JAGANNATH WITH HIS TWO COMPANIONS.
(After Schlagintweit.)

the figure was crude or artistic, large or small, frowning or smiling, it was regarded as an artificial body in which a spirit could reside. These artificial bodies, whether made of wood, or stone, or clay, or dough, or any other material—for, in time, statues were made of almost every substance—were idols. The word "idol" means literally an "image." Any "image" in which a spirit was believed to dwell, was an idol.

The power of the spirits was believed to exceed greatly that of men, and believing the spirits and gods dwelling in idols to have almost unlimited power over their destiny, men have prostrated themselves before, and done obeisance to them. To them they have prayed, often long and with the most intense and pathetic earnest-

ness, seeking to avert their anger and win their help.⁷ Men believed that all the benefits and good fortune of life came from the help of the spirits and gods, and all disasters and misfortunes were caused by their animosity. Imagining the inhabiting spirits to have human appetites and desires, sacrifices were offered to them. In many instances blood was daubed on the lips of the idol, or food thrust into its mouth. In other cases food and drink would be placed on a table or altar before the image so that the god could have ready access to it. Incense was burned before the idol so that the fumes might please the deity. As ideas became less gross, sacrifices were sometimes burnt on an altar before the idol, in the belief that the fumes and vapors would reach and be inhaled by the spirit. All sacrifices were intended to supply some desire of a spirit or god. The whole vast system of idolatry, which has prevailed all over the world for thousands of years and which so impresses every student of the past, has consisted of this worship of spirits and gods, believed to reside in idols.

Probably the first idols were supposed to be inhabited by human spirits and hence they were intended to imitate the human form. As the belief in spirits developed, there came a time when they were believed to be everywhere and in everything, and idols were made in the form of animals, birds, snakes, and even insects, and in some cases idols were made for the spirits of mountains, stars, rivers, etc., to reside in. In Egypt, when animal worship developed, the bodies of the sacred animals were mummified and preserved like those of men and for the same reason—to preserve them for the spirit to inhabit.

In China and Japan “tablets” have been kept for centuries in nearly every home. They appear to have been developed from a gravestone, or slab, or post. Into these “tablets” spirits of ancestors were believed to enter. They differ from idols because they are not “images” of human or other form. In Peru a disk served in place of an idol for the spirit of the sun.

Fetiches could “be made of anything of vegetable, animal or metallic nature.” Into these a spirit was believed to enter. They could be worn as charms, or kept in any convenient place. The indwelling spirit was believed to help the owner of the fetich. If the spirit left the object, which was often believed to happen, it was regarded as “dead” and of no further value, and was frequently thrown away. But while the spirit was thought to dwell in the fetich it was prayed to and worshiped. Instead of being the earliest

and lowest form of religion, fetichism was probably a subsidiary development of the general belief in spirits.

In time the belief in spirits developed to such an extent that they were supposed to teem everywhere. This belief dominated the lives of men. There were supposed to be millions of spirits. They were imagined to inhabit wells and springs, brooks, rivers, lakes and the ocean; animals of all kinds; trees and vegetables; the earth, volcanoes and mountains; the sun, moon and stars. And as all these spirits were believed to have power to control the lives of men, sending benefits and disasters upon them, they were all worshiped. But the worship of spirits not dwelling in idols was not idolatry.

It has been the popular belief that idolaters worshiped idols of wood, stone, etc. This appears to be an error. Repeatedly idolaters have asserted that they did *not* worship the image of wood, stone, or other substance, but the inhabiting spirit. Ignorant men may at times have worshiped the image alone, but this was because its object was forgotten, and such cases were probably exceptions rather than the rule.¹⁵²

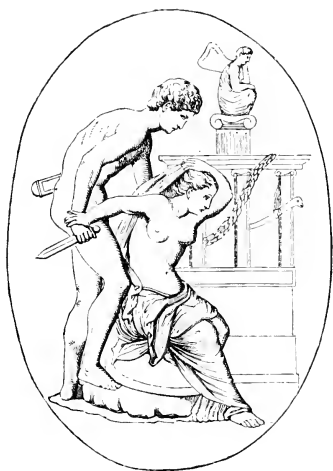
When idolatry was fully developed millions of idols were made; each man might have one or several. Their number seems surprising. There were individual, family, tribal and national idols and gods. Believing that the help of the indwelling spirits or gods was essential to their welfare, men kept idols in their homes, they wore them as charms and amulets, they placed them in the approaches to their fields to protect their crops,¹⁵³ and so on, and tribal and national idols were provided with temples, or houses in which to dwell, and there men went to sacrifice to and worship them.

