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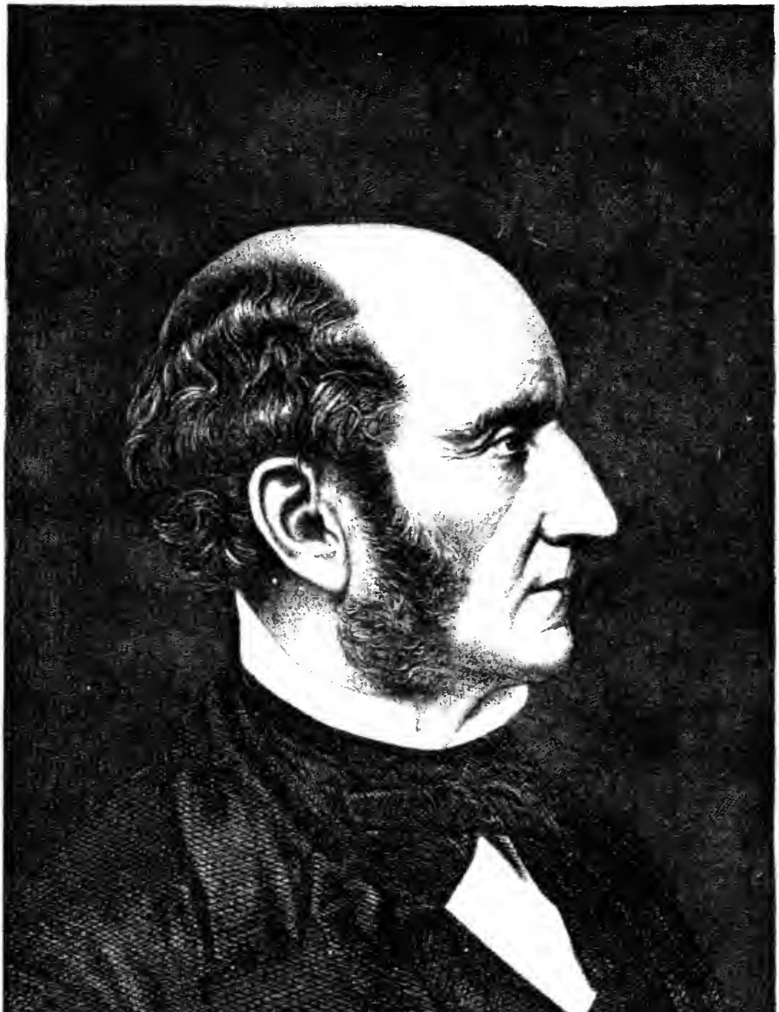

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EMBRACING A GENERAL SURVEY OF THE PROGRESS OF MANKIND
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THE DAWN OF HISTORY

AN INTRODUCTION TO PRE-HISTORIC STUDY

Edited by C. F. KEARY, M. A., of the British Museum

IN TWO PARTS—PART ONE

PREFACE.

The advance of pre-historic study has been during the last ten years exceptionally rapid; and, considering upon how many subsidiary interests it touches, questions of politics, of social life, of religion almost, the science of pre-historic archæology might claim to stand in rivalry with geology as the favorite child of this century; as much a favorite of its declining years as geology was of its prime. But as yet, it will be confessed, we have little popular literature upon the subject, and for want of it the general reader is left a good deal in arrear of the course of discovery. His ideas of nationalities and kindredship among peoples are, it may be guessed, still hazy. We still hear the Russians described as Tartars: and the notion that we English are descendants of the lost Israelitish tribes finds innumerable supporters. I am told that a society has been formed in London for collecting proofs of the more than Ovidian metamorphosis. The reason of this public indifference is very plain. Pre-historic science has not yet passed out of that early stage when workers are too busy in the various branches of the subject to spare much time for a comparison of the results of their labors; when, one may say, fresh contributions are pouring in too fast to be placed upon their proper shelves in the storehouse of our knowledge. In such a state of things the reader who is not a specialist is under peculiar disadvantages for a discovery of what has been done. He stands bewildered, like the sleeping partner in a firm, to whom no one—though he is after all the true beneficiary—explains the work which is passing before his eyes.

It will not be thought a misplaced object to attempt some such explanation, and that is the task of the following chapters. And as at some great triumph of mechanism and science—a manufactory, an observatory, an ironclad,—a junior clerk or a young engineer is told off to accompany the intelligent visitor and explain the workings of the machinery; or as, if the simile serve better, in those cities which are sought for their treasures of art and antiquity, the lower class of the population become self-constituted into guides to beauties which they certainly neither helped to create nor keep alive; so this book offers itself to the interested student as a guide over some parts of the ground covered by pre-historic inquiry, without advancing pretensions to stand beside the works of specialists in that field. The peculiar objects kept in view have been, to put the reader in possession of (1) the general results up to this time attained, the chief additions which pre-historic science has made to the sum of our knowledge, even if this knowledge can be given only in rough outline; (2) the method or mechanism of the science, the way in which it pieces together its acquisitions, and argues upon the facts it has ascertained; and (3) to put this information in a form which might be attractive and suitable to the general reader.

The various labors of a crowd of specialists are needed to give completeness to our knowledge of primitive man, and it is scarcely necessary to say that there are a hundred questions which in such a short book as this have been left untouched. The intention has been to present those features which can best be combined to form a continuous panorama, and also to avoid, as far as possible, the subjects most under controversy. No apology surely is needed for the *joint* character of the work; as in every chapter the conclusions of many different and sometimes contradictory writers had to be examined and compared, and as these chapters, few as they are, spread over various special fields of inquiry.

It is to be hoped that some readers to whom pre-historic study is a new thing may be sufficiently interested in it to desire to continue their researches. For the assistance of such, lists are given, at the end, of the chief authorities consulted on the subject of each chapter, with some notes upon questions of peculiar interest.

The vast extent of the field, the treasures of knowledge which have been already gathered, and the harvest which is still in the ear, impress the student more and more the deeper he advances into the study. Surely, if from some higher sphere, beings of a purely spiritual nature—nourished, that is, not by material meats and drinks, but by *ideas*—look down upon the lot of man, they must be before everything amazed at the complaints of poverty which rise up from every side. When every stone on which we tread can yield a history, to follow up which is almost the work of a lifetime; when every word we use is a thread leading back the mind through centuries of man's life on earth; it must be confessed that, for riches of any but a material sort, for a wealth of ideas, the mind's nourishment, there ought to be no lack.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST TRACES OF MAN.

1. When St. Paulinus came to preach Christianity to the people of Northumbria, King Eadwine (so runs the legend) being minded to hear him, and wishing that his people should do so too, called together a council of his chief men and asked them whether they would attend to hear what the saint had to tell; and one of the king's thegns stood up and said, "Let us certainly hear what this man knows, for it seems to me that the life of man is like the flight of a sparrow through a large room, where you, King, are sitting at supper in winter, whilst storms of rain and snow rage abroad. The sparrow, I say, flying in at one door and straightway out again at another is, while within, safe from the storm; but soon it vanishes out of sight into the darkness whence it came. So the life of man appears for a short space; but of what went before, or what is to follow, we are always ignorant." (Bæda ii. 13). This wise and true saying of the Saxon thegn holds good too for the human race as far as its progress is revealed to us by history We can watch this progress through a brief interval—for the period over which real, continuous authentic history extends; and beyond that is a twilight space, wherein, amid many fantastic shapes of mere tradition or mythology, here and there an object or event stands out more clearly, lit up by a gleam from the sources of more certain knowledge which we possess.

2. To draw with as much accuracy as may be the outline of these shapes out of the past is the business of the pre-historic student; and to assist him in his task, what has he? *First*—He has the Bible narrative, wherein some of the chief events of the world's history are displayed, but at uncertain distances apart; then we have the traditions preserved in other writings, in books, or on old temple stones—in these the truth has generally to be cleared from a mist of allegory, or at least of mythology. And, *lastly*, besides these conscious records of times gone by, we have other dumb memorials, old buildings—cities or temples—whose makers are long since forgotten, old tools or weapons, buried for thousands of years, to come to light in our days; and again, old words, old beliefs, old customs, old arts, old forms of civilization which have been unwittingly handed down to us, can all, if we know the art to interpret their language, be made to tell us histories of the antique world. It is, then, no uninteresting study by which we learn how to make these silent records speak. "Of man's activity and attainment," finely says Carlyle, "the chief results are aeriform, mystic, and preserved in tradition only: such are his Forms of Government with the Authority they rest on; his Customs or Fashions both of Cloth-habits and Soul-habits; much more his collective stock of Handicrafts, the whole Faculty he has acquired of manipulating nature —all these things, as indispensable and priceless as they are, cannot in any way be fixed under lock and key, but must flit, spirit-like,

on impalpable vehicles from Father to Son; if you demand sight of them they are nowhere to be met with. Visible Ploughmen and Hammermen there have been, even from CAIN and TUBALCAIN downward; but where does your accumulated Agricultural, Metallurgic and other Manufacturing skill lie warehoused? It transmits itself on the atmospheric air, on the sun's rays (by Hearing and by Vision); it is a thing aeriform, impalpable, of quite spiritual sort."

3. How many of these intangible spiritual possessions must man have acquired before he has learned the art of writing history, and so of keeping a record of what had gone before; how much do we know that any individual race of men has learned before it brings itself forward with distinctness in this way. For as a first condition of all man must have learned to write, and writing, as we shall hereafter see, is a slowly developing art, which man acquired by ages of gradual experiment. His language, too, must ere this have reached a state of considerable cultivation, and it will be our object in the course of these papers to show through what a long history of its own the language of any nation must go before it becomes fit for the purposes of literature—through how many changes it passes, and what a story it reveals to us by every change. And then, again, before a nation can have a history it must *be* a nation, must have a national life to record; that is to say, the people who compose it must have left the simple pastoral state which belongs to the most primitive ages, must have drawn closer the loose bonds which held men together under the conditions of a patriarchial society and constituted a more permanent system of society. Whether under the pressure of hostile nations, or only from the growth of a higher conception of social life, the nation has to rise from out a mere collection of tribes, until the head of the family becomes the king—the rude tents grow into houses and temples, and the pens of their sheepfolds into walled cities, like Corinth, or Athens, or Rome. Such changes as these must be completed before history comes to be written, and with such changes as these, and with a thousand others, changes and growths in Art, in Poetry, in Manufactures, in Commerce, and in Laws, the prehistorical student has to deal. On all these subjects we shall have something to say.

4. Before, however, we enter upon any one of these it is right that we remind the reader—and remind him once for all—that our knowledge upon all these points is but partial and uncertain, and never of such a character as will allow us to speak with dogmatic assurance. Our information can necessarily never be direct; it can only be built upon inferences of a higher or lower degree of probability. As, however, it is a necessity of our minds that from the information which we possess we must form an unbroken panorama, we shall do this freely and without danger of harm, so long as we are ready to modify or enlarge it when more knowledge is forthcoming. As the eye can in a moment supply the deficiencies of some incompleted picture, a landscape of which it gets only a partial glance, or a statue which has lost a feature, so the mind selects from its knowledge those facts which form a continuous story, and loses those which are known only as isolated fragments. Set a practiced and an unpracticed draughtsman to draw a circle, and we may witness how differently they go to work. The second never takes his pencil off the paper, and produces his effect by one continuous line, which the eye has no choice but at once to condemn as incomplete. The wiser artist proceeds by a number of short, consecutive strokes, splitting up, as it were, his divergence over the whole length of the figure he is drawing, and so allows the eye, or perhaps one should rather say the mind, by that faculty it has, to select the complete figure which it can conceive more easily than express. No one of the artist's strokes is the true fraction of a circle, but the result is infinitely more satisfactory than if he had tried to make his pencil follow unswervingly the curve he wished to trace. Or again, notice how a skillful draughtsman will patch up by a number of small strokes any imperfect portion of a curve he is drawing, and we have another like instance of this selective faculty of the eye or of the mind. Just in the same way is it with memory; our ideas must be carried on continuously, we cannot afford to remember spaces and blanks. Thus in the Bible narrative, wherein, as has before been said, certain events of the world's history are related with distinctness, but where as a rule nothing is said of the times which intervened between them, we are wont to make very insufficient allowance for these unmentioned times, and form for ourselves a rather arbitrary picture of the real course of things, fitting two events close on to one another which were really separated by long ages. To correct this view, to enlarge the series of known facts concerning the early history of the human race, comes in pre-historic inquiry; and again, to correct the picture we now form, doubtless fresh information will continue to pour in. All this is no reason why we should pronounce our picture to be untrue, it is only incomplete. We must be always ready to enlarge it, and to fill in the outlines, but still we can only remember the facts which we have already acquired, if we look at them, not as fragments only, but as a complete whole.

5. In representing, therefore, in the following chapters the advance of the human race in the discovery of all those arts and faculties which go to make up civilization as a continuous progress, it will not be necessary to pause and remind the reader in every case that these steps of progress which seem

to spread themselves out so clearly before us have been made in an uncertain manner, sometimes rapidly, sometimes very slowly and painfully, sometimes by immense strides, sometimes by continual haltings and goings backward and forward. On the whole, our history will be a history of events rather than a strictly chronological one, just as the periods of geology are not measured by days and years, but by the mutations through which our solid seeming earth has passed.

6. First we turn to what must needs be our earliest inquiry—the search after the oldest traces of man which have been found upon the earth. It has been said that one of the first fruits of knowledge is to show us our own ignorance, and certainly in the early history of the world and of man there is nothing which science points out so clearly as the vast silent periods whereof until recently we had no idea. It is difficult for us of the present age to remember how short a time it is since all our certain knowledge touching the earth on which we live, lay around that brief period of its existence during which it has come under the notice and the care of man. When all we knew of Europe, and especially of our own islands, belonged to the comparatively short time during which they have been known to history, we had in truth much to wonder at in the political changes they have undergone, and our imaginations could be busy with the contrast between the unchanged features of our lands and seas and the ever varying character of those who dwelt upon or passed over them. It is interesting to think that on such a river bank or on such a shore CÆSAR or CHARLEMAGNE have actually stood, and that perhaps the grass or flowers or shells under their feet looked just the same as they do now, that the waves beat upon the strand in the same cadence, or the water flowed by with the same trickling sound. But when we open the pages of geology, we have unrolled before us a history of the earth itself, extending over periods compared with which the longest epoch of what is commonly called history seems scarcely more than a day, and of mutations in the face of nature so grand and awful that as we reflect upon them, forgetting for an instant the enormous periods required to bring these changes about, they sound like the fantastic visions of some seer, telling in allegorical language the history of the creation and destruction of the world. Of such changes, not the greatest, but the most interesting to the question we have at present in hand, were those vicissitudes of climate which followed upon the time when the formation of the crust of the earth had been practically completed. We learn of a time when, instead of the temperate climate which now favors our country, these islands, with the whole of the north of Europe, were wrapped in one impenetrable sheet of ice. The tops of our mountains, as well as of those of Scandinavia and the north of continental Europe, bear marks of the scraping of this enormous glacier which must have risen to a height of two or three thousand feet. Not a single green thing, therefore, might be seen between our latitudes and the pole, while the ice-sheet, passing along the floor of the North Sea, united these islands with Scandinavia and spread far out into the deep waters of the Atlantic. For thousands of years such a state of things endured, but at last it slowly passed away. As century followed century the glacier began to decrease in size. From being colder than that of any explored portion of our hemisphere, the climate of northern Europe began to amend, until at last a little land became visible, which was covered first with lichens, then with thicker moss, and then with grass; then shrubs began to grow, and they expanded into trees, and the trees into forests, while still the ice-sheet went on decreasing, until now the glaciers remained only in the hills. Animals returned from warmer climates to visit our shores. The birds and beasts and fishes of the land and sea were not much different from those which now inhabit them; the species were different, but the genera were for the most part the same. Everything seemed to have been preparing for the coming of man, and it is about this time that we find the earliest traces of his presence upon earth.

7. We may try and imagine what was the appearance of the world, and especially of Europe—for it is in Europe that most of these earliest traces of our race have as yet been found, though all tradition and likelihood point out man's first home to have been in Central Asia—when we suppose that man first appeared upon these western shores. At this time the continent of Europe stood at a higher level than it does now. The whole of the North Sea, even between Scotland and Denmark, is not more than fifty fathoms, or three hundred feet deep, while the Irish Sea is not more than sixty fathoms; and at this period undoubtedly the British isles, besides being all joined together, formed part of the mainland, not by being united to France only, but by the presence of dry land all the way from Scotland to Denmark, over all that area now called the German Ocean. Our Thames and our other eastern rivers were then but tributaries of one large stream, which bore through this continent, and up into the northern seas, their waters united with those of the Rhine, and perhaps of the Weser and the Elbe. The same upheaval turned into land a portion of the Atlantic Ocean, extending from Spain and Africa out as far as the Azores and the Canaries. The north of Africa was joined on to this continent and to Spain, for the narrow straits of Gibraltar had not yet been formed; but a great sea stood where we now have the Great Sahara, and joined the Mediterranean and

the Red Sea, while a great Mediterranean Sea stood in Central Asia, and has left no more than traces in the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral.

8. We have to look at our maps to see the effect of these changes in the appearance of Europe; and there were no doubt other internal changes in the appearances of the countries themselves. The glaciers were not yet quite gone, and their melting gave rise to enormous rivers which flowed from every hill. Our little river the Ouse, for instance, which flows out through Norfolk into the Wash; was then probably many miles broad. Vast forests grew upon the banks of the rivers, and have left their traces in our peat formations, and in these forests roamed animals unknown to us. Of these the most notable was the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*, in the language of the naturalists), a huge, maned elephant, whose skeleton and gigantic tusks are conspicuous in some of our museums, and who has given his name to this the earliest age of man's existence: it is called the Mammoth Age of man. With the mammoth, too, lived other species of animals, which are either now extinct, or have since been driven from our latitudes; the woolly rhinoceros, the cave lion, the cave bear, the Lithuanian bison, the urus, the reindeer, and the musk-ox. It is with the remains of these animals, in the old beds of these great rivers, that we find the earliest tools and weapons manufactured by human hands.

9. Very simple and rude are these drift implements, as they are called, from their being found buried in the sand and shingle which were formed by river drifts. We who are so habituated to the employment of metal, either in the manufacture or the composition of every article which meets our eye, can scarcely realize that man lived long ages on the earth before the metals and minerals, its hidden treasures, were revealed to him. This pen I write with is of metal, or, were it a quill, it would still have been shaped by the use of steel; the rags of which this paper is made up have been first cut by metal knives, then bleached by the mineral chlorine, then torn on a metal cylinder, then thrown into a vat, which was either itself of metal, or had been shaped by metal tools, then drawn on a *wire* cloth, etc., and so in everything which is made we trace the paramount influence of man's discoveries beneath the surface of the ground. But primitive man could profit by no such inherited knowledge, and had only begun to acquire some powers which he could transmit to his own descendants. For his tools he need look to the surface of the earth only; and the hardest substances he could find were stones. Man's first implements, therefore, were stone implements, and consequently the earliest epoch of man's life, the epoch during which he was still ignorant of the use of metals, is called the Stone Age. And it may be as well to say at once that this age was of very great duration, and may be divided into two distinct periods—the old stone (Palæolithic) epoch, which is distinguished by the fact that the stone implements are never polished, and the new stone (Neolithic) period, also called the polished-stone age, of which we shall have to speak later on.

10. At present we have got no further than the old stone age implements, and of these the ones which seem to be the earliest of all are those which are found in the river drifts. These consist only of stones, generally flints, for had there been implements of wood or bone, they would not have endured in that position. By the rudeness and uniformity of their shapes, as contrasted even with the stone implements of a later age in the world's history, they testify to the simplicity of those who manufactured them. They have for the most part only two distinctive types; they are either of a long, pear shaped make, narrowed almost to a point at the thin end, and adapted we may suppose, for boring holes, while the broad end of the pear was pressed against the palm of the hand; and secondly, of a sort of oval form, having one side of the oval flat and fit to press against the hand or fit into a cleft stick, and the other side sharpened to an edge, the whole form being in fact that of an oval-shaped wedge, and the implement itself used probably for all sorts of cutting and scraping. A variety of this last implement has two cutting edges, and being also of rather a tongue-like shape, was called by the French workmen *langue-de-chat*. Some have supposed that stones of this last form were used, as similar ones are used by the Esquimaux to this day, in cutting holes in the ice for the purpose of fishing; we must not forget that during a great part at least of the early stone age the conditions of life were those of arctic countries at the present time.

11. We cannot determine all the uses to which primitive man must have put his rude and ineffective weapons; we can only wonder that with such he was able to maintain his existence among the savage beasts by which he was surrounded; and we long to form to ourselves some picture of the way in which he got the better of their huge strength, as well as of his dwelling-place, his habits, and his appearance. Rude as his weapons are, and showing no trace of improvement, it seems as though man of the drift period must have lived through long ages of the world's history. These implements are found associated with the remains of the mammoth and the woolly rhinoceros, animals naturally belonging to the arctic or semi-arctic climate which succeeded the glacial era; but like implements are found associated with the remains of the bones of the lion, the tiger, and the hippopotamus, all of which, and the last especially, are rarely found outside the torrid zone. This would imply that the drift implements lasted

through the change from a frigid to a torrid climate, and probably back again to a cold temperate one. Still the age of the drift implements does not seem to comprise the whole period of man's life before what is called the polished-stone age begins. There is a remarkable series of discoveries made in caves in various parts of Europe, which are of a more interesting character than the drift remains, and appear to carry us farther down in the history of man.

12. These caves are natural caverns, generally formed in the limestone rocks, and at present the most remarkable "finds" have been obtained from the caves of Devonshire, of the Department of the Dordogne in France, from various caves in Belgium, and from a very remarkable cavern in the Neanderthal, near Düsseldorf, in Germany; but there is scarcely any country in Europe where some caves containing human bones and weapons have not been opened. The rudest drift implements seem older than almost any of those found in caves; and, on the whole, the cave remains seem to give us a picture of man in a more civilized condition. They show us more of his way of life, and a greater variety in his implements, which are made not of stone only, but of wood and bone as well. We have various worked bone implements—harpoons, with many barbs, whereby, no doubt, man slew the animals which afforded him food and clothing. Some implements of stone and bone which have been found in caves have been called arrow heads; but they are in all probability lance-heads, for it seems doubtful whether these primitive men had made the great discovery of the use of the bow and arrow. We may imagine that their lance or harpoon was their great weapon; and a curious and close inquiry has discovered by the marks on some of the animal bones which are found mixed up with the cave implements, that the sinews had been cut from these bones, and used, it may be conjectured, as thongs for the bone harpoons. Other implements of a more domestic character have been found—bone awls, doubtless for piercing the animals' skins that they might be sewn together with sinew thread, and bone knives and needles.

13. What is still more interesting than all these, we here find the rudiments of art. Some of the bone implements, as well as some stones, are engraved, or even rudely sculptured, generally with the representation of an animal. These drawings are singularly faithful, and really give us a picture of the animals which were man's contemporaries upon the earth; so that we have the most positive proof that man lived the contemporary of animals long since extinct. The cave of La Madeleine, in the Dordogne, for instance, contained a piece of a mammoth's tusk engraved with an outline of that animal; and as the mammoth was probably not contemporaneous with man during the latter part even of the old stone age, this gives an immense antiquity to the first dawnings of art. How little did the scratcher of this rough sketch—for it is not equal in skill to drawings which have been found in other caves—dream of the interest his performance would excite thousands of years after his death! Not the greatest painter of subsequent times, and scarcely the greatest sculptor, can hope for so near an approach to immortality for their works. Had man's bones been only found in juxtaposition with those of the mammoth and his contemporary animals, this might possibly have been attributed to chance disturbances of the soil, to the accumulation of river deposits, or to many other accidental occurrences; or had the mammoth's bone only been found worked by man, there was nothing positive to show that the animal had not been long since extinct, and this a chance bone which had come into the hands of a later inhabitant of the earth, just as it has since come into our hands; but the actual drawing of this old-world, and as it sometimes almost seems fabulous, animal, by one who actually saw him in real life, gives a strange picture of the antiquity of our race, and withal a strange feeling of fellowship with this stone-age man who drew so much in the same way as a clever child among us might have drawn to-day *

14. It is well worth while to pause a moment over these cave-drawings. They are of various degrees of merit, for some are so skillful as to excite the admiration of artists and the astonishment of archæologists; and it is a curious fact that during ages which succeeded those of the cave-dwellers, all through to the polished stone period and the age of bronze—of which we shall speak anon—no such ambitious imitative works of art seem to have been attempted. The workers of these later times seem to have confined themselves in their decorations to certain arrangements of points and lines. The love of imitation is doubtless one of the rudimentary feelings in the human mind; as we may see by watching children. But, rudimentary as it is, it springs from the same root as the highest promptings of the intellect—that is to say, from the wish to *create*—to fashion something actually ourselves. This is sufficient to explain the origin of these carvings; yet we need not suppose that when the art of making them was once known they were used merely for amusement. Long afterward we find such drawings and representations looked upon as having some qualities of the things they represent; as, for instance, where in a Saxon cavern at Mæshow, in the Orkney islands, we find the drawing of a dragon, which had

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* Most of these carved implements were discovered by Mr. Christy and M. Lartet, and left by the former to the French Museum of Pre-historic Antiquities at St. Germain.

been supposed to watch over the treasures concealed within. Savages in the present day often think that part of them is actually taken away when a drawing of them is made, and exactly a similar feeling gave rise to the superstition so prevalent in the middle ages, that witches and magicians used to make a figure in wax to imitate the one on whom they wished to wreak their vengeance, and that all the pains inflicted upon this waxen antitype were reproduced in the body of the victim. On such confusion of ideas do all idolatries rest; so may we not, without too bold a flight, imagine that some superstitious notions touching the efficacy of these drawings, was a spur to the industry of our first forerunners on the earth, and contributed to their wonderfully acquired skill in their art? May they not have thought that their representations gave them some power over the animals they represented: that the lance-head carved with a mammoth would be efficient against the mammoth's hide; that the harpoon containing the representation of a deer or a fish was the weapon best adapted for transfixing either? However this may be, we cannot deny the interest which attaches to the first dawnings of art in the world. Nor is this interest confined altogether to its æsthetic side—the mere beauty and value of art itself—great though this be. Not only does drawing share that mysterious power of imparting intense pleasure which belongs to every form of art, but it was likewise, after human speech, the first discovered means of conveying an idea from one man to another. As we shall come to see in a later chapter, the invention of drawing bore with it the seeds of the invention of writing, the greatest step forward, in material things at any rate, that man has ever made.

15. There is one other fact to mention, and then the information which our cave discoveries can give us concerning the life of man in those days is pretty nearly exhausted. Traces of fires have been discovered in several caves, so that there can be no doubt that man had made this important discovery also. It seems to us impossible to imagine a time when men could have lived upon the earth without this all-useful element, when they must have devoured their food uncooked, and only sheltered themselves from the cold by the thickness of their clothing, or at night by huddling together in close underground houses. We have certainly no proof that man's existence was ever of such a sort as this; but yet it is clear that the art of making fires is one not discoverable at first sight. How long man took to find out that method of ignition by friction of two sticks—the method employed in different forms by all the less cultivated nations spread over the globe, and one which we may therefore fairly take to be the most primitive and natural—we shall never know. We have only the negative evidence that he had discovered it at that primæval time when he began to leave his remains within the caves.

16. Thus have we completed the catalogue of facts upon which we may build up for ourselves some representation of the life of man in the earliest ages of his existence upon earth. It must be confessed that they are meagre enough. We should like some further information which would help us to picture the man himself, his size, his appearance, what race he most resembled of any of those which now inhabit our globe. Unfortunately we have little that can assist us here. Human remains have been found; on one or two occasions, a skeleton in tolerably complete preservation, but not yet in sufficient numbers to allow us to draw any certain conclusions, or even to hazard any very probable conjecture.

17. Among these discoveries of human skeletons, none excited more interest at the time it was made than the Neanderthal skeleton, so-called from the place in which it was found. The discovery was made in 1857 by Dr. FUHLROTT of Elberfeld; and when the skull and other parts of the skeleton were exhibited at a scientific meeting at Bonn, in the same year, doubts were expressed as to the human character of the remains. These doubts, which were soon dissipated, arose from the very low type of the head, which was pronounced by many to be the most ape-like skull that they had ever seen. The bones themselves indicated a person of much the same stature as a European of the present day, but with such an unusual thickness in some of them as betokened a being of very extraordinary strength. This discovery, had it been supported by others, might have seemed to indicate a race of men of a type in every way inferior even to the savage nations of our present globe. But it has not been so supported. On the contrary, another skull found at Engis, near Liège, not more than seventy miles from the cave of the Neanderthal, was proved after careful measurements not to differ materially from the skulls of individuals of the European race; a fact which prevents us from making any assertions respecting the primitive character in race or physical conformation of these cave-dwellers. In fact, in a very careful and elaborate paper upon the Engis and Neanderthal skulls, Professor HUXLEY places an average skull of a modern native of Australia about half-way between those of the Neanderthal and Engis caves, but he also says that after going through a large collection of Australian skulls, he "found it possible to select from among these crania two (connected by all sorts of intermediate gradations), the one of which should very nearly resemble the Engis skull, while the other should somewhat less closely approximate to the Neanderthal skull in form, size, and proportions." And yet as regards blood, customs, or language, the natives of

Southern and Western Australia are probably as pure as any race of savages in existence. This shows us how difficult would be any reasoning founded upon the insufficient data we possess. In fact, it would no doubt be possible to find in Europe among persons of abnormal under-development, such as idiots, skulls of a formation which would match that of the Neanderthal.

18. This class of evidence is therefore merely negative. We certainly cannot pronounce that man of the old stone age was of a lower type than low types of savages of the present day; we cannot even say he was so undeveloped as the Lapps of modern Europe; but in this negative evidence there is a certain amount of satisfaction. We might be not unwilling to place on the level of the Esquimaux or the Lapp the fashioners of the rudest of the stone implements, but the *artists* of the caves we may well imagine to have attained a higher development. And there is nothing at all unreasonable or opposed to our experience of nature in supposing a race of human beings to have flourished in Europe in these old times, to have been possessed of a certain amount of civilization, but not to have advanced from that toward any very great improvement before they were at last extinguished by some other race with greater faculty of progress. As we shall come to see later on, there is some reason for connecting man of the later stone age as regards race with the Esquimaux or Lapp of to-day. Yet even if this be admitted, we must look upon the latter rather as the dregs of the races they represent. It is not always the best part of any particular race, whether of men, of animals, or of plants, which lives the longest. Species which were once flourishing are often only represented by stunted and inferior descendants, just as the animals of the lizard class had their time of greatest development long before the coming of man upon the earth. So we may imagine man spreading out at various times from his first home in Central Asia. The earlier races to leave this nursing-place did not, we may suppose, contain sufficient force to carry them beyond a low level of culture, and gradually got pushed on one side by more energetic people who came like a second wave from the common source. When, in the history of the world, we come to speak of races of whom we know more, we shall see strong reasons to believe that this was the rule followed; nay, it is even followed at the present day where European races are spreading all over the world, and gradually absorbing or extinguishing inferior members of the human family. It therefore seems, in our present state of ignorance, most reasonable to look upon palæolithic man merely as we find him, without speculating whether he gradually advanced to the use of better stone weapons, and at last to metals.

19. Taking then this race as we find it, without speculating upon its immediate origin or future, we may endeavor to gather some notion of man's way of life in these primitive times. It was of the simplest. We may well suppose, for some proofs to the contrary would otherwise most likely have been discovered, that his life was that of the hunter, the earliest phase of human society, and that he had not yet learned to till the ground, or keep domestic animals for his use. No bones of animals like the sheep or dog are found, and therefore it seems probable he had not entered upon the higher or shepherd phase of society. He had probably no fixed home, no idea of national life, scarcely of any obligations beyond the circle of his own family, in that larger sense in which the word "family" is generally understood by savages. Some sort of family or tribe no doubt held together, were it only for the sake of protecting themselves against the attacks of their neighbors. For the rest, their time was spent, as the time of other savages is spent, in fighting and hunting out of doors; within in preserving their food and their skins, in elaborately manufacturing their implements of stone and bone. In the inclement seasons they were crowded together in their caves, perhaps for months together, as the Esquimaux are in winter, almost without moving. As appears from the remains in the caves, they were in the habit at such times of throwing the old bones and the offal of their food into any corner (the Esquimaux do so to this day), without taking the smallest trouble to obviate the unpleasant effects produced by the decay of all this animal matter in an atmosphere naturally close. Through the long winter nights they found time to perfect their skill in those wonderful bone carvings, and to lay up a store of weapons which they afterward—anticipating the rise of commerce—exchanged with the inhabitants of some other cave for *their* peculiar manufacture; for in one of the caves of the Dordogne we find the remains of what must have been a regular manufactory of one sort of flint-knife or arrow-head, almost to the exclusion of any other of the ordinary weapons, while another cave seems to have been devoted as exclusively to the production of implements of bone.

20. Some people have thought that they discovered in the traces of fires which had been sometimes lighted before caves in which were found human skeletons, the indications of sepulchral rites, and that these caves were used as burial places. But these suppositions are too vague and uncertain to be relied upon. On this interesting subject of sepulchral rites we must forbear to say anything until we come to speak of the second stone age. Our knowledge of the early stone-people must close with the slight picture we have been able to form of their life; of their death, of

their rites of the dead, and the ideas concerning a future state which these might indicate, we cannot speak.

21. This, then, is all we know of man of the first stone age, and it is not probable that our knowledge will ever be greatly increased. New finds of these stone implements are being made almost every day, not in Europe only, though at present chiefly there, but in many other parts of the globe. But the new discoveries closely resemble the old, the same sort of implements recur again and again, and we only learn by them over how great a part of the globe this stage in our civilization extended. Further information of this kind may change some of our theories concerning the duration or the origin of this civilization, but it will not add much to our knowledge of its nature. Yet it cannot be denied that the thought of man's existence only, though we know a little more than this, a contemporary of the mammoth at the time which immediately succeeded the glacial period, or perhaps before the glacial period had quite come to an end, is full of the deepest interest for us. The long silent time which intervenes between the creation of our first parents and those biblical events whereof the narration is to a certain extent continuous and consecutive, till the dawn of history in the Bible narrative in fact, is to some small extent filled in. We shall see in a future paper how the second stone age seems to carry the same picture further. In rudest outline the life of man is placed before us, and if we have no more than this, we have at any rate *something* which may occupy our imaginations, and prevent them, as they otherwise would do, as of old men's minds did, from leaping almost at a bound from the creation to the flood, and from the flood to the time of Abraham.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND STONE AGE.

22. Between the earlier and the later stone age, between man of the drift period and man of the neolithic era, occurs a vast blank which we cannot fill in. We bid adieu to the primitive inhabitants of our earth while they are still the contemporaries of the mammoth and woolly rhinoceros, or of the cave lion and the cave bear, and while the very surface of the earth wears a different aspect from what it now wears. With a changed condition of things, with a race of animals which differed not essentially from those known to us, and with a settled conformation of our lands and seas not again to be departed from, comes before us the second race of man—man of the polished-stone age. We cannot account for the sudden break; or, what is in truth the same thing, many different suggestions to account for it have been made. Some have supposed that the palæolithic men lived at a time anterior to the last glacial era, for there were many glacial periods in Europe, and were either exterminated altogether or driven thence to more southern countries by the change in climate. Others have imagined that a new and more cultivated race migrated into these countries, and at once introduced the improved weapons of the later stone age: and lastly, others have looked upon the first stone age as having existed before the deluge, and hold that the second race of man, the descendants of Noah, began at once with a higher sort of civilization. Two of these four theories, it will be seen, must suppose that man somewhere went through the stages of improvement necessary to the introduction of the newer sort of weapons, and they therefore take it for granted that the graduated series of stone implements, indicating a gradual progress from the old time to the newer, though they have not yet been found, are to be discovered somewhere. The first and last theories would seem to be more independent of this supposition, and therefore, as far as our knowledge yet goes, to be more in accordance with the facts which we possess. It is, however, by no means safe to affirm that the graduated series of implements required to support the other suppositions will never be found.

23. Be this as it may, with the second era begins the real continuous history of our race. However scanty the marks of his tracks, we may feel sure that from this time forward man passed on one unbroken journey of development and change through the forgotten eras of the world's life down to the dawn of history. And taking his rudest condition to be the most primitive, he first appears before us a fisher depending for his chief nourishment upon the shell-fish of the coast. In the north of Europe, that is to say, upon the shores of the Baltic, are found numbers of mounds, some five or ten feet high, and in length as much, sometimes, as a thousand feet, by one or two hundred in breadth. The mounds consist for the most part of myriads of cast-away shells of oysters, mussels, cockles, and other shell-fish; mixed up with these are many bones of birds and quadrupeds, showing that these also served for food to the primitive dwellers by the shell mounds. They are called in the present day kjökkenmöddings, kitchen-middens. They are, in truth, the refuse heaps of the earliest kitchens which have smoked in these northern regions;* for they are the remains of some of the earliest among the polished-stone age inhabitants of Europe.