We have seen that in ancient Greece and Rome the belief prevailed (and it has been general over the world) that the spirit was bound or attached to the corpse, and when that was carried from place to place the spirit was transported with it. And so when idols were developed the same idea adhered to them. Wherever the idol was carried the inhabiting spirit went. To gain their protection and

¹⁵² "Every native with whom I have conversed on the subject has laughed at the possibility of being supposed that he could worship or offer sacrifice to some such object as a stone, which of itself it would be perfectly obvious to his senses was a stone only and nothing more." Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 192. "Nowhere in the world did man ever worship a stick or a stone as such."—Brinton, *The Religions of Primitive Peoples*, 131.

¹⁵³ "Some of the Dyak tribes appoint coarse wooden idols to guard over the paths leading to their habitations, placing beside the idols a basketful of betel nuts to repay them for their trouble."—Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 300. Boundary stones placed between fields and villages seem at times to have been rudely carved to represent human features, and to have been regarded as spirit possessed. See Burdick, *Foundation Rites*, pp. 221, 222.

help images were carried into battle, and when the idol was captured the indwelling god was believed to be captured also. A captive god was believed to be a help to the victors and a loss to the conquered. To keep them from deserting idols were sometimes fastened with chains; at other times they were hidden, and at times their names were kept secret to prevent their being conjured with by an enemy. To gain their help efforts were sometimes made to bribe the gods of the enemy by sacrifices, or an attempt was made to take them by stealth.



HUMAN SACRIFICE AMONG THE GREEKS.

(After an ancient cameo in Berlin.)

Polyxena dies by the hand of Neoptolemus on the tomb of Achilles.

In fact the one great essential in war and in peace was to secure the help of these gods, and the greatest of all calamities was to lose their protecting care. So intense and sincere was this belief that men would at any time sacrifice every thing that was dear to them in obedience to it—their property, their friends, and even their children, or lay down their own lives. Men have paid a bitter price for their adherence to what now appears to have been a mistaken conclusion. It is hard to see how any adequate conception of the past can be formed, without gaining a clear understanding of the way this belief in spirits took possession of the human mind, shaped

the customs, ceremonies, and philosophies of men, and moulded their practical affairs, as well as their ideas.

Although men generally feared the spirits, at times they have tried to coerce them, beating, scolding, ducking and variously mistreating them.

Wherever idolatry and fetichism are closely examined, even in the most diverse parts of the world, they are found to be essentially the same, both in their origin and character. They are merely objects for spirits to inhabit. Men often speak about the different religions of the world, or they contrast the fetichism of one religion with the idolatry of another, and so on. As a matter of fact, there appears to have never been but one religion. It has consisted of the belief in and worship of spirits. Varying in some details in different regions, the various religions all resolve into this.

When Christianity spread among the pagan nations it was found impossible, in many cases, to eradicate the idolatry which had been practiced for ages by the ancestors of the people, and inherited with all its traditions. Therefore many of the old idols were retained, but rechristened as "images of the saints." Thus Heracles, dwelling in his idol, was represented as complaining because he was forced to become St. Luke.¹⁵⁴ And so, under a new name, the old worship of spirits went on. The "worship of the saints," was only a modified form of ancient idolatry, and the Christian "image" was often merely a revamped "idol" of a heathen god.