24. The raisers of the Danish kitchen-middens were, we may judge, pre-eminently fishers; and not fishers of that adventurous

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* It is curious that there are no palæolithic remains in Scandinavia. It would seem as though during this era the countries remained too cold for habitation.

kind who seek their treasure in the depths of the ocean. They lived chiefly upon those smaller fish and shell-fish which could be caught without much difficulty or danger. But yet not only on these; for the bones of some deep-sea fish have also been discovered, whence we know that the mound-raisers were possessed of one very important discovery, in the germ at least—the art of navigation. Among remains believed to be contemporary with the shell-mounds are found rude canoes not built of planks like boats, but merely hollowed out of the trunks of trees; sometimes they are quite straight fore and aft, just as the trunk was when it was cut, sometimes a little bevelled from below, like the stern of a boat of the present day; but we believe they are never found rounded or pointed at the prow. That "heart with oak and bronze thrice bound," the man who first ventured to sea in the first vessel, had therefore lived before this time. Whoever he was, we cannot, if we think of it, refuse to endorse the praise bestowed upon him by the poet; it required immense courage to venture out to sea in such a strange make-shift as the first canoe must have been. Perhaps the earliest experiment was an involuntary one, made by some one who was washed away upon a large log or felled tree. Then arose the notion of venturing again a little way, then hollowing a seat in the middle of the trunk, until the primitive canoes, such as we find, came into existence.

25. In these imperfect vessels men gradually ventured further and further into the ocean; and, judging of the extent of their voyages by the deep-sea remains, we may be certain that their bravery was fatal to many. This is in all probability the history of the discovery or re-discovery of the art of navigation among savage people generally; in all cases does the canoe precede the regular boat, and though Noah would seem to have possessed the art of shipbuilding in much greater perfection, his art would most probably have died with him if, as was probably the case, his descendants were long settled far inland. For it is a fact that people rarely begin attempts at shipbuilding before they come to live near the sea. As long as they can range freely on land, their rivers do not tempt them to any dangerous experiments. But the vast plain of the sea is too important, and makes too great an impression on their imagination for its charm to be long withstood. Sooner or later, with much risk of life, men are sure to try and explore its solitudes, and navigation takes its rise. This art of seafaring, then, is amongst the most noticeable of the belongings of the fishermen of the shell-mounds. Considering that they had none but rude stone implements, the felling and hollowing of the trees must have been an affair of no small labor, and very likely occupied a great deal of their time while they were not actually seeking their food, even though the agency of fire supplemented the ineffectual blow of the stone weapons. They must have used nets for their sea-fishing, made probably of twisted bark or grass. And they were hunters as well as fishers, for the remains of various animals have been discovered in the shell-mounds. From these we see that the age of the post-glacial animals had by this time quite passed away; no mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, or cave lion or bear is found: even the reindeer, which in palæolithic days must have ranged over France and Switzerland, has disappeared.

26. The fact is, the climate is now much more temperate and uniform than in the first stone age. Then the reindeer and the chamois, animals which belong naturally to regions of ice and snow, freely traversed, in winter at least, the valleys or the plains far toward the south of Europe.* But as the climate changed, the first was driven to the extreme north of Europe, and the second to the higher mountain peaks. The only extinct species belonging to the shell-mounds is the wild bull (*bos primigenius*), which, however, survived in Europe until quite historical times. He appears in great numbers, as does the seal, now very rare, and the beaver, which is extinct in Denmark. No remains of any domesticated animal are found, but the existence of tame dogs is guessed at from the fact that the bones bear traces of the gnawing of canine teeth, and from the absence of bones of young birds and of the softer bones of animals generally. For it has been shown experimentally that just those portions are absent from these skeletons which will be devoured when birds or animals of the same species are given to dogs at this day. Dogs, therefore, were domesticated by the stone-age men; so here again we can see the beginning of a step in civilization which has been of incalculable benefit to man, the taming of animals for his use. The ox, the sheep, the goat, were as yet unknown; man was still in the hunter's condition, and had not advanced to the shepherd state, only training for his use the dog, to assist him in pursuit of the wild animals who supplied part of his food. He was, too, utterly devoid of all agricultural knowledge. It is an established fact that men become hunters before they become shepherds, and shepherds before they advance to the state of tillers of the soil. Probably the domestication of the dog marks a sort of transition state between the hunter and the shepherd. When that experiment has been tried the notion must sooner or later spring up of training other animals, and keeping them for use or food. With regard to the dogs themselves, it is a curious fact that those of the stone age are smaller than those of the bronze period,

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* Both in Switzerland and in the neighborhood of the Pyrenees.

while the dogs of the bronze age are again smaller than those of the age of iron. This is an illustration of the well known fact that domestication increases the size and improves the character of animals as training does that of plants.

27. There is one other negative fact which we gather from the bones of these refuse heaps—no human bones are mingled with them, so that we may conclude these men were not cannibals. In fact, cannibalism is an extraordinary perversion of human nature, arising it is difficult to say exactly how, and only showing itself among particular people, and under peculiar conditions. There is no doubt that, among a very large proportion of the savage nations which at present inhabit our globe, cannibalism is practised, and of this fact many explanations have been offered; but they are generally far-fetched and unsatisfactory; and it is certainly not within our scope to discuss them here. How little natural cannibalism is even to the most savage men is proved by the fact that man is scarcely ever, except under urgent necessity, found to feed upon the flesh of carnivorous or flesh-eating animals, and this alone, besides every instinct of our nature, would be sufficient to prevent him from eating his fellow-men.

28. We have many proofs of the great antiquity of the shell-mounds. Their position gives one. While most of them are confined to the immediate neighborhood of the sea-shore, some few are found at a distance of several miles inland. These exceptions may always be referred to the presence of a stream which has gradually deposited its mud at the place where it emptied itself into the sea, or to some other cause fitted for the extension of the coast line; so that these miles of new coast have come into existence after the shell-mounds were raised. On the other hand, there are no mounds upon those parts of the coast which border on the Western Ocean. But it is just here that, owing to a gradual depression of the land at the rate of two or three inches in a century * the waves are gradually eating away the shore. This is what happens on every sea-coast. Almost all over the world there is a small but constant movement of the solid crust of the earth, which is, in fact, only a crust over the molten mass within. Sometimes, and in some places, the imprisoned mass makes itself felt, in violent upheavals, in sudden cracks of the inclosing surface, which we call earthquakes and volcanoes; but oftener its effect is slight and almost unnoticed. This interchange of state between the kingdoms of the land and of the ocean helps to show us the time which has passed between the making of the kitchen-middens and our own days. There seems little doubt that all along the coast of the North Sea, as well as on that of the Baltic, these mounds once stood; but by the gradual undermining of the cliffs the former have all been swept away, while the latter have, as it appears, been moved a little inland; and we have seen that when there was another cause present to form land between the kitchen-middens and the sea, the distance has often been increased to several miles.

29. There is another and still stronger proof of the antiquity of the shell-mounds. If we examine the shells themselves, we find that they all belong to still living species, and they are all exactly similar to such as might be found in the ocean at the present day. But it happens that this is not now the case with the shells of the same fish belonging to the Baltic Sea. For the waters of this sea are brackish, and not salt; so that the shell-fish which dwell in it do not attain half their natural size. The oyster, too, will not live at all in the Baltic, except near its entrance, where, whenever the wind blows from the north-west, a strong current of salt ocean water is poured in. Yet the oyster shells are especially abundant in the kitchen-middens. From all this we gather that, at the time of the making of these mounds, there must have been free communication between the ocean and the Baltic Sea. In all probability, in fact, there was a number of such passages through the peninsula of Jutland, which was consequently at that time an archipelago.

30. As ages passed on the descendants of these solitary fishermen spread themselves over Europe, and improving in their way of life and mastery over mechanical arts, found themselves no longer constrained to trust for their livelihood to the spoils of the sea-shallows. They made lances and axes (headed with stone), and perfected the use of the bow and arrow until they became masters of the game of the forest. And then, after a while, man grew out of this hunter stage and domesticated other animals besides the dog: oxen, pigs, and geese. No longer occupied solely by the search for his daily food he raised mighty tombs—huge mounds of earth inclosing a narrow grave—to the departed great men of his race; and he reared up those enormous masses of stone called cromlechs or dolmens—such as we see at Stonehenge—as altars to his gods.

31. The great tombs of earth—which have their fellows not in Europe only, but over the greater part of the world—are the special and characteristic features of the stone age. The raisers of the kitchen-middens may have preceded the men who built the tombs; for their mode of life was as we should say the most primitive: but they were confined to a corner of Europe. The tomb-builders formed one of a mighty brotherhood of men linked together by the characteristics of a

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* *In height*, that is. The distance of coast-line which disappears owing to the mere volcanic depression, or the distance of coast-line which appears on the other shore from this cause (independently of river deposits, etc.), depends of course upon the level of the coast. It would not, however, be generally more than three or four yards.

common civilization. These sepulchres, called in England tumuli or barrows, are hills of earth from one to as much as four hundred feet long, by a breadth and height of from thirty to fifty feet. They are either chambered or unchambered; that is they are either raised over a small vault made of stone (with perhaps a sort of vestibule or entrance chamber), or else a mere hollow has been excavated within the mound. In these recesses repose the bodies of the dead, some great chieftain or hero—the father of his people who came to be regarded after his death with almost the veneration of a god. Beside the dead were placed various implements and utensils, left there to do him honor or service, to assist him upon the journey to that undiscovered country whither he was bound; the best of sharpened knives or spear-heads, some jars of their rude pottery, once filled with food and drink, porridge, rough cakes and beer.* And may be a wife or two, and some captives of the last battle were sacrificed to his shade, that he might not go quite unattended into that "other world." The last ceremony was not always, but it must have been often, enacted. Out of thirty-two stone age barrows excavated in Wiltshire, seventeen contained only one skeleton, and the rest various numbers, from two to an indefinite number; and, in one case at least, all the skulls *save one* have been found cleft as by a stone hatchet.

32. At the door of the mound or in an entrance chamber many bones have been discovered, the traces of a funeral feast, the wake or watch kept on the evening of the the burial. Likely enough if the chief were almost deified after death, the funeral feast would become periodical. It would be considered canny and of good omen that the elders of the tribe should meet there at times in solemn conclave, on the eve of a warlike expedition or whenever the watchful care of the dead hero might avail his descendants. From the remains of these feasts, and from the relics of the tombs, we have the means of forming some idea of man's acquirements at this time. His implements are improvements upon those of the stone age; in all respects, that is, save in this one, that he had now no barbed weapons; whereas we remember that in the caves barbed harpoons are frequently met with. Nor, again, had he the artistic talent of the cave dwellers; no traces of New Stone-age drawings have come to light. For the rest, his implements and weapons may be divided into a few distinctive classes :—

33. (1.) Hammers, hatchets, tomahawks, or chisels, an instrument made of a heavy piece of stone brought to a sharp cutting edge at one end, and at the other rounded or flat, so as to serve the double purpose of a hammer and an axe. When these are of an elongated form they are called celts or chisels. (2.) Arrow and spear-heads, which differ in size but not much in form, both being long and narrow in shape, often closely resembling the leaf of the laurel or the bay, sometimes of a diamond shape, but more often having the lateral corners nearest to the end which fitted into the shaft. Viewed edgeways, they also appear to taper toward either end, for while one point was desired to pierce the victim, the other was fitted into a cleft handle, and bound into it with cord or sinew. Implements have been discovered still fitted into their handles. (3.) The stone knives, which have generally two cutting edges, and when this is the case do not greatly differ from the spear-heads, though they are commonly less pointed than the latter. A few bone implements have been found in the tumuli, a pin, a chisel, and a knife or so; but they are very rare, they are never carved, and have not one-quarter of the interest which belongs to the bone implements of the caves. Finally, we must not omit to say that in Anhalt, in Germany, a large stone has been found which seems to have served the purpose of a plow. For there can be little doubt that if some of the tumuli belong to a time before the use of domesticated animals—save the dog—they last down to a time when man not only had tame oxen, pigs, goats, and geese,* but also sowed and planted, and lived the life of an agricultural race; nor will it be said that such an advance was extraordinary when we say that the minimum duration of the age of polished stone was probably two thousand years.

34. Other relics from the mounds, not less interesting than the weapons, are their vessels of pottery; for here we see the earliest traces of another art. This pottery is of a black color, curiously mixed with powdered shells, perhaps to strengthen the clay, perhaps for ornament. Its pottery belongs to the latter portion of this age of stone, a period distinguished not only by the use of domestic animals, but also by the growth of cereals. We have said that bones of cattle, swine, and in one case of a goose, have been found among the refuse of the funeral feasts. But man was still a hunter, as he is to this day, though he had found other means of support besides the wild game; and we also find the bones of the red-deer and the wild bull, both of which supplied him with food. Wolves' teeth, too, have been found pierced, so as to be strung into a necklace; for personal adornment formed, in those days as now, part of the interest of life. Jet beads have been discovered in large numbers, and even some of amber, which seems to have been

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* It seems highly probable that the invention of some sort of malt liquor followed upon the growth of corn. TACITUS mentions such a liquor as having been drunk by the Germans of his day. He is doubtless describing a sort of beer.

* But not sheep apparently; at least not in Western Europe. In these islands the sheep did not appear before the time of Julius Cæsar.

brought from the Baltic to these countries and as far south as Switzerland; and it is known that during the last portion of what is, nevertheless, still the stone period, the most precious metal of all, gold, was used for ornament. Gold is the one metal which is frequently found on the surface of the ground, and therefore it was naturally the first to come under the eye of man.

35. Their religion probably consisted in part of the worship of the dead, so that the very tombs themselves, and not the cromlechs only, were a sort of temples. And yet they had the deepest dread of the reappearance of the departed upon earth—of his ghost. To prevent his "walking" they adopted a strange practical form of exorcism. They strewed the ground at the grave's mouth with sharp stones or broken pieces of pottery, as though a ghost could have his feet cut, and by fear of that be kept from returning to his old haunts. · For ages and ages after the days of the mound builders the same custom lived on of which we here see the rise. The same ceremony—turned now to an unmeaning rite—was used for the graves of those, such as murderers or suicides, who might be expected to sleep uneasily in their narrow house. This is the custom which is referred to in the speech of the the priest to LAERTES. (*Hamlet*, act v. sc. I.) OPHELIA had died under such suspicion of suicide, that it was a stretch of their rule, he says, to grant her Christian burial.

> "And but the great command o'ersways our order,
> She should in ground unsanctified have lodged
> To the last trumpet: for charitable prayers,
> Shards, flints and pebbles, should be thrown on her."

36. The body of him for whom the mound was built was not buried in the center, but at one end, and that commonly the east, for in most cases the barrows lie east and west. It is never stretched out flat, but lies or sits in a crouched attitude, the head brought down upon the breast, and the knees raised up to meet the chin. So that the dead man was left facing toward the west—the going down of the sun. There cannot but be some significance in this. The daily death of the sun has, in all ages and to all people, spoken of man's own death, his western course has seemed to tell of that last journey upon which all are bent. So that the resting place of the soul is nearly always imagined to lie westward in the home of the setting sun. For the rest there seems little doubt that the barrows represent nothing else—though upon a large scale—than the dwelling home of the time, and that the greater part of their funeral rites are very literal and unsymbolical.* The Esquimaux and Lapps of our day dwell in huts no more commodious than the small chambers of the barrows, and exceedingly like them in shape; only they keep them warm by heaping up over them not earth but snow. In these they sit squatting in an attitude not unlike that of the skeleton of the tumuli. Of the human remains the skulls are small and round, and have a prominent ridge over the sockets of the eyes, showing that the ancient race was of small stature with round heads and overhanging eyebrows; in short they bore a considerable resemblance to the modern Laplanders.

37. We are still however left in darkness about that part of the stone age thought which has left the grandest traces, and of which we should so much have wished to be informed; I mean the religion. Besides the tumuli we have those enormous piles of stone called cromlechs, or dolmens, and sometimes *miscalled* Druid Circles—such is the well-known Stonehenge; these were their temples or sacred places. Each arrangement is generally a simple archway, made by placing one enormous block upon two others; and these arches are sometimes arranged in circles, as at Stonehenge, sometimes in long colonnades, as at Carnac in Brittany. Lesser dolmens have been found in most European countries; and there can be little doubt that they possessed a religious character. As a rule the grave mounds are built upon elevations commanding a considerable prospect, and it is rare to find two within sight. Yet over Salisbury Plain, and the part about Stonehenge, they are much more numerous, as many as a hundred and fifty having been discovered in this neighborhood, as though it were a desired privilege to be buried within such hallowed ground. Of the worship which these stone altars commemorate we know absolutely nothing. There seems to be no reasonable doubt that they belong to the period we are describing. The name of Druid Circles, which has been sometimes given them, is an absurd anachronism, for as we shall have occasion to see later on, the ancestors of the Kelts (or Celts), to whom the Druidical religion belonged, were at this time still living on the banks of the Oxus in Central Asia. Thus though we must continue to wonder how these people could ever have raised such enormous stones as altars of their religion, the nature of that religion itself is hidden from us.

38. The relics of the tombs are the truest representatives of the stone age, for these tombs show their summits in every land, and the characteristic features of the remains found in them are the same in each. They

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* M. TROYON has started the idea that the crouched attitude of the dead—*repliée*, as he describes it; he declares that it does not in the least resemble the crouched attitude which men of some races assume when sleeping—was imposed upon the dead with a symbolical meaning, viz.: that it was meant to imitate the position of the child in the womb of its parent, and as such to enfold the hope of resurrection in the act of entombment. The idea is a poetical one, but I much doubt whether it has pre-existed in other minds before finding a place in that of M. TROYON. The author, however, should be heard in defense of his own theory, and may be so in the *Revue Arch.* ix. 289.

have arisen during the greatest extension of the stone age races, before any other people had come to dispute their territory, and express their fullest development, as the shell mounds do their germ. We now pass to another series of stone age remains which must have been contemporary with their latter years, and have been gradually absorbed into the age of bronze. These remains come from the lake-dwellings. But let it not be supposed that these lake-dwellings extended over a short period. A variety of separate pieces of evidence enforce upon us the conclusion that the stone age in Europe endured for at least two thousand years. Even the latter portion of that epoch will allow a cycle vast enough for the lives of the lake-dwellers; for the dwellings did not come to an end at the end of the age of stone; they only began in it. They were seen by Roman eyes almost as late as the beginning of our own era.

39. For at least two thousand years, then, we may say, the men who lived in the country of the Swiss lakes, and those of Northern Italy, adopted the apparently inexplicable custom of making their dwellings, not upon the solid ground, but upon platforms constructed with infinite trouble above the waters of the lake. And the way they set about it was in this wise: Having chosen their spot—if attainable, a sunny shore protected as much as possible from storms, and having a lake-bottom of a soft and sandy nature—they proceeded to drive in piles, composed of tree-stems taken from the neighboring forests, from four to eight inches in breadth. These piles had to be felled, and afterward sharpened, either by fire or stone axe, then driven in from a raft by the use of ponderous stone mallets; and when we have said that in one instance the number of piles of a lake village has been estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000, the enormous labor of the process will be apparent. This task finished, the piles were leveled at a certain height above the water, and a platform of boards was fastened on with pegs. On the platform were erected huts, probably square or oblong in shape, not more than twenty feet or so in length, adapted, however, for the use of a single family, and generally furnished, it would appear, with a hearth-stone and a corn-crusher apiece. The huts were made of wattle-work, coated on both sides with clay. Stalls were provided for the cattle, and a bridge of from only ten or twelve to as much as a hundred yards in length led back to the mainland. Over this the cattle must have been driven every day, at least in summer, to pasture on the bank; and no doubt the village community separated for the various occupations of fishing, for hunting, for agriculture, and for tending the cattle. As may be imagined, these wooden villages were in peculiar danger from fire, and a very large number have suffered destruction in this way, a circumstance fortunate for modern science, for many things which had been partially burnt before falling into the lake have, by the coating of charcoal formed round them, been made impervious to the corroding influence of the water. Thus we have preserved the very grain itself, and their loaves or cakes of crushed but not ground meal. The grains are of various kinds of wheat and barley, oats and millet.

40. It may be wondered for what object the enormous trouble of erecting these lake-dwellings could have been undertaken; and the only answer which can be given is, that it was to protect their inhabitants from their enemies. Whether each village formed a separate tribe and made war upon its neighbors, or whether the lake-dwellers were a peaceful race fleeing from more savage people of the mainland, is uncertain. There is nothing which leads us to suppose they were of a warlike character, and as far as the arts of peace go they had advanced considerably upon the men of the tumuli. More especially do the woven cloths, sometimes worked with simple but not inartistic patterns, excite our admiration. Ornaments of amber are frequent, and amber must have been brought from the Baltic; while in one settlement, believed to be of the stone age, the presence of a glass bead would seem to imply a commerce with Egypt, the only country in which the traces of glass manufacture at this remote period have been found.* It is believed by good authorities that the stone age in Europe came to an end about two thousand years before CHRIST, or at a time nearly that of ABRAHAM, and its shortest duration as we saw must also be considered to be two thousand years.

41. These men of the lakes stand in no degree behind the mound-builders for the material elements of civilization. Nay, they are in some respects before them. Their life seems to have been more confined and simple than that which was going on in other parts of Europe. Its very peacefulness and simplicity gave men the opportunity for perfecting some of their arts. Thus their agriculture was more careful and more extended than that of the men of the tumuli. Their cattle would appear to have been numerous; all were stall-fed upon the island home, or if in the morning driven out to pasture over the long bridge to the mainland, they were brought home again at night. To agriculture had been added the special art of gardening, for these men cultivated fruit-trees; and they spun hemp and flax, and even constructed—it is believed—some sort of loom for weaving cloth. Yet for all that, if in these respects they were superior to the men of the tumuli, their life was probably more petty and narrow than the others'. There must have been some grandeur in the ideas of men who could

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* The Phœnicians are said by tradition to have invented the manufacture of glass. But there is no proof of this.

have built such enormous tombs and raise those wondrous piles of altar-stones. If the first were made in honor of their chiefs, the existence of such chiefs implies their power of expanding into a wide social life; so too the immense labor which the raising of the cromlechs demanded argues strong if not the most elevated religious ideas. And it has been often and truly remarked that these two elements of progress, social and religious life, are always intimately associated, It is in the common worship more than in the common language that we find the beginning of nationalities. It was so in Greece. The city life grew up around the temple of a particular tutelary deity, and the associations of cities arose from their association in the worship at some common shrine. The common nationality of the Hellenes was kept alive more than anything in the quadrennial games in honor of the Olympian ZEUS, just as the special citizenship of Athens found expression in the peculiar worship of the virgin goddess ATHENE. So we may well argue from the great stone remains, that man had even then attained some progress in civil government. They show us the extended conditions of tribal government; but the lake-dwellers only give us a picture of the simplest and narrowest form of the village community. It is with them a complete condition of social equality; there is no appearance of any grade of rank; no hut on these islands is found larger or better supplied or more cared for than the rest. A condition of things not unlike that which we find in Switzerland at the present day; one favorable to happiness and contentment, to improvement in the simpler arts, but not to wide views of life, or to any great or general progress.

42. From our various sources of knowledge, then, we gain a slight but not uninteresting picture of man's life in the New Stone Age, and of his slow progress along the road toward civilization. We begin with the hunters and fishers of the shell-mounds, a race of men who may be compared almost exactly with the Lapps and Esquimaux of the present day—men without any organization or polity, with no rudiment of art save that of navigation, and almost without an object in life except of supporting the immediate wants of existence. Not indeed that we need suppose them, any more than the Esquimaux or Lapps, without either a religion or such germs of a literature as consist in traditional tales, passed on from father to son. Such seeds of moral and intellectual life are to be found among the rudest savages.

43. And as time passes on they improve, passing from the hunter state to the pastoral,* and from the pastoral to the agricultural; with all the other growths, arts, and religious and social life, which have been pointed out and which two thousand years or so might well produce.

44. Then came the discovery of metal; and what is called the Bronze Age—the age before iron was found—supervened upon the age of stone. In some countries the discovery was natural, and one age followed upon the other in gradual sequence. But in Europe it was not so. The men of the bronze age were a new race sallying out of the East to dispossess the older inhabitants, and if in some places the bronze men and the stone men seem to have gone on for a time side by side, the general character of the change is that of a sudden break. Therefore we do not now proceed to speak of the characteristic civilization of the bronze age. As will be seen hereafter, the bringers of the new weapons belonged to a race concerning whom we have much ampler means of information than is possessed for the first inhabitants of these lands; and we are spared the necessity of drawing all our knowledge from a scrutiny of their arms or tombs. But before we can satisfactorily show who were the successors of the stone-age men in Europe, and whence they came, we must turn aside toward another inquiry, viz., into the origin of language.

CHAPTER III.

THE GROWTH OF LANGUAGE.

45. We have looked at man fashioning the first implements and weapons and houses which were ever made. We now turn aside and ask what were the first of those immaterial instruments, those "aëriform, mystic" legacies which were handed down and gradually improved from the time of the earliest inhabitants of our globe? Foremost among these, long anterior to the "metallurgic and other manufacturing *skill*," comes language. With us, to whom thought and speech are so bound together as to be almost inseparable, the idea that language is an instrument which through long ages has been slowly improved to its present perfection, seems difficult of credit. We think of early man having the same ideas and expressing them as readily as we do now; but this is not the case. Not, indeed, that we have any reason to believe that there was a time when man had no language at all, but it seems certain that long ages were necessary before this instrument could be wrought to the fineness in which we find it, and to which in all the languages we are likely to become acquainted with, we are accustomed. A rude iron knife or spear-head seems a simple and natural thing to

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* The pastoral state should not be taken as necessarily implying *sheep*, only some domesticated animal, probably oxen, possibly swine that can be fed in herds on pastures, *i. e.*, on land which has received no human cultivation. This stage of course precedes that of the agriculturist.

make. But we know that before it could be made iron had to be discovered, and the art of extracting iron from the ore; and, as a matter of fact, we know that thousands of years passed before the iron spear-head was a possibility, thousands of years spent in slowly improving the weapons of stone, and passing on from them to the weapons of bronze. So, too, with language; simple as it seems at first sight to fit the word on to the idea, and early as we ourselves learn this art, a little thought about what language is will show us how much we owe to the ages which have gone before.

46. To begin with, then, let us try and consider what language really is. The first thing which it is very important we should realize, is that writing has nothing to do with the formation of language; for writing is a comparatively late invention, and came long after languages had gone through the chief stages of their growth, and was never meant for any other purpose than to convey to the eye the idea of sound. Language itself belongs to sound only, and appeals to no other sense than the sense of hearing. This everybody will agree to at once, for it is no more than saying that people who cannot read or write have still a language; and, of course, three or four centuries ago there were comparatively few individuals among all the inhabitants of Europe who could write; even now there are hundreds of languages in the world which have never been committed to writing. The observation would indeed be scarce worth the making, but for the necessity of a precaution against thinking at all of the *look* of words and not of their sound. And now, say we take any word and ask ourselves what exact relationship it holds with the thought for which it stands. "Book"—no sooner have we pronounced the word than an *idea* more or less distinct comes into our mind. The thought and the sound seem inseparable, and we cannot remember the time when they were not so. Yet the connection between the thought and the sound is not necessary. In fact, a sound which generally comes connected with one idea may—if we are engaged at the time upon a language not our own—enter our minds, bringing with it an idea quite unconnected with the first. *Share* and *chère*, *feel* and *viel*, are examples in point; and the same thing is shown by the numerous sounds in our language which have two or more quite distinct meanings, as for example—*ware* and *were*, and (with most people) *where* too; and *rite* and *right*, and *wright* are pronounced precisely alike; therefore there can be no reason why one sound should convey one idea more than another. In other words, the idea and the sound have an arbitrary, not a natural connection. We have been *taught* to make the sound "book" for the idea book, but had we been brought up by French parents the sound "livre" would have seemed the natural one to make. So that this wondrous faculty of speech has, like those other faculties of which CARLYLE speaks, been handed down on impalpable vehicles of sound through the ages. Never, perhaps, since the time of our first parents has one person from among the countless millions who have been born had to invent for himself a way of expressing his thoughts in words. This is alone a strange thing enough. Impossible as it is to imagine ourselves without speech, we may ask the question—What should we do if we were ever left in such a predicament? Should we have *any* guide in fitting the sound on to the idea? *Share* and *chère*, *feel* and *viel*—among these unconnected notions is there *any* reason why we should wed our speech to one rather than another? Clearly there is no reason. Yet in the case which we imagined of a number of rational beings who had to invent a language for the first time, if they are ever to come to an understanding at all there must be some common impulse which makes more than one choose the same sound for a particular idea. How, for instance, we may ask, was it with our first parents? They have passed on to all their descendants forever the idea of conveying thought by sound, and all the great changes which have since come into the languages of the world have been gradual and, so to say, natural. But this first invention of the idea of speech is of quite another character.

47. Here we are brought to the threshold of that impenetrable mystery, "the beginning of things," and here we must pause We recognize this faculty of speech as a thing mysterious, unaccountable, belonging to that supernatural being, man. There must have been and must be in us a something which causes our mouth to echo the thought of the heart; and originally this echo must have been spontaneous and natural, the same for all alike. Now it is a mere matter of tradition and instruction, the sound we use for the idea; but at first the two must have had some subtle necessary connection, or how could one of our first parents have known or guessed what the other wished to say? Just as every metal has its peculiar ring, it is as though each impression on the mind rang out its peculiar word from the tongue. Or was it like the faint tremulous sound which glasses give when music is played near? The outward object or the inward thought called out a sort of mimicry, a distant echo—not like, but yet born of the other—on the lips. These earliest sounds may perhaps still sometimes be detected. In the sound *flo* or *flu*, which in an immense number of languages stands connected with the idea of flowing and of rivers, do we not recognize some attempt to catch the smooth yet rushing sound of water? And again, in the sound *gra* or *gri*, which is largely associated with the notion of grinding,

cutting, or scraping,[*] there is surely something of this in the guttural harshness of the letters, which make the tongue grate, as it were, against the roof of the mouth. And if we see reason to think that these primitive sounds are not always the closest possible imitations of the things they should express, we need not be surprised, since we notice the same fact with regard to our other ways of conveying ideas. In expressive actions, we only half imitate the motion we intend should be followed. We say "go," and dart out our hand, half to show that the person is to go in the direction we point out, or that he is to keep away from us; and half, again, with the object of expressing to him rapid motion by the quickness of our own movement. So with the first words. The names of animals, for instance, did not attempt to mimic the sound which the animal makes—as children call a dog a "bow-wow," and a lamb a "baa"—but they were, as we have said, something like echoes upon the tongue of the combined effects the animal produced to sight and hearing.

48. We may suppose the first created man to have immediately, by this quick spontaneous faculty of his, found words for every object which met his eye and reached his ear, as ADAM is described naming each one of the animals among whom he lived; but even when furnished with a long vocabulary to represent things and belongings of things (which we call attributes or adjectives) and motions of every sort, he would still want a number of other words which could not by any possibility spring directly from the picture formed in his mind. All languages are full of words which by themselves do not and cannot awaken definite thoughts in us. All adverbs, conjunctions, prepositions, particles, belong to this class. *To*, *as*, *but*, *when*, do not as mere words and taken by themselves convey any meaning; but adjectives, verbs, and substantives, *hard*, *beat*, *hand*, do convey an idea when taken quite alone. So that after the first man had got his list of sounds which were real echoes of his thought, he had to get another series of sounds which were echoes of nothing by themselves, but were useful for joining the others together, showing the connection in which they stood one to another.

49. This, then, was the second stage of language, the making of what we may call the *meaningless* words, for they are meaningless when taken quite alone. This second stage was probably a much slower one than the first. The making of meaning sounds might have gone on with any degree of rapidity, provided man started with the word-making faculty within. But there seems reason to believe that every meaningless word has arisen out of some word which once belonged to the real "echo" class; that *to*, for instance, *with*, *by*, *and*, have descended from older roots (now lost), which if placed alone would once have conveyed as much idea to the mind as *pen*, *ink*, *paper*, do to us. It is impossible to show what all our meaningless words have come from; and we have not even the intention of bringing forward all the reasons on which this opinion is grounded—it would be too wearisome. But we may notice one or two instances of how even at the present day this process of changing meaning into meaningless words is still going on. Take first the word *even*, which we used a moment ago. "Even at the present day." Here *even* is an adverb, quite meaningless when used alone, at least as an adverb; but if we see it alone it becomes another word, an adjective, a meaning word, bringing before us the idea of two things hanging level. "Even if" is nonsense as an *idea* with nothing to follow it, but "even weights" is a perfectly clear and definite notion, and each of the separate words *even* and *weights* gives us a clear and definite notion too. It is the same with *just*, which is both adverb and adjective. "Just as" brings no thought into the mind, but "just man" and *just* and *man* separately or together, do. *While* or *whilst* is meaningless; but "a while," or "to while"—to loiter—are full of meaning. In each case the meaningless word came from the meaning word, and was first used as a sort of metaphor, and then the metaphorical part was lost sight of. The English *not* is meaningless, and just as much so are the French *pas* and *point* in the sense of *not*; but in the sense of *footstep*, or *point*, they have meaning enough. Originally *il ne veut pas* meant, metaphorically, "he does not wish a step of your wishes," "he does not go a footstep with you in your wish;" *il ne veut point*, "he does not go a point with you in your wish." Nowadays all this metaphorical meaning is gone, except to the eye of the grammarian. People recognize that *il ne veut point* is rather stronger than *il ne veut pas*, but it never occurs to them to wonder why.

50. There are so many of these curious examples that one is tempted to go on choosing instances; but we confine ourselves to one more. Our word *yes* is a word which by itself is quite incapable of calling up a picture in our minds, but the word *is* or "it is." though the idea it conveys is very abstract, and, so to say, intangible—as compared, for instance, with such verbs as *move*, *beat*—nevertheless belongs to the meaning class. Now it happens that the Latin language used the word *est*, "it is," where we should now use the word "yes": and it still further hap-

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[*] In English we have *grind*, *grate*, (*s*)*cra*(*pe*), *grave*, (German, *graben*, "to dig;" Eng. "grub.") All words for writing mean cutting, because all writing was originally graving on a stone: thus the Latin *scribo* (corrupted in the French to *écris*), in the Greek is *grapho*, in the German *schreibe*. These words, as well as the English *write*, are known to be all from the same root; it is not pretended that they are *proofs* of a natural selection of sound; but they may be instances of it.

pens that our *yes** is probably the same as the German *es*, and was used in the same sense of *it is* as well. Instead of the meaningless word "yes" the Romans used the word *est*, "it is," and our own ancestors expressed the same idea by saying "it." Still more. It is well known that French is in the main a descendant from the Latin, not the Latin of Rome, but the corrupter Latin which was spoken in Gaul. Now these Latin-speaking Gauls did not, for some reason, say *est*, "it is," for *yes*, as the Romans did; but they used a pronoun, either *ille*, "he," or *hoc*, "this." When, therefore, a Gaul wanted to say "yes," he nodded, and said *he* or else *this*, meaning "he is so," or "this is so." As it happens, the Gauls of the north said *ille*, and those of the south said *hoc*, and these words gradually got corrupted into two meaningless words, *oui* and *oc*. And, as is well known, the people in the south of France were especially distinguished by using the word *oc* instead of *oui* for "yes," so that their "dialect" got to be called the *langue d'oc*, and this word Languedoc gave the name to a province of France. But long before that time, we may be sure, both the people of the *langue d'oui* and those of the *langue d'oc* had forgotten that their words for "yes" once meant "he" and "this."

51. We can from these instances pretty well guess the way in which the second vocabulary of meaningless words was formed. Man must have begun speaking always in a metaphorical way. Instead of saying "on the rock," or "under the rock," he perhaps said "head of rock" and "foot of rock," and the words he used for head and foot may have got corrupted and changed; so that the older form might remain for the meaningless words *on*, *under*, and a newer form come to be used for head and foot. Just as the Frenchman never knows that his *oui* and *il* are both sprung from the same Latin *ille*. Nor, again, does the ordinary German recognize in his *gewiss*, "certainly," the same word as his past participle *gewissen*, "known"; nor the ordinary Englishman reflect that the adverb "ago" is derived from "agone," an old past participle of the verb "to go."

52. When people first began using sounds to express ideas, it would seem that a single sound was used to express each separate idea. Or, putting it differently, we may say that the earliest words were words of one syllable only. As man must have been in want of an enormous number of these simple sounds, he soon began ringing as many changes as possible upon each, so that with every sound went a whole family of others which were very like it, and meant to stand for ideas similar to the idea expressed by the first sound. Now the most important part of every sound, as far as the meaning goes, are the consonants which compose it, and even at the present day, if we keep the consonants of any word the same, and alter the vowel or diphthong, we get a fresh meaning closely connected with the first (*fly*, *flee*, *swing*, *swung*, etc.). It was in this way that a great many words arose connected into a class by the consonants remaining unaltered and connected together also by the thread of a common idea. As in "swing," "swung," "swang," we have three different ideas expressing different tenses or times in which the action of swinging took place, and at the same time we have the central idea of swinging connected with the consonants sw-ng; just so, if in some primitive language the consonants f-l expressed the central idea of flowing, "flō" might have stood for the verb "to flow," "flū" for the substantive, river, and "flā" for some adjective or attribute common to flowing water, *bright* perhaps, or *soft*.