As civilization advanced and men outgrew the belief in idolatry, in many instances iconoclasts overthrew or smashed the idols. The worshippers of the gods believed to inhabit the images looked on with awstruck horror, expecting the spirits to wreak dire vengeance on the wicked destroyers of their habitations. When no disaster befell the iconoclasts—and none ever did—the idolaters were filled with utter surprise. History records numerous instances of this kind.

Until the belief in spirits was developed in the mind of primitive man, there were, and could be, no idols. Among some of the lower savages there now appear to be none.¹⁵⁵

They probably developed in the middle stages of savagery, and abounded in the higher stages of savagery and on the lower levels of

¹⁵⁴ He was imagined to protest, saying: "I am Heracles, the triumphant son of Zeus; I am not Luke, but they compel me." *Auth. Pal.*, Xi, 269.

¹⁵⁵ Idols are said to have been almost or quite unknown among the lower savages, like the Bushmen, Patagonians, Australians and Anaman islanders, while they were common among the more highly developed of the Polynesian races, the Fins, the American Indians, the Mexicans and Peruvians, the ancient Egyptians, Semites, Greeks and Romans, and also among the Chinese and Japanese.

civilization. As intelligence increases they are discarded. And so idolatry appears to occupy an intermediate stage in the development of the race. Unknown to the lowest savages, it will be discarded by a high civilization.

Our investigations have failed to discover any evidence that idolatry was based on the wickedness and depravity of the human heart, as some theologians have taught and many people have believed. Instead of this it appears to have been a result of human ignorance. It seems to have originated among savages and to have been an outgrowth of their misunderstanding and misinterpretation of natural phenomena. The belief in spirit-possessed idols and fetiches, and the resulting idolatry and fetichism, has been part of the vast, wide-stretching morass of ignorance through which, with endless suffering, mankind has been floundering in its age-long struggle to master the problems of life, and learn how, through the knowledge of nature's laws, to unlock her storehouses and use her forces to his advantage. Progress can be made in no other way. Increased intelligence is the only road to advance.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE AH FANG PALACE.⁴

BY TU MU (A. D. 803-852).

[Tu Mu, otherwise Tu Mu Chih, belonged to a family resident in the capital (Chang-an) for many generations. In the second year of the period Tai Ho, he took his doctor's degree, and other titles, both civil and military, were conferred on him. He has been called the "lesser Tu," to distinguish him from his namesake, the great poet Tu Fu. While the characteristic of the later T'ang poetry is an over-softness and elegance, Tu's verses are strong and masculine, and among the later T'ang poets he has been accorded the first place.

The following poem refers to the fall of the Six Kingdoms and the rise of the Chin Dynasty, and the subsequent fall of Chin owing to its inability to profit by the lessons of the past. The poem hinges on the building of the palace of Shih Huang-ti, evidently a distasteful piece of extravagance on the part of an emperor who was also obnoxious as the architect of the "Great Wall" and the destroyer of the books. Several lines have been omitted in the following version, being, probably, those in which Dr. Grube finds a prodigality of metaphor sounding harsh to western ears. But as characteristically Oriental, it may be permitted to insert them here, although perhaps the translation "westernizes" them, if I may say so, too much.

"See bright stars twinkling overhead,
'Tis folding mirrors open spread.
See that dark cloud that hides the sun,
The ladies' toilet is begun.
And see, in flood the river flows,
As labors of the toilet close.
But hark, 'tis thunder sure, I hear.
No, 'tis the Emperor's chariot near.
And grandly rolling, rolling on,
Now heard afar, from sight 'tis gone."

The purpose of these lines is to emphasize the immensity of the palace. So numerous, the poet intends to say, were the women of the harem that when they took out their mirrors for toilet purposes, the light flashing on them seemed to the onlooker like a sky full of stars. When the ladies let down their black hair, it seemed like the coming of clouds to obscure the sun. And when they poured off the toilet water, the river seemed to rise in a flood, so great was the quantity used by so many people.]

⁴ Translated by James Black.

I.