53. Even with quite modern and cultivated languages—which are not, of course, the best for studying the early history of human speech—we may trace the way in which the consonants remain the same, or slightly changed, while the vowels alter, as when we recognize the German *knecht* in our *knight*, *raum* in our *room;* or, again, the Italian *padre* in the French *père*, *tavola* in *table*, etc. Such comparisons as these show us that English and German, French and Italian, are closely connected. But where the connection between languages is very distant, and the farther we have to go back, the more have we to divide our words into their composing syllables, so that we are going backward toward the root-sounds of language, and these, as we have said, are single syllables, of which the most constant parts are the consonants. Here our knowledge stops. Of all the changes which were rung upon any particular arrangement of letters, "f-l" say, we cannot possibly determine which was the first, "flō," "flū," "flā," or any other. What we actually find in any language, the most primitive even, is the existence of these root consonant-sounds expressing some general idea, the idea of flowing, or whatever it may be. Probably, as we have said, this ringing the changes upon a particular sound may have gone on with any degree of rapidity, have been almost simultaneous with the power of speaking itself, which power was, we know, simultaneous with the creation of man. So that we may practically speak of man as starting with these root sounds, which would express not a particular, but a general idea. Sometimes it is not at all easy to trace the connection between the different words which have been formed from one of these general roots. From a root, which in Sanskrit appears in its most ancient form, as *mâ*, "to measure," we get words in Greek and Latin which mean "to think," and from the same root comes our "man," the person who meas-

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* *Yes* is probably not the same word as the German *es* (whose meaning form is lost), though our *yea* is.

ures, who compares, *i. e.*, who thinks; also our *moon*, which means "the measurer," because the moon helps to measure out the time, the *months*. So, too, our *crab* is from the word *creep*, and means the animal that creeps. But why this name should have been given to crab rather then to ant and beetle it it impossible to say.

54. Thus equipped with his fixed root and the various words formed out of it, man had enough material to begin all the elaborate languages which the world has known. And he continued his work something in this fashion. As generation followed generation the pronunciation of words was changed, as is constantly being done at the present day. Our grandmothers pronounced "Rome," room, and "brooch," as it was spelt, and not as we pronounce it—"broach." And let it be remembered, before writing was invented, there was nothing but the pronunciation to fix the word, and a new pronunciation was really a new word. When there was no spelling to fix a word, these changes of pronunciation were very rapid and frequent, so that not only would each generation have a different set of words from their fathers, but probably each tribe would be partly unintelligible to its neighboring tribes, just as a Somersetshire man is, to a great extent, unintelligible to a man out of Yorkshire. The first result of these changes would be the springing up of a number of "meaningless" words. "Head of rock" and "foot of rock" would sink to equivalents of "over" and "under," when of two names for head and foot one became obsolete as a noun, and was only used adverbially. What had originally meant, metaphorically, head of rock and foot of rock, might come to be used for over and under the rock when new words had arisen for head and foot, in exactly the same way that the word *ago* has become a "meaningless" word to the Englishman of to-day.

55. The next step was the joining of words together. In one way this process may have begun very early. Two "meaning" words, as soon as formed, might be joined together to form a third idea; just as we have "ant-hill," which is a different thing from either "ant" or "hill." But there are other ways of joining words more important in the history of language than this. There is the joining on of the "meaningless" words. Although *we* always put the meaningless qualifying word before the chief word, and say "on the rock," or "under the rock," it is more natural to man, as is shown by all languages, to put the principal idea first, and say "rock on," "rock under," the idea *rock* being of course the chief idea, the part of the rock, or position in relation to the rock, coming after. So the first step toward grammar was the getting a number of meaningless words, and joining them on to the substantive, "rock," "rock-by," "rock-in," "rock-to," etc. So with the verb. The essential idea in the verb is the action itself, the next idea is the time or person in which the action takes place, and the natural thing for man to do is to make the words follow that order. The joining process would give us from *love*, the idea of loving, "love-I," "love-thou," "love-he," etc., and for the imperfect "love-was-I," "love-was-thou," "love-was-he," "love-was-we," "love-was-ye," "love-was-they," for perfect "love-have-I," "love-have-thou," "love-have-he," etc. Of course, these are merely illustrations, but they make the mode of this early joining process clearer than if we had chosen a language where that process is actually found in its purity, and then translated the forms into their English equivalents.

56. We have now arrived at a stage in the formation of language where both *meaning* and *meaningless* words have been introduced, and where words have been made up out of combinations of the two. We see at once that with regard to meaningless words the use of them would naturally be fixed very much by tradition and custom, and whereas there might be a great many words standing for *ant* and *hill*, and therefore a great many ways of saying ant-hill, for the meaningless words, such as *under* and *on*, there would probably be only one word. The reason of this is very plain. While all the separate synonyms for *hill* expressed different ways in which it struck the mind, either as being high, or large, or steep, or what not, for *under* and *on* being meaningless words not producing any *picture* in the mind, only one word apiece could very well be used. While *under* and *on* were meaning words, meaning, perhaps, as we imagined, *head of*, or *foot of*, there would be plenty of synonyms for them; but only one out of all these would be handed down in their meaningless forms. It is important to remember this, because this accounts for all the grammars of all languages. As a matter of fact, every one of those grammatical terminations which we know so well in Latin and Greek, and German, was originally nothing else than meaningless words added on to modify the words which still retained their meaning. We saw before, that it was much more natural for people to say "rock-on" or "hand-in" than "on the rock" or "in the hand"—though, of course, our arrangement of the words seems the most reasonable to *us*—because rock and hand were the most important ideas and came first into the mind, while *on*, *in*, etc., were only subsidiary ideas depending upon the important ones. If we stop at rock or hand without adding *on* and *in*, we have still got something definite upon which our thoughts can rest, but we could not possibly stop at *on* and *in* alone, and have any idea in our minds at all. It is plain enough therefore that, though we say "on the rock," we must have the *idea* of all the three words in our mind before we begin the phrase, and

therefore that our words do not follow the natural order of our ideas; whereas rock-on, hand-in, show the ideas just the way they come into the mind. It is a fact that all case-endings arose from adding on meaningless words to the end of the word, the noun or pronoun. *Das Weib, des Weib-es, dem Weib-e; hom o, hom-inis, hom-ini:* the meaning of case-endings such as these cannot, it is true, be discovered now, for they came into existence long before such languages as German or Latin were spoken, and their meanings were lost sight of in ages which passed before history. But that time when the terminations which are meaningless now had a meaning, and the period of transition between this state and the state of a language which is full of grammatical changes inexplicable to those who use them, form distinct epochs in the history of every language. It is just the same with verb-endings as with the case-endings—*ich bin, du bist,* really express the I and thou twice over, as the pronouns exist though hidden and lost sight of in the *-n* and *-st* of the verb. In the case of verbs, indeed, we may without going far give some idea of how these endings may be detected. We may say at once that Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, English, Norse, Gaelic, Welsh, Lithuanian, Russian, and other Slavonic languages are all connected together in various degrees of relationship, all descended from one common ancestor, some being close cousins, and some very distant. Now in Sanskrit "I am" is thus declined:—

as-mi	I am.	*'s-mas*	we are.
a-si	thou art.	*'s-tha*	ye are.
as-ti	he is.	*'s-anti*	they are.

By separating the root from the ending in this way we may the more easily detect the additions to the root, and their meanings. *As* is the root expressing the idea of being, existing; *mi* is from a root meaning *I* (preserved in *me*, Greek and Latin *me, moi, m*[*ich*], etc.); so we get *as-mi*, am-I, or I am. Then we may trace this through a number of languages connected with the Sanskrit. The important part of *as-mi*, the consonants, are preserved in the Latin *sum*, I am, from which, by some further changes, come the French *suis*, the Italian *sono:* the same word appears in our *a-m*, and in the Greek *eimi* (Doric *esmi*), I am. Next, coming to the second word, we see one of the *s's* cut out, and we get *a-si*, in which the *a* is the root, and the *si* the addition signifying *thou*. To this addition correspond the final *s's* in the Latin *es*, French *es—tu es* and the Greek *eis* (Doric *essi*). So, again, *as-ti*, the *ti* expresses he, and this corresponds to the Latin *est*, French *est*, the Greek *esti*, the German *ist;* in the English the expressive *t* has been lost. We will not continue the comparison of each word; it will be sufficient if we place side by side the same tense in Sanskrit and in Latin,* and give those who do not know Latin an opportunity of recognizing for themselves the tense in its changed form in French or Italian:—

ENGLISH.	SANSKRIT.	LATIN.
I am	*as-mi*	*sum.*
thou art	*a-si*	*es.*
he is	*as-ti*	*est.*
we are	*'s-mas*	*sumus.*
ye are	*'s-tha*	*estis.*
they are	*'s-anti*	*sunt.*

57. The plural of the added portion we see contains the letters *m-s*, and if we split these up again we get the separate roots *mi* and *si*, so that *mas* means most literally "I," and "thou," and hence "we." In the second person the Latin has preserved an older form than the Sanskrit; the proper root consonants for the addition part of the second person plural, combining the ideas thou and he, from which, ye. The third person plural cannot be so easily explained.

58. It will be seen that in the English almost all likeness to the Sanskrit terminations has been lost. Our verb "to be" is very irregular, being, in fact, a mixture of several distinct verbs. The Saxon had the verb *beó* contracted from *beom* (here we have at any rate the *m* ending for I), I am, *byst*, thou art, *bydh*, he is, and the same appear in the German *bin, bist*. It is, of course, very difficult to trace the remains of the meaningless additions in such advanced languages as ours, or even as Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek. Nevertheless, the reader may find it not uninteresting to trace in the Latin through most of the tenses of verbs these endings—*m*, for I, the first person; *s*, for thou, the second person; *t*, for he, the third person; *m-s*, for I and thou, we; *st*, for ye, thou and he, ye; *nt*, for they. And the same reader must be content to take on trust the fact that other additions corresponding to different tenses can also be shown or reasonably guessed to have been words expressive by themselves of the idea which belongs to a particular tense; so that where we have such a tense as

amabam	I was loving.
amabas	thou wast loving.
amabat, etc.	he was loving.

we may recognize the meanings of the component parts thus:—

ama-ba-m	love-was-I.
ama-ba-s	love-was-thou.
ama-ba-t	love-was-he.

59. Of course, really to show the way in which these meaningless additions have been made and come to be amalgamated with the root, we should have to take examples from a great number of languages in different

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*The reader who does not know Latin may easily recognize the kindred forms changed in French, Italian, Spanish, &c.

stages of development. But we have thought it easier, for mere explanation, to take only such languages as were likely to be familiar to the reader, and even to supplement these examples with imaginary ones—like "rock-on," "love-was I," etc.—in English. For our object has been at first merely to give an intelligible account of how language has been formed, of the different stages it has passed through, and to leave to a future time the question as to which languages of the globe have passed through all these stages, and which have gone part of their way in the formation of a perfect language. Between the state of a language in which the meaning of all the separate parts of a word are recognized and that state where they are entirely lost, there is an immense gap, that indeed which separates the most from the least advanced languages of the world.

60. Every language that is now spoken on the globe has gone through the stage of forming meaningless words, and is therefore possessed of words of both classes. They no longer say "head-of-rock," or "foot-of-rock," but "rock-on" and "rock-under." But there are still known languages in which every syllable is a word, and where grammar, properly speaking, does not exist. For grammar, if we come to consider it exactly, is the explanation of the meaning of those added syllables or letters which have lost all natural meaning of their own. If each part of the word were as clear and as intelligible as "rock-on," we should have no need of a grammar at all. A language of this sort is called a monosyllabic language, not because the people only speak in monosyllables, but because each word, however compound, can be split up into monosyllables which have a distinctly recognizable meaning. "Ant-hill-on" or "love-was-I," are like the words of such a language.

61. The next stage of growth is where the meaning of the added part has been lost sight of, except when it is connected with the word which it modifies; but where the essential word has a distinct idea by itself, and without the help of any addition. Suppose, for instance, through ages of change, the "was-I" in our imaginary example got corrupted into "wasi," where *wasi* had no meaning by itself, but was used to express the first person of the past tense. The first person past of love would be "love-wasi," of move "move-wasi," and so on, "wasi" no longer having a meaning by itself, but "love" and "move" by themselves being perfectly understandable. A language in this stage is said to be in the agglutinative stage, because certain grammatical endings (like "wasi") are merely, as it were, glued on to a root to change its meaning, while the root itself remains quite unaffected, and means neither less nor more than it did before.

62. But, as ages pass on, the root and the addition get so closely combined that neither of them alone has a distinct meaning, and the language arrives at its third stage. It is not difficult to find examples of a language in this condition, for such is the case with all the languages by which we are surrounded. All the tongues which the majority of us are likely to study, almost all those which have any literature at all, have arrived at this last stage, which is called the inflexional. For instance, though we were able to separate "asmi" into two parts—"as" and "mi"—one expressing the idea of being, the other the person "I," this distinction is the refinement of the grammarian, and would never have been recognized by an ordinary speaker of Sanskrit, for whom "asmi" simply meant "I am," without distinction of parts. In our "am" the grammarian recognizes that the "a" expresses existence, and the "m" expresses I; but so completely have we lost sight of this, that we repeat the "I" before the verb. Just the same in Latin. No Roman could have recognized in the "s" of *sum* "am" and in the "m" "I"; for him *sum* meant simply and purely "I am." "I" was no more separable in his eyes than the French *êtes* (Latin *estis*) in *vous êtes*, is separable into a root "es," contracted in the French into "ê," meaning *are*, and an addition "tes" signifying *you*. This, then, is the last stage upon which language enters. It is called inflexional, because the different grammatical changes are not now denoted by a mere addition to an intelligible word, but by a change in the word itself. The root may indeed remain and be recognizable in its purity, but very frequently it is unrecognizable, so that the different case or tense endings can no longer be looked upon as additions, but as changes. Take almost any Latin substantive, and we see this. *homo*, a man, the genitive is formed, not by adding something to *homo*, but by changing *homo* into *hominis*, or, if we please, adding something to the root *hom*—which has in itself no meaning.

63. Thus, to recapitulate, we discover first two stages which language went through before it presents itself in any form known to us; what we call the meaning words came into existence, and then out of these were gradually formed the meaningless words.

64. These stages were in the main passed through before any known language came into existence, for there is no tongue which is not composed in part of words from the meaningless class; though at the same time it is a process which is still going on, as where *even* and *just*, the adjectives, become *even* and *just* the adverbs, or where the French substantives *pas* and *point* take a like change of meaning. Then after the meaningless words have been acquired come the three other stages which go to the making of the grammar of a language, stages which can be traced in actual living languages, and which have been called the monosyllabic, the agglutinative, and the inflexional stage. With

the last of these the history of the growth of language comes to an end. It happens indeed, sometimes, that a language which has arrived at the inflexional stage may in time come to drop nearly all its inflexions. This has been the case with English and French. Both are descended from languages which had elaborate grammars—the Saxon and the Latin; but both, from a mixture of languages and other causes, have come to drop almost all their grammatical forms. We show our grammar only in a few changes in our ordinary verbs—the past tense and the past participle, *use*, *used; buy*, *bought*, etc.; in other variations in our auxiliary verb, and by changes in our pronouns—*I*, *me*, *ye*, *you*, *who*, *whom*, etc.; and by the "'s" and "s" of the possessive case and of the plural, and by the comparison of adjectives. The French preserve their grammar to some extent in their pronouns, their adjectives, and in their verbs. But these are cases of decay, and do not find any place in the history of the growth of language.

65. From this we pass on to examine where the growth of language has been fully achieved, where it has remained only stunted and imperfect.

CHAPTER IV.

FAMILIES OF LANGUAGE.

66. Let us recall for a moment the conclusion of the last chapter, and what was said of the different stages of growth through which a language must pass before it arrives at such a condition as that in which are all the tongues with which most of us are likely to be familiar. We found that there were first two very early stages when what may be called the bones of a language were formed, namely, the acquisition first of the meaning words, those words which standing alone bring a definite idea into the mind, as *pen*, *ink*, *paper*, secondly, of the meaningless words, which, like *to*, *for*, *and*, produce no idea in the mind when taken quite alone. And we saw that while the first class of words may have rapidly sprung into existence one after another, the meaningless words could only have gradually come into use, as one by one they fell out of the rank of the meaning class. Again, after this skeleton of language had been got together, there were three other stages, we said, which went to make up the grammar of language. The first, the monosyllabic stage, where any word of the language may be divided into monosyllables, each having a distinct meaning; the second, the agglutinative stage, where the root, that is to say the part of the word which expresses the essential idea, always remains distinct from the additions that modify it; and thirdly, the inflexional stage, where the root and the inflexions have got so interwoven as to be no longer distinguishable.

67. Of course, really to understand what these three conditions are like, the reader would have to be acquainted with some language in each of the three; but it is sufficient if we get clearly into our heads that there are these stages of language-growth, and that, further, each one of all the languages of the world may be said to be in one of the three. Our opportunities of tracing the history of languages being so limited, we have no recorded instance of a language passing out of one stage into another; but when we examine into these states they so clearly wear the appearance of *stages* that there seems every reason to believe that a monosyllabic language might in time develop into an agglutinative, and again from that stage into an inflexional, language, *if nothing stopped its growth.*

68. But what, we may ask, are the causes which put a stop to the free growth and development of language? One of these causes is the invention of writing. Language itself is of course spoken language, speech, and as such is subject to no laws save those which belong to our organs of speaking and hearing. No sooner is the word spoken than it is gone, and lives only in the memory; and thus speech, though it may last for centuries, dies, as it were, and comes to life again every hour. It is with language as it is with those national songs and ballads which among nations that have no writing take the place of books and histories. The same poem or the same tale passes from mouth to mouth almost unchanged for hundreds of years, and yet at no moment is it visible and tangible, nor for the most part of the time audible even, but for these centuries lives on in men's memories only. So HOMER's ballads must have passed for several hundred years from mouth to mouth; and, stranger still, stories which were first told somewhere by the banks of the Oxus or the Jaxartes by distant ancestors of ours, are told to this very day, little altered, by peasants in remote districts of England and Scotland. But to return to language. It is very clear that so long as language remains speech and speech only, it is subject to just so many variations as in the course of a generation or two men may have introduced into their habits of speaking. Why these variations arise it is perhaps not quite easy to understand, but every one knows that they do arise, that from age to age, from generation to generation, not only are new words being constantly introduced, and others which once served well enough dropped out of use, but constant changes are going on in the pronunciation of words. Nay, if left to itself a language would not remain quite the same in two different districts; as we know, for instance, that the language of common people does differ very much in different counties, so that what with varieties of pronunciation, and what with the use of really peculiar words, the inhabitants of one county are scarcely in-

telligible to the inhabitants of another. The influence which keeps a language together and tends to make the changes as few as possible is that of writing. When once writing has been invented it is clear that language no longer depends upon the memory only, no longer has such a seemingly precarious tenure of life as it had when it was no more than speech. The writing remains a sure mark against the changes of time. Although our written words are but the symbols of sound, they are symbols so clear that the recollection of the sound springs up in our minds the moment the written word comes before our eyes. So it is that there are hundreds of words in the English language which we should many of us not use once in a lifetime, which are yet perfectly familiar to us. All old-fashioned words which belong to the *literary* language, and are never used now in common life, would have been forgotten long ago except for writing So too the fact that those provincialisms which make the peasants of different counties almost mutually unintelligible do not affect the intercourse of educated people, is owing to the existence of a written language.