The Six are done: the Empire One.
 Though hills are bare, a palace rare
 Fills up three hundred *li* and more,
 And dims the light the landscape o'er.
 From Li Shan north extending far,
 Then towards the west the buildings are.
 From there to Hsien Yang straight we go,
 And still the palace precincts show.
 The walls are crossed by rivers two,
 And as we stroll the place to view,
 Some stately building here we spy,
 And here some tower that rises high.
 Like silken ribbons wind the halls;
 The eaves jut out from lofty walls.
 Fitly around each building stands
 Crescentic center all commands.
 And as they spiral o'er the ground,
 The courts, like honeycombs, abound,
 Each with its proper water-flow
 Through which the eddying currents go.
 To view the bridge that leads the way
 From shore to shore, who would not say—
 "A dragon from the river rears,
 Though in the air no mist appears."
 A corridor, it spans the tide,
 And shines, by curious eye descried,
 Like rainbow arching o'er the stream
 Though no soft shower aslants the gleam.

II.

In singing tower how mild the air
 From the warm breath that mingles there!
 In dancing room a chill wind blows
 From off the dancers' fluttering clothes.
 One palace and one day bring forth
 The balmy south, the frigid north.
 And ladies fair, and sons of kings
 Each day to Chin's great palace brings.
 At morn they sing, at night they play,
 To while an emperor's time away.

 The charm that each from nature caught
 Is here by art to excellence brought
 And here the courtiers stand and vie
 For notice from the imperial eye.
 Alas, how many stand in vain
 Through the long years a king may reign.
 The stores of Yen Chou here are laid,
 The arts of Han Wei are displayed,

The treasures of Chi Chu arrayed,
 Full many a generation here,
 And toil of many a toilsome year,
 To this grim pile consigned at last
 From those who owned them in the past.
 Through halls agleam with jewelled rays,
 The Chin men pass, but scorn to gaze.

III.

And yet, be one man's heart surveyed,
 Behold the hearts of all displayed.
 The Chins love luxury. True; but all
 The joys of home how oft recall.
 Then why should Chin these homes despoil,
 To scatter wanton o'er the soil?
 And why should palace more contain
 Of pillars than the fields have men?
 Of crossbeams than in robe you find
 The threads by weaver's hand entwined?
 Of lattice work should it have more
 Than city walls the empire o'er?
 And sounds of mirth that reach the town
 The voices in the market drown.
 Protest the people dared not, though
 They dared to led their anger grow.
 But he, the Solitary One,
 Increased in pride from sun to sun.

IV.

The kingdoms six themselves destroyed,
 Not Chin, though Chin's the arm employed.
 And who in turn caused Chin to fall?
 'Twas Chin. The people? Not at all.
 Oh! Had the Six the people loved,
 In vain had Chin against them moved.
 Had Chin the peoples' voice but heard,
 It had not perished in its third,
 But countless kings had borne its name,
 And none could rise to blast its fame.
 No pity, bent to milder ways,
 Had Chin, though its decay may raise
 Pity for it in after days,
 And later generations too
 Still miss the lesson old and true,
 And they are pitied by the new.

 MELANCHTHON ON DUERER'S MELANCHOLY.

BY EBERHARD NESTLE.

In the July number of *The Open Court* there is an interesting paper on "Albrecht Dürer and the Freemasons," together with a reproduction and long

description of Dürer's much discussed "Melancholy." In this connection the notice will be welcome that among unpublished writings of Philip Melanchthon a description of this picture has just been published. See Dr. Wrampelmeyer's *Ungedruckte Schriften Philip Melanchthon's* (Program of the Claus-thal Gymnasium, 1911, No. 412). Melanchthon was in Nuremberg in 1525 and again in May, 1526, in which time Dürer's well-known picture of Melanchthon may have been made. The greater interest therefore attaches to his description of Dürer's picture. It runs thus:

Pictura melancholiae.

Albertus Durerus artificiosissimus pictor melancholiae picturans ita expressit. Mulier sedet demisso capite, manuque cubito nisea, quam genu fulcit, illud sustinet, et vultu severo, qui in magna consideratione nusquam aspicit, sed palpebris deiectis humum intuetur. Omnia autem sunt circa illam obscura. Ipsa claves habet appensas lateri, capillo est neglectiore et diffuso. Iuxta enim [eam?] conspiciuntur artium instrumenta: libri, regulae, circini, normae, etiam ferramenta et lignea quaedam opera. Ut autem indicaret, nihil non talibus ab ingeniis comprehendi solere, et quam saepe eadem in absurdum deferantur, ante illam scalas in nubem deduxit per quarum gradus quadratum saxum veluti ascensionem moliri fecit. Tacet autem prope hanc ad pedes ipsius contracta corporis parte etiam porrecta, canis cuius modi solet illa bestia in fastidio esse, languida et somniculosa et perturbari in quiete. Cernere etiam est quaedam ad fenestram aranearum tela et venatio harum inter alia huius naturae indicia a pictore tenuissimis lineis expressa.

There are curious differences between Melanchthon's description and the representation on page 423. Where for instance is the spider's web over a certain window mentioned by Melanchthon? And the chief figure, the woman, does not look on the ground as Melanchthon says but stares off in the distance. Was there another representation of the subject which Melanchthon saw? This solution may be suggested by the figure 1 after the word "Melancholia" on Dürer's engraving. But I must leave this to the expert.

THE TABU OF HORSEFLESH.

In a recent *Open Court* (March 1911) the editor made a comment on the use of horseflesh and stated that the abhorrence shown in Germany, England and other Teutonic countries is due to the tabu imposed upon it as a sacrificial animal of pagan times. We now receive the following slip published in the Boston *Evening Transcript*, of June 19, 1909, in which our correspondent under the name of "Rockingham" makes the same statement which reads as follows:

"The monotonous French diet is a surprising phrase even as to the humble, but hot and nutritious. *pot-au-feu*; this last, in the inquirer's view, is inferior to cold dainties for meeting the needs of a laborer in the fields.

"A recent report of the British Board of Trade was cited in the *Transcript* for May 29 last, where the extract begins: 'In regard to food, the meat dietary of the French working-class family shows a much greater variety than of either the English or German family of the same class. Horseflesh appears to be more largely consumed—chiefly for reasons of taste—in France than in Germany.'

"To follow up this last statement, it is curious that horseflesh should be

less popular in Germany than in France, nominally a country much more Roman Catholic; the prejudice against horseflesh seems to be entirely of theological origin, the horse being the most fastidious feeder among our farm animals and thus having flesh the least unclean. But horseflesh and its eaters are said to have been declared unclean by Pope Gregory III (731-41), who issued a bull evidently to discourage a then prevalent yearning 'for the flesh-pots of Egypt.' The horse, as a symbol of the sun, had long been a sacred animal whose flesh, after sacrifice, was divided among the heathen worshipers. The sacrifices of (and to) horses, and the controverted connection with sundry great 'white horses' cut in the turf of English hillsides, unluckily cannot be discussed here within the space available. The prohibition against horseflesh, like many others governing our daily life, has descended in full practical force to us, though the reason therefor has generally been forgotten ages ago.

ROCKINGHAM.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SANCTUARY: MAHA-VIRA. By *William W. Hicks*. Boston: Sanctuary Publishing Co., 1911. Pp. 186. Price, \$1.25.

The Sanctuary Publishing Company (43 West Newton Street, Boston, Mass.) has published in its series "The Sanctuary" a monograph on *Maha-Vira*, who was the founder of the Jaina sect, a contemporary of Buddha and worshiped as the last incarnation of the Jain by a sect of about one million souls still existing in India. The representative of this religion during the Religious Parliament of Chicago in 1903 was V. R. Gandhi. *Maha-Vira* is the rival of Buddha and the followers of both attribute to their leaders the same titles, such as *Kaina*, the conqueror; *Tathagata*, the perfect one; *Buddha*, the enlightened one; *Samanara*, the saint; *Arhat*, the holy one; but in the course of time *Siddhartha Gautama* was called the Buddha, while *Maha-Vira's* title was *Tirthakari* or *Jina*. The difference between the sects consists mainly in their underlying philosophies. Jainism believes in the purification through asceticism while Buddhism rejects mortification of the body as useless. Otherwise the two systems agree pretty closely in morality, charity, and benevolence; but above all both are opposed to the ancient Brahmanist sacrifices, and neither the Buddhists nor the Jainas submit to the authority of the Vedas.