69. We see therefore the power which writing has of binding together speech and preventing it from slipping into dialects, of keeping the language rich by preserving word which in common everyday life are apt to b forgotten. But writing may also have a disastrous effect upon an unformed language by checking changes which tend to development, and this is just what has happened in the case of Chinese. We know what a strange people the Chinese are, and how they seemed to have stopped growing just at one particular point, and, with all the machinery, so to speak, ready to make them a great people, how they have remained forever a stunted, undeveloped race, devoid of greatness in any form. Their character is reflected very accurately in their language. While this was still in the first of our three stages—the monosyllabic—the Chinese invented writing, and from that time the language almost ceased to develop, so that it is the best specimen we have of a language in this state. Speaking quite strictly, the ancient Chinese is the only monosyllabic language. Modern Chinese, Burmese, Siamese, and Thibetan are so nearly monosyllabic that they cannot be considered to have got fairly into the agglutinative stage, and perhaps they never will.

70. As a matter of fact, then, it is writing which has preserved for us a language in the monosyllabic stage, and perhaps nothing but writing could have prevented such a language from in time becoming agglutinative Other causes are at work to prevent an agglutinative language becoming inflexional. It is not in this case so easy to say what the hindering causes are: but perhaps, if we look at the difference between the last two classes of language, we get some idea. An inflexional language has quite lost the memory of the real meaning of its inflexions—or at least the real reason of them. We could give no reason why we should not use *bought* in the place of *buy*, *art* in the place of *am*, *whom* in the place of *who*—no other reason save that we have always been taught to use the words in the position they take in our speech. But there was once a time when the changes only existed in the form of *additions* having a distinct meaning. Even in agglutinative languages these additions have a distinct meaning *as* additions, or in other words, if we were using an agglutinative language we should be able always to distinguish the addition from the root, and so should understand the precise effect of the former in modifying the latter. To understand the use of words in an agglutinative language a great deal less of tradition and memory would be required than are wanted to preserve an inflected language. This really is the same as saying that for the inflected language we must have a much more constant use, and this again implies a greater intellectual life, a closer bond of union among the people who speak it, than exists among those who speak agglutinative languages. Or we may look at it another way, and say that the cause of the mixing up of the root and its addition came at first from a desire to *shorten* the word and to save time—a desire which was natural to people who spoke much and had much intercourse: and we guess from these considerations that the people who use the agglutinative languages are people who have not what is called a close and active national life. This is exactly the case. If the one or two monosyllabic languages belong to peoples who have, as it were, developed too quickly, the agglutinative languages distinguish a vast section of the human race whose natural condition is a very unformed one, who are for the most part nomadic races without fixed homes, or laws, or States. They live a tribal existence, each man having little intercourse save with those of his immediate neighborhood, using no large public assemblies, which might take the place of literature, in obliging men to have a common language and a united national life. Therefore the different dialects and tongues which belong to the agglutinative class are almost endless: and it is not our intention to weary the reader by even a bare list of them. But we may glance at the chief heads into which these multifarious languages may be grouped, and the geographical position of those who speak them. These include all those peoples of Central Asia whom in common language we are wont to speak of as Tartars, but whom it would be more correct to describe as belonging to the Turkic or Mongol class, and of whom so many different branches—the Huns, who emigrated from the borders of China to Europe; the Mongols or Moghuls, who con-

quered Persia and Hindustan; and lastly, the Osmanlees, or Ottomans, who invaded Europe and founded the Turkish Empire—are the most distinguished (and most infamous) in history. Another large class of agglutinative languages belongs to the natives of the vast region of Siberia, from the Ural mountains to the far east. Another great class, corresponding to these, the Finnish, once spread across the whole of what is now European Russia and North Scandinavia, but has been gradually driven to the extreme north by the Russians and Scandinavians. Lastly, a third division is formed by those languages which belonged to the original inhabitants of Hindustan before the greater part of the country was occupied by the Hindus. These languages are spoken of as the Dravidian class. The natural condition of these various nations or peoples is, as we have said, a nomadic state, though individual nations have risen to considerable civilization And as in very early times ancestors of ours who belonged to a race speaking an inflexional language bestowed upon some part of these nomadic people the appellation *Tura*, which means "the swiftness of a horse," from their constantly moving from place to place, the word Turanian has been applied to all these various peoples, and the agglutinative languages are spoken of generally as Turanian tongues.

71. And now we come to the last—the most important body of languages—the inflexional, and we see that for it have been left all the more important nations and languages of the world. Almost all the "historic" people, living or dead, almost all the more civilized among nations, come under this our last division: the ancient Egyptians, Chaldæans, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, as well as the modern Hindus and the native Persians, and almost all the inhabitants of Europe, with the countless colonies which these last have spread over the surface of the globe. Inflexional languages are separated into two main divisions or *families*, inside each of which the languages are held by a tie of relationship. Just as people are of the same family when they recognize their descent from a common ancestor, so languages belong to one family when they can show clear signs that they have grown out of one parent tongue. We may be sure that we are all the children of the first pair, and we may know in the same way that all languages must have grown and changed out of the first speech. But the traces of parentage and relationship are in both cases buried in oblivion; it is only when we come much farther down in the history of the world that we can really see the marks of distinct kinship in the tongues of nations, separated by thousands of miles, different in color, in habits, in civilization, and quite unconscious of any common fatherhood.

72. Now as to the way in which this kinship among languages may be detected. Among some languages there is such a close relationship that even an unskilled eye can discover it. When we see, for instance, such likenesses as exist in English and German between the very commonest words of life—*kann* and *can*, *soll* and *shall*, *muss* and *must*, *ist* and *is*, *gut* and *good*, *hart* and *hard*, *mann* and *man*, *fur* and *for*, together with an innumerable number of verbs, adjectives, substantives, prepositions, etc., which differ but slightly one from another—we may feel sure either that the English once spoke German, that the Germans once spoke English, or that English and German have both become a little altered from a lost language which was spoken by the ancestors of the present inhabitants of England and Deutsch-land. As a matter of fact, the last is the case. English and German are brother languages, neither is the parent of the other. Now, having our attention once called to this relationship, we might, any of us who know English and German, at once set about making a long list of words which are common to the two languages; and it would not be a bad amusement for any reader just to turn over the leaves of a dictionary and note how many German words (especially of the common sort) they find that have a corresponding one in English. The first thing we begin to see is the fact which was insisted on in the last chapter, that the consonants form, as it were, the bones of a word, and that changes of vowel are comparatively unimportant provided these remain unaltered. The next thing we see is that even the consonants do not generally remain the same, but that in place of one such letter in one language, another of a sound very like it appears in the other language.

73. For instance, we soon begin to notice that "T" in German is often represented by "D" in English, as *tag* becomes *day; tochter*. *daughter; breit*, *broad; traum*, *dream; reiten*, *ride;* but sometimes by "TH" in English, as *vater* becomes *father; mutter*, *mother.* Again, "D" in German is often equal to "TH" in English, as *dorf*, *thorpe; feder*, *feather; dreschen*, *trash; drängen*, *throng; das*, *that.* Now there is a certain likeness common to these three sounds, "T," "D," and "TH," as any one's ear will tell him if he say *te*, *de*, *the.* As a matter of fact they are all pronounced with the tongue pressed against the teeth, only in rather different places; and in the case of the last sound, *the*,* with a breath or aspirate sent between the teeth at the same time. So we see that, these letters being really so much alike in sound, there is nothing at all extraordinary in one sound becoming exchanged for another in the two languages. We learn, therefore, to look beyond the mere appearance of the

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*To get the full sound of the *th*, this should be said not as we pronounce our article *the* (which really has the sound *dhe*), but like the first part of Thebes, theme, etc word, to weigh, so to speak, the sounds against each other, and to detect likenesses which might perhaps otherwise have escaped us. For instance, if we see that "CH" in German is often represented by "GH" in English—in such words as *tochter*, *daughter; knecht*, *knight;*[*] *möchte*, *might; lachen*, *laugh*,—we have no difficulty in now seeing how exactly *durch* corresponds to our "through," the position of the vowels being a matter of comparatively small account. So our power of comparison continually increases, though some knowledge of several languages is necessary before we can establish satisfactory rules or proceed with at all sure steps.

74. When we have acquired this knowledge there are few things more interesting than noting the changes which words undergo in the different tongues, and learning how to detect the same word under various disguises. The interest is very great sometimes, for instance, in the case of proper names. The smaller family—or, as we have used the word family to express a large class of languages, let us say the branch to which English and German belong—is called the Teutonic branch. To it belonged nearly all those barbarian nations who, toward the fall of the Roman empire, began the invasion of her territories, and ended by carving out of them most of the various States and kingdoms of modern Europe. The best test we have of the nationalities of these peoples, the best proof that they were connected by language with each other and with the modern Teutonic nations, is to be found in their proper names. We have, for instance, among the Vandals such names as Hilderic, Genseric, and the like; we compare them at once with Theodoric and Alaric, which were names of famous Goths. Then as the Gothic language has been preserved we recognize the termination *rik* or *riks* in Gothic, meaning a "king," and connected with the German *reich*, and also with the Latin *rex*—Alaric becomes *alrik*, "all-king," universal king. In Theodoric we recognize the Gothic *thiudarik*, "king of the people." Again, this Gothic word *thiuda* is really the same as the German *deutsch*, or as "Dutch," of which also "Teutonic" is only a Latinized form. In the same way the Hilda-rik in Gothic is "king of battles;" and having got this word from the Vandals we have not much difficulty in recognizing Childeric, the name of a Frankish king, as the same word. This change teaches us to turn "CH" of Frankish names into "H," so that instead of Chlovis we first get Hlovis, which is only a softened form of Hludvig, or Hludwig, the modern Ludwig, our Louis. *Hlud* is known to have meant "famous"[*] and *wig* a "warrior," so that Ludwig means famous warrior. The same verb "wig" seems to appear in the word Merovingian, a Latinized form of Meer-wig,[†] which would mean sea-warrior.

75. These instances show us the *kind* of results we obtain by a comparison of languages. In the case of these names, for instance, we have got enough to show a very close relationship among the Vandals, the Goths, and the Franks, and had we time many more instances might have been chosen to support this conclusion. Here, of course, we have been confining ourselves to one small *branch* of a large family. The road, the farther we go, is beset with greater difficulties and dangers of mistake, and the student can do little unless he is guided by fixed rules, which we should have to follow, supposing we were able to carry on our inquiries into many and distant languages. Those words which we have instanced as being common to us and to German, we have both got by inheritance from an earlier language. Yet there are in English hundreds of words which are not acquired by inheritance from other languages, but merely by adoption; hundreds of words have been taken directly from the Latin, or from the Latin through the French, or from the Greek, and not derived from any early language which was the parent of the Latin, Greek, and English. How shall we distinguish between these classes of words? In the first place, the simpler words are almost sure to be inherited, because people, in however rude a state they were, could never have done without words to express such every day ideas as *to have*, *to be*, *to laugh*, *to make*, *to kill—I*, *thou*, *to*, *for*, *and;* whereas they might have done well enough without words such as *government*, *literature*, *sensation*, *expression*, words which express either things which are quite out of the way of these primitive people, or commonish ideas in a somewhat grand and abstract form. Our first rule, therefore, must be to choose the commoner class of words, or generally speaking, those words which are pretty sure never to have fallen out of use, and which therefore must have been handed down from father to son.

76. There is another rule—that those languages must be classed together which have like grammatical forms. This is a rule of especial importance in distinguishing a complete family of languages. For when once a language has got into the inflected stage, though it may hereafter lose or greatly modify nearly all its inflections, it never either sinks back into the agglutinative stage, or adopts the grammatical forms of another language which is also in the inflected condition. These are the general rules, therefore, upon

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[*] These two words have, it is true, quite changed their meanings; but our *knight* rose to its honorable sense from having come to be used only for the servants or attendants of the king (in battle), while the German word retained its older sense of servant, groom, only.

[*] Cf. the Greek *klutos*.

[†] Stephen, *Lectures on the History of France*.

which we go. We look first for the grammatical forms and then for the simple roots, and according to the resemblance or want of resemblance between them we decide whether two tongues have any relationship, and whether that relationship is near or distant.

77. Now it has in this way been found out that all inflected languages belong to one of two families called the Semitic and the Aryan. Let us begin with the Semitic. This word, which is only a Latinized way of saying Shemite, is given to the nations who are supposed to be descended from Shem, the second son of Noah. The nations who have spoken languages belonging to this Semitic family have been those who appear so much in Old Testament history, and who played a mighty part in the world while our own ancestors were still wandering tribes, and at an age when darkness still obscured the doings of the Greeks and Romans. Foremost among all in point of age and fame stand the Egyptians, the earliest of whose recorded kings, MENES, is believed to date back as far as 5000 B.C. Next in antiquity come the Chaldæans, who have left behind them great monuments in the ancient cities Erech and Ur, and their successsors the Assyrians and Babylonians. Abraham himself, we know, was a Chaldæan, and from him descended the Hebrew nation, who were destined to shed the highest honor on the Semitic race. Yet, so great may be the degeneration of some races and the rise of others, so great may be the divisions which thus spring up between peoples who were once akin, it is also true that all those people, whom the Children of Israel were specially commanded to fight against and even to exterminate—the Canaanites, the Moabites, and the Edomites—were likewise of Semitic family. The Phœnicians are another race from the same stock who have made their mark in the world. We know how, coming first from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon, they led the art of navigation, sent colonies to various parts of the world, and foremost among these founded Carthage, the rival and almost the destroyer of Rome. Our list of celebrated Semitic races must close with the Arabs, the founders of Mohammedanism, the conquerors at whose name all Europe used to tremble, whose kingdoms once extended in an unbroken line from Spain to the banks of the Indus.

78. Such a list gives no mean place to the Semitic family of nations; but those of the Aryan stock are perhaps even more conspicuous. This family (which is sometimes called Japhetic, or descendants of Japhet) includes the Hindus and Persians among Asiatic nations, and almost all the peoples of Europe. It may seem strange that we English should be related not only to the Germans and Dutch and Scandinavians, but to the Russians, French, Spanish, Romans, and Greeks as well; stranger still that we can claim kinship with such distant peoples as the Persians and Hindus. Yet such is the case, and the way in which all these different nations once formed a single people, speaking one language, and their subsequent dispersion over the different parts of the world in which we now find them, affords one of the most interesting inquiries within the range of pre-historic study. What seems actually to have been the case is this: In distant ages, somewhere about the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes, and on the north of that mountainous range called the Hindoo-Koosh, dwelt the ancestors of all the nations we have enumerated, forming at this time a single and united people, simple and primitive in their way of life, but yet having enough of a common national life to preserve a common language. They called themselves Aryas or Aryans, a word which, in its very earliest sense, seems to have meant those who move upward, or straight; and hence, probably, came to stand for the noble race as compared with other races on whom, of course, they would look down

79. How long these Aryans had lived united in this their early home it is, of course, impossible to say; but as the tribes and families increased in numbers, a separation would naturally take place. Large associations of clans would move into more distant districts, the connection between the various bodies which made up the nation would be less close, their dialects would begin to vary, and thus the seeds of new nations and languages would be sown. The beginning of such a separation was a distinction which arose between a part of the Aryan nation, who stayed at the foot of the Hindoo-Koosh and mountains, and in all the fertile valleys which lie there, and another part which advanced farther into the plain. This latter received the name *Yavanas*, which seems to have meant the protectors, and was probably given to them because they stood as a sort of foreguard between the Aryans, who still dwelt under the shadow of the mountains, and the foreign nations of the plains. And now, their area being enlarged, they began to get still more separated from each other; while at the same time, as their numbers increased, the space wherein they dwelt became too small for them who had out of one formed many different peoples. Then began a series of *migrations*, in which the collection of tribes who spoke one language and formed one people started off to seek their fortune in new lands, and thus forever broke off association with their kindred and their old Aryan home. One by one the different nations among the Yavanas (the protectors) were infected with this new spirit of adventure, and though they took different routes, they all traveled westward, and arrived in Europe at last.

80. A not improbable reason has been suggested for these migrations. It is known that, in spite of the immense volume of water which the Volga is daily pouring into it, the Caspian Sea is gradually drying up, and it

has been conjectured as highly probable that hundreds of years ago the Caspian was not only joined to the Sea of Aral, but extended over a large district which is now sandy desert. (*See chap. I.*) The slow shrinking in its bed of this sea would, by decreasing the rainfall, turn what was once a fertile country into a desert; and if we suppose this result taking place while the Aryan nations were gradually increasing in numbers, the effect would be to drive them, in despair of finding subsistance in the ever-narrowing fertile tract between the desert and the mountains, to seek for new homes elsewhere. This, at any rate, is what they did. First among them, in all probability, started the Kelts or Celts, who, traveling perhaps to the south of the Caspian and the north of the Black Sea, found their way to Europe, and spread far on to the extreme west. At one time, it is most likely that the greater part of Europe was inhabited by Kelts, who either exterminated or partly mingled with the stone-age men whom they found there. As far as we know of their actual extension in historic times, however, we find this Keltic family living in the north of Italy, in Switzerland, over all the continent of Europe west of the Rhine, and in the British Isles. For the Gauls, who then inhabited the northern part of continental Europe west of the Rhine, the ancient Britons, and probably the Iberians, the ancient inhabitants of Spain, belonged to this family. The Highland Scotch, who belong to the old blood, call themselves Gaels, and their language Gaelic, which is moreover so like the old Irish language that a Highlander could make himself understood in Ireland; perhaps he might do so in Wales, where the inhabitants are likewise Kelts. This word Gael is practically the same as Gaul. In the earliest times of the Roman republic the Gauls, as we know, inhabited all the north of Italy, and used often to make successful incursions down the very center of the peninsula. Beyond the Alps they extended right up into Belgium, which formed part of ancient Gaul. So much for the Kelts.

81. Another of the great families who left the Aryan home was the Pelasgic, or the Græco-Italic. These, journeying along first southward and then to the west, passed through Asia Minor, on to the countries of Greece and Italy, and in time separated into those two great peoples, the Greeks (or Hellenes, as they came to call themselves), and the Romans. How little did these rival nations deem that they had once been brothers and traveled together in search of new homes! All recollection of these early journeyings was lost to the Greeks and Romans, who, when we find them in historic times had invented quite different stories to account for their origin.