The book is written with enthusiasm for the subject which it treats and this may be considered an advantage by many, especially those who are interested in the New Thought movement; but on the other hand it will be felt as a disturbing factor which does not present the subject matter with scientific objectivity, but strongly colors it with the sentiment of the author's own interpretation. Considering the fact that Buddhism has received the lion's share of interest, this little book will be welcome to all students of religion.

K

Dr. phil. K. Langen, who in company with his wife, Mrs. Marta Langen, *nee* Countess Strachwitz, keeps a boarding school for English and American youths at Eisenach in Germany, has published a pamphlet on "Esthetic Valuation" under the title *Der ästhetische Wert* in which he analyses the significance of beauty in literature and art. Dr. Langen is a disciple of Professor Eucken of Jena.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION.—The Significance of Franz Cumont's Work, by Grant Showerman	v
PREFACE	xv
PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION	xxv
I. ROME AND THE ORIENT	1
Superiority of the Orient. 1.—Its Influence on Political Institutions, 3.—Its Influence on Civil Law, 5.—Its Influence on Science, 6.—Its Influence on Literature and Art, 7.—Its Influence on Industry, 9.—SOURCES: Destruction of Pagan Rituals, 11.—Mythographers, 12.—Historians, 13.—Satirists, 13.—Philosophers, 14.—Christian Polemicists, 15.—Archeological Documents, 16.	
II. WHY THE ORIENTAL RELIGIONS SPREAD	20
Difference in the Religions of the Orient and the Occident, 20.—Spread of Oriental Religions, 22.—Economic Influences, 23.—Theory of Degeneration, 25.—Conversions are of Individuals, 27.—Appeal of the Oriental Religions to the Senses, 28.—Appeal to the Intelligence, 31.—Appeal to the Conscience, 35.—Inadequacy of the Roman Religion, 35.—Skepticism, 37.—Imperial Power, 38.—The Purification of Souls, 39.—Hope of Immortality, 42.—Conclusion, 43.	
III. ASIA MINOR	46
Arrival of Cybele at Rome, 46.—Her Religion in Asia Minor, 47.—Religion at Rome under the Republic, 51.—Adoption of the Goddess Ma-Bellona, 53.—Politics of Claudius, 55.—Spring Festival, 56.—Spread of the Phrygian Religion in the Provinces, 57.—Causes of its Success, 58.—Its Official Recognition, 60.—ARRIVAL OF OTHER CULTS: Men, 61.—Judaism, 63.—Sabazius, 64.—Anahita, 65.—The Taurobolium, 66.—Philosophy, 70.—Christianity, 70.—Conclusion, 71.	
IV. EGYPT	73
Foundation of Serapis Worship, 73.—The Egyptian Religion Hellenized, 75.—Diffusion in Greece, 79.—Adoption at Rome, 80.—Persecutions, 82.—Adoption Under Caligula, 84.—Its History, 85.—Its Transformation, 86.—Uncertainty in Egyptian Theology, 87.—Insufficiency of Its Ethics, 90.—Power of Its Ritual, 98.—Daily Liturgy, 95.—Festivals, 97.—Doctrine of Immortality, 99.—The <i>Retrigerium</i> , 101.	
V. SYRIA	103
The Syrian Goddess, 103.—Importation of New Gods by Syrian Slaves, 105.—Syrian Merchants, 107.—Syrian Soldiers, 112.—Heliogabalus and Aurelian, 114.—Value of Semetic Paganism, 115.—Animal Worship, 116.—Baals, 118.—Human Sacrifice, 119.—Transformation of the Sacerdotal Religion, 120.—Purity, 121.—Influence of Babylon, 122.—Eschatology, 125.—THEOLOGY: God is Supreme, 127.—God is Omnipotent, 129.—God is Eternal and Universal, 130.—Semetic Syncretism, 131.—Solar Henotheism, 133.	
VI. PERSIA	135
Persia and Europe, 135.—Influence of the Achemenides, 136.—Influence of Mazdaism, 138.—Conquests of Rome, 139.—Influence of the Sassanides, 140.—Origin of the Mysteries of Mithra, 142.—Persians in Asia Minor, 144.—The Mazdaism of Anatolia, 146.—Its Diffusion in the Occident, 149.—Its Qualities, 150.—Dualism, 151.—The Ethics of Mithraism, 153.—The Future Life, 158.—Conclusion, 159.	

Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism—Continued

VII. ASTROLOGY AND MAGIC	162
Prestige of Astrology, 162.—Its Introduction in the Occident, 163.—Astrology Under the Empire, 164.—Polemics Powerless Against Astrology, 166.—Astrology a Scientific Religion, 169.—The Primitive Idea of Sympathy, 171.—Divinity of the Stars, 172.—Transformation of the Idea of God, 174.—New Gods, 175.—Big Years, 176.—Astrological Eschatology, 177.—Man's Relation to Heaven, 178.—Fatalism, 179.—Efficacy of Prayer, 180.—Efficacy of Magic, 182.—Treatises on Magic, 182.—Idea of Sympathy, 183.—Magic a Science, 184.—Magic is Religious, 185.—Ancient Italian Sorcery 186.—Egypt and Chaldea, 187.—Theurgy, 188.—Persian Magic, 189.—Persecutions, 191.—Conclusion, 193.	
VIII. THE TRANSFORMATION OF ROMAN PAGANISM	196
Paganism Before Constantine, 196.—Religion of Asia Minor, 197.—Religion of Egypt and Syria, 198.—Religion of Persia, 199.—Many Pagan Religions, 200.—Popular Religion and Philosophy, 201.—Christian Polemics, 202.—Roman Paganism Become Oriental, 204.—Mysteries, 205.—Naipe Worship, 206.—Supreme God, 207.—Sidereal Worship, 208.—The Ritual Given a Moral Significance, 209.—The End of the World, 209.—Conclusion, 210.	
NOTES	213
Preface, 213.—I. Rome and the Orient, 214.—II. Why the Oriental Religions Spread, 218.—III. Asia Minor, 223.—IV. Egypt, 228.—V. Syria, 241.—VI. Persia, 260.—VII. Astrology and Magic, 270.—VIII. The Transformation of Paganism, 281.	
INDEX	289

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	5
CHAPTER I.	
Ontogeny, as a Recapitulation of Phylogeny suggests the Idea of a continuous Action exerted by the Germ Substance upon the Soma throughout the whole Development	11
CHAPTER II.	
1. Phenomena which indicate a continuous formative Action which is exerted by Parts of the Soma upon the other Parts throughout the Whole of Development	19
2. Hypothesis of the Nature of the formative Stimulus	29
CHAPTER III.	
1. Phenomena which point to the Existence of a central Zone of Development	53
2. Hypothesis of the Structure of the germinal Substance	76
CHAPTER IV.	
1. Phenomena which refute simple Epigenesis	104
2. Phenomena which refute Preformation	121
3. Inadmissibility of a homogeneous germ Substance	144
4. Inadmissibility of preformistic Germs	150
CHAPTER V.	
The Question of the Inheritance of acquired Characters	159
CHAPTER VI.	
The most important of the existing biogenetic Theories in Relation to the Inheritance of acquired Characters	224
CHAPTER VII.	
The centroepigenetic Hypothesis and the Explanation of Inheritance afforded by it	289
CHAPTER VIII.	
The Phenomenon of Memory and the vital Phenomenon	316
Conclusion	356
Appendix	358
Index	358

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DER OSTASIATISCHE LLOYD, Shanghai; Vol. XXIV, p. 532.

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