82. Next we come to two other great families of nations who seem to have taken the same route at first, and perhaps began their travels together as the Greeks and Romans did. These are the Teutons and the Slavs. They seem to have traveled by the north of the Caspian and Black Sea, extending over all the south of Russia, and down to the borders of Greece; then gradually to have pushed on to Europe, ousting the Kelts from the eastern portion, until we find them in the historical period threatening the borders of the Roman empire on the Rhine and the Danube. Probably the Teutons pushed on most to the west, and left the Slavs behind. For of the nations who from the beginning of the fifth century of our era began the final invasion and dismemberment of the Roman empire, the majority seemed to be Teuton. We have already said what are the nations which compose the Teutonic, or be it, for the words are the same, the Deutsch, or Dutch family. They are the Scandinavians—that is to say, the inhabitants of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland, the English, the Dutch and Flemings (most of the old Keltic inhabitants of Belgium had been driven out subsequently by Teutonic invaders), and the Germans. Lastly, we come to the Slavonians (Slavs), about whom we have been hearing a good deal in the papers lately. This name has no etymological connection, as is sometimes ignorantly said, with our word slave, which has dropped out a *c* between the *s* and the *l*. The word Slav comes from *slowan*, which in old Slavonian meant to speak, and was given by the Slavonians to themselves as the people who could speak, in opposition to other nations whom, as they were not able to understand them, they were pleased to consider as dumb. The Greek word *barbaroi* (whence our "barbarians") arose, in obedience to a like prejudice, only from an imitation of babbling such as is made by saying "bar-bar-bar." The Slavons probably never got farther westward than Bohemia and the north-east of Germany: the greater part of modern Prussia was inhabited by Slavs till about the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. But they spread northward, driving before them the *Turanian* Lapps and Finns, and southward over all those Turkish provinces about which there is now so much dispute, and again westward into Poland and Bohemia. At the present day the inhabitants of Russia, Poland, Livonia. Lithuania, Bohemia, and most of the South Danubian provinces speak different dialects of the Slavonian tongue.

83. After he has thus classed the different families of nations, another mine of almost infinite wealth is open to the researches of the philologist—a mine too which has at present been only broached. He soon learns the laws governing the changes of sound from one tongue into another. We have noticed some of these experimental laws in the simple relationships as between English and German, where "tag" becomes "day,"

"dorf" "thorpe," and the like; and all relationships of language are answerable to similar rules. There are laws for the change of sound from Sanskrit into the primitive forms of Greek, Latin, German, English, etc., just as there are laws of change between the first two or the last two.* So we soon learn to recognize a word in one language which reappears in altered guise in another. And it may be well guessed how valuable such knowledge may be made. If the word signify some common object, a weapon, a tool, an animal, a house, it is not over-likely that it will have changed from the time when it was first employed: the words of present employment, we know, have little tendency to change. So that the time when this word was first used is in all probability the time when the *thing* was first known to primitive man; and if the word is common to the whole Aryan family, or if it is peculiar to a portion only, then the thing was known or unknown before the separation of the Aryan folk. It might well have happened that when the migrations began our ancestors were still like the stone-age men of the shell-mounds, still in the hunter condition; that they knew nothing of domesticated animals, or of pastures and husbandmen: or it might be again that they had left the pastoral state long behind, and that all their ideas associated themselves with agriculture, with the division of the land, and with the recurring seasons for planting But language shows us that they had at most only begun some attempts at cultivation, as a supplement to their natural means of livelihood, their flocks and herds: for among the words common to the whole Aryan race there are scarcely any connected with farming, whereas they are redolent of the herd, the cattle-fold, the herdsman, the milking-time. Even the word daughter, which corresponds to the Greek *thugater* and the Sanskrit *duhitar*, means in the last language "the milker," and that seems to throw back the practice of milking to a vastly remote antiquity.†

84. On the other hand, the various Indo-European branches have different names for the plow, one name for the German races, another for the Græco-Italic, and for the Sanskrit. And though *aratrum* has a clear connection with a Sanskrit root *ar*, it is not absolutely certain that it ever had in this language the sense of ploughing, and not merely of wounding, whence came the expression for ploughing as of wounding the earth.

85. **Or say we wish to form some notion of** the social life of the Aryans. Had they extended ideas of tribal government? Had they kings, or were they held together only by the units of family life? Our answer would come from an examination of their common word for "king." If they have no common word, then we may guess that the title and office of kingship arose among the separate Aryan peoples and received a name from each. Or is it that their common word for king had first some simpler signification, "father," perhaps, showing that among the Aryan folk the social bond was still confined within the real or immaginary boundary of the family? But in fact we do find a common word for king in several of the languages which has no subsidiary meaning less than that of *directing*, or keeping straight. This is the Latin *rex*, the Gothic *rîks*, Sanskrit *rig*, etc., and its earliest ascertainable meaning was "the director." The Aryans then, even in those days, acknowledged as supreme* some director chosen (probably) from out of the tribe, a chief to lead their common warlike or migratory expeditions.

86. These are but illustrations of the method upon which all conclusions touching these our ancestors are founded, and the manner of our knowledge concerning them; far better obtained than merely by gazing upon the instruments which have fallen from their hands, or the monuments they might have raised to commemorate the dead. It is in fact just the difference between Shakespeare's statue in Westminster Abbey and that "livelong monument" whereof Milton spoke. By perfecting beyond the power of any other race the wonderfully complex faculty of speech the Aryans secured that their memory should be handed on the more certainly, and with far greater completeness, than by records left palpable to men's eyes and hands. Many of their secret thoughts might be unlocked by the same key. Already the same means are being used to give us glimpses of their religious ideas. For the *names* of the common Aryan gods can be arrived at by just the same comparative method: it may well happen that a name which is only a proper name in one language, can in another be traced to a root which unravels its original meaning. It is as with the word *daughter*. Here the Sanskrit root seems to unravel the hidden—the lost, and so hidden—meaning in the Greek or English words. So with a god, the meaning, hidden in the name from those who used it in prayer or praise, becomes revealed to us by the divining rod of our science.

87. And it is true, nevertheless, that the mine of wealth thus opened has as yet been but cursorily explored.† There are far more

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*The principal among these laws were elaborated by JACOB GRIMM, and hence called "Grimm's laws." They may be seen in his *Teutonic Grammar*, and also in his *History of the German Tongue*.

†Because they would be hardly like to give a fresh name to such an intimate relationship as the daughter. On the other hand, it seems necessary that the Aryan race must have been in the hunter state at some period, and equally necessary that they must *then* have had a word for daughter. Milking, it may be urged, might be practised before the domestication of animals.

*Supreme, because his title became a supreme title among these *different* Aryan stocks.

† And this without any reproach to the industry of those at work. The volumes of **KUHN'S** ***Zeitschr. für verg. Sprachforschung***, and M. **PICTET'S** fas-

and greater fish in this sea than ever came out of it. A strictly scientific method might be found for classifying and tracing the changes which words undergo. Sometimes a word is found greatly modified; sometimes it survives almost intact between the different tongues. There must be some reason for this.

88. The question might be answered by means of an elaborate classification under the head of the alterations which words have experienced,* and such a comparative vocabulary would lead to the solution of infinite questions concerning the growth of nations. We should be able to look almost into the minds of people long ago, better than we can examine the minds of contemporary races in a lower mental condition, and see what ideas took a strong hold upon them, what things they treated as realities, what metaphorically, and how large for them was the empire of imagination. Then there is the boundless region of proper names, both those of persons and geographical names. These last in every country bear a certain witness to the races who have passed through that country, and show—roughly at least—the order of their appearance there. The older geographical names are those of natural features, rivers, mountains, lakes, which have been never absent from the scene; the newer names are given to the works of man. In our own country it is so. The names of our rivers (Thames, Ouse, Severn, Wye) are Keltic, *i.e.* British; those of our towns are Teutonic, Saxon or Norse. Some few Roman names linger on, as in the name and termination "Chester;" but this, as meaning a place of strength, shows us clearly the reason of its survival. Every European country has changed hands, as ours has done; nay, every country in the world.† So here again we have promise of plenty of work for the philologist in compiling a "Glossary of Proper Names" with etymologies.

89. Lastly, let it not be forgotten that a great part of all that has been done for the Aryan can be done likewise for the Semitic languages—a field scarcely yet turned by the plow, and the reader will confess the debt the world is likely some day to owe to Comparative Philology.

CHAPTER V.

THE NATIONS OF THE OLD WORLD.

90. When we try and gather into one view the results of our inquiries upon the kindreds and nations of the old world, it must be confessed we are struck rather by the extent of our ignorance than of our knowledge. For all the light we are able to shed, the movements and the passage of the various races in this pre-historic time appear to the eye of the mind most like the movement of great hosts of men seen dimly through a mist. Or shall we say that we are in the position of persons living upon some one of many great military highways, while before their eyes pass continually bodies of troops in doubtful progress to and fro, affording to them, where they stand, no indication of the order of battle or plan of the campaign? Still, to men in such a position there would be more or less of intelligence possible in the way in which they watched the steps of those who passed before them; and we, too, though we cannot attempt really to follow the track of mankind down from the earliest times, may yet gather some idea of the changing positions which from age to age have been occupied by the larger divisions of our race.

91. In the Bible narrative continuous history begins, at the earliest, not before the time of ABRAHAM. In the earlier chapters of Genesis we find only scattered notices of individuals who dwelt in one particular corner of the world, nothing to indicate the general distribution of races, or the continuous lapse of time. It is, moreover, a fact that, owing partly to the associations of childhood, we are apt, by a too literal interpretation, to rob the narrative of some part of its historical value. Here, proper names, which we might be inclined to take for the names of single individuals, often stand for whole races, and sometimes for the countries which gave their names to the people dwelling in them. "Son of," too, must not be taken in its most literal meaning, but in the wider, and in old languages the perfectly natural, sense of "descended from." When nations kept the idea of a common ancestor before their minds, in a way with which we of the present day are quite unfamiliar, it was very customary to describe any one person of that people as the "son of" the common ancestor. Thus a Greek who wished to bring before his hearers the common nationality of the Greek people—the Hellenes—would speak of them as being the sons of Hellen, of the Æolians or Ionians as sons of Æolus or Ion. In an-

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cinating *Origines indo-européennes*, are warehouses (let us say, to keep our simile intact) which display the treasures already obtained.

* Such a book as we have imagined—and which we may soon look for, not, alas! from English, but from German scholarship—would form a natural sequel to the principles of comparative grammar as laid down by BOPP, etc. It would differ from a mere comparative dictionary in the arrangement, showing the nature and extent of modification which each word had undergone—where, for instance, GRIMM'S laws of change hold good, where not; the cases of the survival of archaic forms (agreeable to GRIMM'S *second law*); and, necessarily resulting from such a classification, the *reasons* of such survival among any of the different races.

† I have been told that the late LORD STRANGFORD, a great linguist, and a comparative philologist to boot, could always find amusement for an idle half hour in a book of which the reader would probably think, if asked to name the most uninteresting of created things—I mean BRADSHAW English or foreign; and his interest lay in extracting the hidden meaning and history which lay concealed in these lists of geographical names.

other way, again, an Athenian or Theban might speak of his countrymen as sons of Athens or of Thebes. Such language among any ancient people is not poetical or hyperbolical language, but the usual speech of every day. So it is with the Bible narrative, the earlier events are passed rapidly over. And if the remains of the stone ages lift a a little the veil which hides man's earliest doings upon earth, it must be confessed that the light which these can shed is but slight and partial. We catch sight of a portion of the human race making their rude implements of stone and bone, living in caves as hunters and fishers, without domestic animals and without agriculture, but not without faculties which raise them far above the level of the beasts by which they are surrounded. Yet of these early men we may say we know not whence they come or whither they go. We cannot tell whether the picture which we are able to form of man of the earliest time—of the first stone age—is a general or a partial picture; whether it represents the majority of his fellow-creatures, or only a particular race strayed from the first home of man.

92. We must therefore content ourselves to resign the hope of anything like a review of man's life since the beginning. Before we see him clearly, he had probably spread far and wide over the earth, and already separated into the four most important divisions of the race. In the present day, man may be divided into four or five main divisions. The black, white, red, and yellow races of mankind are so named from the colors of their skins, but have each many other peculiarities of form and feature. The black race may again be divided into the negroes of Africa and those of Australia, for these are of quite separate types. These last, the two black races, are the least interesting people to be found over the face of the globe, for there is nothing to show that from the very earliest ages to which we can reascend they were not living just the same savage lives they are living now. Therefore, as they seem to have gone through no changes, and have never, until quite recent days, come into contact with historical peoples, they do not fall within the limit of our inquiry. For similar reasons we may dismiss the red race which peoples the whole continent of America, saving the extreme north. Not that these have never changed or attained to any sort of civilization, for we do find the traces of a certain primitive culture among them, but because we have no means of connecting this civilization with the history of that part of the world which has had a history.

93. We are therefore left to deal with the two remaining classes, the yellow and the white. The oldest, that is to say apparently the least changed, of these is the yellow race, and perhaps their most typical representatives are the Chinese. The type is a sufficiently familiar one. "The skull of the yellow race is rounded in form. The oval of the head is larger than with Europeans. The cheekbones are very projecting; the cheeks rise toward the temples, so that the outer corners of the eyes are elevated; the eyelids seem half closed. The forehead is flat above the eyes. The bridge of the nose is flat, the chin short, the ears disproportionately large and projecting from the head. The color of the skin is generally yellow, and in some branches turns to brown. There is little hair on the body; beard is rare. The hair of the head is coarse, and, like the eyes, almost always black."* In the present day the different families of the globe have gone through the changes which time and variety of climate slowly bring about in all; and the yellow race have not escaped these influences. While some of its members have, by a mixture with white races or by gradual improvement, reached a type not easily distinguishable from the European, others have, by the effect of climate, approached more nearly to the characteristics of the black family. We may, however, still class these divergent types under the head of the yellow race which we consequently find extending over a vast portion of our globe. Round the North Pole the Esquimaux, the Lapps, and the Finns form a belt of people belonging to this division of mankind. Over all Northern and Central Asia the various tribes of Mongolian or Turanian race inhabiting the plains of Siberia and of Tartary, the Thibetans, the Chinese, Siamese, and other kindred peoples of Eastern Asia, are members of this yellow family. From the Malay peninsula the same race has spread southward, passing from land to land over the countless isles which cover the South Pacific, until they have reached the islands which lie around the Australian continent. A wide tract of land, stretching from Greenland in a curved line, through North America and China, downward to the southern portion of Van Diemen's Land or New Zealand, and again westward from China through Tartary or Siberia, up to Lapland in the north of Europe.

94. From the results of the previous chapter we see that to the yellow race must be attributed all those peoples of Europe and Asia which speak either monosyllabic or agglutinative languages, and therefore that for the white race are left the inflected tongues. These, it will be remembered, we divided into two great families, the Semitic and the Aryan or Japhetic. We thus see that from the earliest times to which we are able to point we have living in Europe and Asia these three divisions of the human family, whom we may look upon as the descendants of Ham, Shem, and Japhet. What relationship the other excluded races of mankind, the

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* LENORMANT, *Manual of the Ancient History of the East*, vol. i. p. 55.

black and red, bear to the Hamites, Shemites, and Japhetites, is a question as yet too undecided for discussion here. Beyond the pure Shemites, that is in the north of Africa and on the shores of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, lived in earliest ages a race whom it is difficult to classify under any of these heads. They may have been formed by an admixture of Shemites with the real negroes, or from a like admixture with the Turanian races. A partially Turanian origin we may be pretty sure they had. These people are called in the Bible Cushites, and formed the stock from which the Egyptian and Chaldæan nations were mainly formed.

95. But though from the earliest times there were probably in Asia these three divisions of mankind, their relative position and importance was very different from what it is now. Every year the Turanian races are shrinking and dwindling before the descendants of Japhet. At the moment at which I write it is the Aryan Slavs who are endeavoring to push the Mongolian Turks from their last foothold in Europe;[*] and great as is the space which the Turanian people now occupy over the face of the globe, there is reason to believe that in early pre-historic times they were still more widely extended. In all probability the men of the polished-stone age in Europe and Asia were of this yellow-skinned Mongolian type. We know that the human remains of this period seem to have come from a round-skulled people; and this roundness of the skull is one of the chief marks of the Mongolians as distinguished from the white races of mankind. We know too that the earliest inhabitants of India belonged to a Turanian, and therefore to a yellow, race; and that Turanians mingled with one of the oldest historical Semitic peoples, and helped to produce the civilization of the Chaldæans. And as, moreover, we find in various parts of Asia traces of a civilization similar to that of Europe during the latter part of the polished-stone age, it seems not unreasonable, in casting our eye back upon the remotest antiquity on which research sheds any light, to suppose an early widespread Turanian or Mongolian family extending over the greater part of Europe and Asia. These Turanians were in various stages of civilization or barbarism, from the rude condition of the hunters and fishers of the Danish shell-mounds to a higher state reigning in Central and Southern Asia, and similar to that which was afterward attained toward the end of the polished-stone age in Europe. The earliest home of these pure Turanians was probably a region lying somewhere to the east of Lake Aral. "There," says a writer from whom we have already quoted, "from very remote antiquity they had possessed a peculiar civilization, characterized by gross Sabeism, peculiarly materialistic tendencies, and complete want of moral elevation; but at the same time, by an extraordinary development in some branches of knowledge, great progress in material culture in some respects, while in others they remained in an entirely rudimentary state. This strange and incomplete civilization exercised over great part of Asia an absolute preponderance, lasting, according to the historian **Justin**, 1500 years."[*]

96. As regards its pre-historic remains, we know that this civilization, or half-civilization, was especially distinguished by the raising of enormous grave-mounds and altar-stones, and it must have been characterized by strong, if not by the most elevated, religious ideas, and by a peculiar reverence paid to the dead. Now it is by characteristics very similar to these that the civilization of Egypt is distinguished, and Egypt, of all nations which have possessed a history, is the oldest.

97. Are we not justified, therefore, in considering this Egyptian civilization, which is in some sort the dawn of history in the world, as the continuation—the improvement, no doubt, but still the continuation—of the half-civilization of the age of stone, a culture handed on from the Turanian to the Cushite peoples? We may look upon this very primitive form of culture as spreading first through Asia, and later on outward to the west. Four thousand and five thousand years before Christ are the dates disputed over as those of Menes, the first recorded King of Egypt. And Egypt even at this early time seems to have emerged from the age of stone and been possessed, at any rate, of bronze. The second date, 4000 B. C., probably marks the beginning of the more extended stone-age life of Europe. It was therefore with this early culture as it has been with subsequent completed civilizations,

> "Nosque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis,
> Illic sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper."

98. The Egyptian civilization which (for us) begins with Menes, say 4000 B. C., reaches its zenith under the third and fourth dynasties, under the builders of the pyramids some eight hundred or a thousand years afterward. Then in its full strength the Egyptian life rises out of the past like a giant peak, or like its own pyramids out of the sandy plains. It is cold and rigid, like a mass of granite, but it is so great that it seems to defy all efforts of time. Even when the Egyptians first come before us everything seems to point them out as a people already old, whether it be their enormous tombs and

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[*] Not that this particular foothold has descended to the Turks from early times. In the few centuries after Mohammedism was introduced among them, the Turanians of Central Asia rose into great power, overturned the Arab Chalifate, and invaded India, Persia, and Europe. From this period dates the power of the Turks or Osmanlees.

[*] Lenormant, *Manual*, i. 343. It should be remarked that the authority of Justin on such a point is not high.

temples, their elaborately ordered social life, or their complicated religious system, with its long mysterious ritual. For all this, the Egyptian life and thought present two elements of character which may well spring from the union of two distinct nationalities. Its enormous tombs and temples and its excessive care for the bodies of the dead—for what are the pyramids but exaggerations of the stone-age grave-mounds, and the temples but improvements upon the megalithic dolmens?—recall the era of stone-age culture. The evident remains of an early animal worship show a descent from a low form of religion, such a religion as we find among Turanian or African races. But with them co existed some much grander features. The Egyptians were intellectual in the highest degree,—in the highest degree then known to the world; and, unlike the stone-age men, succeeded in other than merely mechanical arts. In astronomy they were rivalled by but one nation, the Chaldæans; in painting and sculpture they were at the head of the world, and were as nearly the inventors of history as of writing itself,—not *quite* of either, as will be seen hereafter. Mixed too with their animal worship were some lofty religious conceptions stretching not only beyond *it*—the animal worship—but beyond that "natural," polytheism which was the earliest creed of our own ancestors the Ayrans; and a noble hope and ambition for the future of the soul. Were these higher facts due to the influx of Semitic blood? It seems likely, when we remember how from the same race came a chosen people to whom the world is indebted for all that is greatest in religious thought.

99 During the fourth and fifth dynasties, or some three or four thousand years before Christ, Egypt and the Egyptians do, as we have said, rise up distinctly out of the region of mere conjecture. Three or four thousand years before Christ—five or six thousand years ago: this is no small distance through which to look back to the place where the first mountain-peak of history appears in view. What was doing in the other unseen regions round this mountain? Or, in plainer language, what was the life of the other peoples of the world at this time? Perhaps in two places upon the globe and no more might then have been found a civilization at all comparable with that of Egypt. These places are the Tigro-Euphrates valley and China.

100. The kingdom of the Chaldæans lay in the lower regions of the Tigris and Euphrates, where the rivers approach their streams to one another and to the Persian Gulf. The land through which the rivers flow is a broad alluvial plain, lying like Egypt closely encompassed by sandy desert, so as to form the second oasis (Egypt being the first) which breaks the monotonous belt of waste land stretching southwest and northeast, across the whole of our older hemisphere. It was natural that these two fruitful plains—rivalling each other in productiveness of soil—should be the earliest hotbeds for unfolding the germs of civilization planted by Turanian men.

101. It is here, in the Tigro-Euphrates basin, that the Bible places the earliest history of the human race. "And it came to pass that as they journeyed from the East they found a plain in the land of Shinar; and they dwelt there."—*Genesis* xi. 2. Here, too, is placed the building of Babel, and the subsequent dispersion of the human family. The oldest monuments of the country show it inhabited by a mixed people speaking a language Semitic in form, but Cushite and also Turanian in vocabulary. Here, therefore, the Turanian element was more marked than upon the banks of the Nile.

102. The civilization was also later than in Egypt. The earliest chronicles upon which we can place reliance begin about 2234 B.C., with NIMROD "the son of Cush," *i. e.*, of Cushite or Ethiopian race. This was not many hundred years before the time of ABRAHAM. The cities which he built were, says the Bible, Erech and Ur (the present Warka and Mugheir), Accad and Calneh, of all which some monumental remains are still left. After a while the reigning family of NIMROD gave place—whether through conquest or not we do not know—to another, still of the same race, coming from Elam, a neighboring country, including part of the mountainous country north of the Tigro-Euphrates basin; and this country was incorporated with older Chaldæa. The accession of strength thus gained to his crown induced one of the kings of the Elamitic line, KUDURLAGOMER (CHEDORLAOMER) by name, to aspire toward a wider empire. He sent his armies against the Semitic nations on his west, who were now beginning to settle down in cities, and to enjoy their share of the civilization of Egypt and Chaldæa. These he subdued, but after sixteen years they rebelled; and it was after a second expedition to punish their recalcitrancy, wherein he had conquered the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah. and had among the prisoners taken LOT, the nephew of ABRAHAM, that CHEDORLAOMER was pursued and defeated by the patriarch. "And when ABRAHAM heard that his brother was taken captive, he armed his trained servants, born in his own house, three hundred and eighteen, and pursued them unto Dan. And he divided himself against them, he and his servants, by night, and smote them, and pursued them unto Hobah, which is on the left hand of Damascus. And he brought back all the goods, and also brought again his brother LOT, and his goods, and the women also, and the people."—*Genesis* xiv.

103. The conquest of a powerful Chaldæan king by a handful of wandering Semites seems extraordinary, and might have sounded a note of warning to the ear of the

Chaldæans. The kingdom was destined soon to be overthrown by another Semitic people. After a duration of about half a thousand years for the Elamite kingdom, and some seven hundred years since the time of NIMROD, the Chaldæan dynasty was overthrown and succeeded by an Arabian one, that is, by a race of nomadic Shemites from the Arabian plains; and after two hundred and forty-five years they in their turn succumbed to another more powerful people of the same race, the Assyrians. The empire thus founded upon the ruins of the old Chaldæan was one of the greatest of the ancient world, as we well know from the records which meet us in the Bible. Politically it may be said to have balanced the power of Egypt. But the stability of this monarchy rested upon a basis much less firm than that of Egypt; the southern portion—the old Chaldæa—of which Babylon was the capital, was always ready for revolt, and after about seven hundred years the Babylonians and Medes succeeded in overthrowing their former conquerors. All this belongs to history—or at least to chronicle—and is, therefore, scarcely a part of our present inquiry.

104. The *Chinese* profess to extend their lists of dynasties seven, eight, or even ten thousand years backward, but there is nothing on which to rest such extravagant pretensions. Their earliest known book is believed to date from the twelfth century before Christ. It is, therefore, not probable that they possessed the art of writing more than fifteen hundred years before our era, and before writing is invented there can be no reliable history. The best record of early times *then* is to be found in the popular songs of a country, and of these China possessed a considerable number, which were collected into a book—the Book of Odes—by their sage CONFUCIUS (KU-FU-TSE). The picture which these odes present is of a society so very different from that of the time from which their earliest book—the Book of Changes—dates, that we cannot refuse to credit it with a high antiquity. From the songs we learn that before China coalesced into the monarchy which has lasted so many years its inhabitants lived in a sort of feudal state, governed by a number of petty princes and lords. The pastoral life which distinguished the surrounding Turanian nations had already been exchanged for a settled agricultural one, to which houses, and all the civilization which these imply, had long been familiar. For the rest, their life seems to have been then, as now, a simple, slow-moving one, but not devoid of piety and domestic affection. This, then, is the third civilization which may have existed in the world when the pyramids were being built. It seems to be remote alike from the half-civilization of the other Mongolian people of the stone age, and from the mixed Turanian-Semitic civilizations of Egypt and Chaldæa. To these three may we add a fourth, and believe in the great antiquity of the highest civilization of the *red* race? The trace of an early civilization in Mexico and Peru, bearing many remarkable points of resemblance to the civilization of Chaldea, is undoubted; but there is nothing to show that the identity in some of their features extended to an identity in their respective epochs.

105. A greater destiny, though a more tardy development, awaited the pure Semitic and Japhetic races. Among the former we might notice many nations which started into life during the thousand years following that date of 3000 B. C., which we have taken as our starting-point. Most conspicuous among these stand the Phœnicians, who, either in their early home upon the sea-coast of Syria, or in their second home, the sea itself, or in one of their countless colonies, came into contact with almost every one of the great nations of antiquity, from the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Israelites, to the Greeks and Romans. But it is upon the life and history of the nomadic Shemites, and among them of one chosen people, that our thoughts chiefly rest. Among the prouder citied nations which inhabited the plains of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the Mediterranean to the Caspian Sea, dwelt a numerous people, more or less nomadic in their habits, under the patriarchal form of government which belonged to their mode of life. Among such a people the chief of one particular family or clan was called by GOD to escape from the influence of the idolatrous nations around, and to live that vagrant pastoral life which was in such an age most fitted for the needs of purity and religious contemplation. It is as something like a wandering Bedouin chieftain that we must picture ABRAHAM, while we watch him, now joining with some small city king against another, now driven by famine to travel with his flocks and herds as far as Egypt. Then again he returns, and settles in the fertile valley of the Jordan, where LOT leaves him, and, seduced by the luxuries of a town life, quits his flocks and herds and settles in Sodom, till driven out again by the destruction of that city. And all through we are not now reading dry dynastic lists, but the very life and thought of that old time.* To us—whose lives are so unsimple—the mere picture of this simple nomadic life of early days would have an interest and a charm; but it has a double charm and interest viewed in the light of the high destiny to which ABRAHAM and his descendants were called. Plying the homely, slighted shepherd's trade, these people—for all their

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* "Fool! why journeyest thou wearisomely in thy antiquarian fervor to gaze on the stone pyramids of Geeza, or the clay stones of Sacchara? These stand there, as I can tell thee, idle and inert, looking over the desert, foolishly enough, for the last three thousand years; but canst thou not open thy Hebrew Bible, or even LUTHER's version thereof?"—*Sartor Resartus.*

glorious destiny—lived poor and despised beside the rich monarchies of Egypt or Chaldæa; one more example, if one more were needed, how wide apart lie the empires of spiritual and of material things.

106. Up to very late times the Children of Israel bore many of the characteristics of a nomadic people. It was as a nation of shepherds that they were excluded from the national life of Egypt. For long years after their departure thence they led a wandering life, and though when they entered Palestine they found cities ready for their occupation—for the nations which they dispossessed were for the most part settled people, builders of cities—and inhabited them, and, growing corn and wine, settled partly into an agricultural life, yet the chief wealth of the nation still probably consisted in their flocks, and the greater portion of the people still dwelt in tents. This was, perhaps, especially the case with the people of the north, for even so late as the separation, when the ten tribes determined to free themselves from the tyranny of Rehoboam, we know how Jeroboam cried out, "To your tents, oh Israel." "So Israel departed unto their tents" the narrative continues. After the separation we are told that Jeroboam built several cities in his own dominions. The history of the Israelites generally may be summed up as the constant expression and the ultimate triumph of a wish to exchange their simple life and theocratic government for one which might place them more on a level with their neighbor states. At first it is their religion which they wished to change, whether for the gorgeous ritual of Egypt or for the vicious creeds of Asiatic nations; and after a while, madly forgetful of the tyrannies of a Ramses or a Tiglath-Pileser, they desire a king to reign over them in order that they may "take their place" among the other Oriental monarchies. Still their first two kings have rather the character of military leaders, the monarchy not having become hereditary; the second, the warrior-poet, the greatest of Israel's sons, was himself in the beginning no more than a simple shepherd. But under his son Solomon the monarchical government becomes assured, the country attains (like Rome under Augustus) the summit of its splendor and power, and then enters upon its career of slow and sad decline.

107. Now let us turn to the Japhetic people—the Aryans. It is curious that the date of three thousand years before Christ, from which we started in our glance over the world, should also be considered about that of the separation of the Aryan people. Till that time they had continued to live—since when we know not—in their early home near the Oxus and Jaxartes, and we are able by the help of comparative philology to gain some little picture of their life at the time immediately preceding the separation. For taking a word out of one of the Aryan languages and making allowance for the changed form which it would wear in the other tongues, if we find the same word with the same meaning reappearing in all the languages of the family, we may fairly assume that the *thing* for which it stands was known to the old Aryans before the separation. And if again we find a word which runs through all the European languages, but is not found in the Sanskrit and Persian, we guess that in this case the thing was known only to the Yavanas, the first separating body of younger Aryans, from whom it will be remembered all the European branches are descended. Thus we get a very interesting list of words, and the means of drawing a picture of the life of our primæval ancestors. The earliest appearance of the Aryans is as a pastoral people, for words derived from the pastoral life have left the deepest traces on their language. Daughter, we saw, meant originally the "milker;" the name of money, and of booty, in many Aryan languages is derived from that of cattle;* words which have since come to mean lord or prince originally meant the guardian of the cattle;† and others which have expanded into words for district or country, or even for the whole earth, meant at first simply the pasturage. So not without reason did we say that the king had grown out of the head of the family, and the pens of their sheepfolds expanded into walled cities. But though a pastoral, they do not seem to have been a nomadic race, and in this respect they differed from the Shemites of the same period, and from the Turanians, by whom they were surrounded. For the Turanian *civilization* had pretty well departed from Asia by that time, and having taught its lessons to Egypt and Chaldæa, lived on, if at all, in Europe only. There it faded before the advance of the Kelts and other Aryan people, who came bringing with them the use of bronze weapons and the civilization which belonged to the bronze age. The stone-age lingered in the lake dwellings of Switzerland, as we thought, till about two thousand years before Christ, and it may be that this date, which is also nearly that of Abraham, represents within a few hundred years the entry of the Aryans into Europe. The Greeks are generally believed to have appeared in Greece, or at least in Asia Minor, about the nineteenth century before our era, and they were probably preceded by the Latin branch of the Pelasgic family, as well as by the Kelts in the north of Europe. So that the period of one thousand years which intervened between our starting-point and the call of Abraham, the starting-point of Hebrew history, and which saw the growth and change of many

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* For example, the Hindee *rupee*, the Latin *pecunia*, and our *fee*.

† As the Sanskrit *gôpa*, a "prince," the Slavonic *hospodar* (from *gôspada*) contains the word *gô*, our "cow," and means the protector of the cattle; from same root, Sanskrit *gavya*, "pasturage," Saxon *gô*, "county," Greek *gaia*, or *gê*, "earth."

great Asiatic monarchies, must for the Japhetites be only darkly filled up by the gradual separation of the different nations, and their unknown life between this separation and the time when they again become known to history.

108. The general result then of our inquiries into the grouping of nations of the world in pre-historic times may be sketched in rough outline. At a very early date, say 4000 or 5000 B. C., arose an extensive Turanian half-civilization, which, flourishing probably in Southern Asia, spread in time to India and China upon one side, on the other side to Europe. This was throughout, so far as we can tell, a stone age, and was especially distinguished by the raising of great tombs and grave-mounds. This civilization was communicated to the Egyptians and Chaldæans, a mixed people—Semite, Turanian, Ethiopian—who were not strangers to the use of metals. As early as 3,000 years before our era the civilization of Egypt had attained its full growth, and had probably even then a considerable past. Chaldæa, too, and China were both advanced out of their primitive state; *possibly* so also were Peru and Mexico. But the pure Semite people, the ancestors of the Jews and the Aryans, were still pastoral races, the one by the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, the other by the banks of the Jaxartes and the Oxus. The first of these continued pastoral and nomadic for hundreds of years, but about this time the Western Aryans separated from those of the East, and soon after added some use of agriculture to their shepherd life. Then between 3000 and 2000 B. C. came the separation of the various peoples of the Western Aryans and their migration toward Europe, where they began to appear at the latter date. After all the Western Aryans had left the East, the older Aryans seem to have lived on for some little time together, and at last to have separated into the nations of Iranians and Hindus, the first migrating southward, and the second crossing the Hindoo-Koosh, and descending into the plains of the Indus and Ganges. Thence they drove away or exterminated most of the older Turanian inhabitants, as their brethren had a short time before done to the Turanians whom they found in Europe. Such were the doings of the different kindreds and nations and languages of the old world in times long before history.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY SOCIAL LIFE.

109. We have seen, so far, that the early traces of man's existence point to a gradual improvement in the state of his civilization, to the acquirement of fresh knowledge, and the practice of fresh arts. The rude stone implements of the early drift-period are replaced by the more carefully manufactured ones of the polished-stone age, and these again are succeeded by implements of bronze and of iron. By degrees also the arts of domesticating animals and of tilling the land are learnt; and by degrees the art of writing is developed from the early pictorial rock-sculptures. Now, in order that each step in this process of civilization should be preserved for the benefit of the next generation, and that the people of each period should start from the vantage-ground obtained by their predecessors, there must have been frequent intercommunication between the different individuals who lived at the same time; so that the discovery or improvement of each one should be made known to others, and become part of the common stock of human knowledge. In the very earliest times, then, men probably lived collected together in societies of greater or less extent. We know that this is the case now with all savage tribes; and as in many respects the early races of the drift-beds seem to have resembled some now existing savage tribes in their mode of life, employing to a certain extent, the same implements, and living on the same sort of food, this adds to the probability of their gregariousness. The fact, too, that the stone implements of the drift-period have generally been found collected near together in particular places, indicates these places as the sites of early settlements. Beyond this, however, we can say very little of the social state of these drift-bed people. No trace of any burial-ground or tomb of so great an antiquity has yet been found, and all that we can say of them with any certainty is, that their life must have been very rude and primitive. Although they were collected together in groups, these groups could not have been large, and they must have been generally situated at a considerable distance from each other, for the only means for support for the men of that time was derived from hunting and fishing. Now it requires a very large space of land to support a man who lives entirely by hunting; and this must have been more particularly the case in those times when the weapons used by the huntsman were so rude that it is difficult for us now to understand how he could ever have succeeded in obtaining an adequate supply of food by such means. Supposing that the same extent of territory were required for the support of a man in those times as was required in Australia by the native population, the whole of Europe could only have supported about 67,000 inhabitants, or about one person to every 4,000 now in existence.

110. The earliest traces of anything like fixed settlements which have been found are the "kitchen-middens." The extent of some of these clearly shows that they mark the dwelling-places of considerable numbers

of people collected together. But here only the rudest sort of civilization could have existed, and the bonds of society must have been as primitive and simple as they are among savage tribes at the present time, who support existence in much the same way as the shell-mound people did. In order that social customs should attain any development, the means of existence must be sufficiently abundant and easily procurable to permit some time to be devoted to the accumulation of superfluities, or of supplies not immediately required for use. But the life of the primitive hunter and fisher is so precarious and arduous, that he has rarely either the opportunity or the will for any other employment than the supply of his immediate wants. The very uncertainty of that supply seems rather to create recklessness than providence, and the successful chase is generally followed by a period of idleness and gluttony, till exhaustion of supplies once more compels to activity. That the shell-mound people were subject to such fluctuation of supply we may gather from the fact that bones of foxes and other carnivorous animals are frequently found in those mounds; and as these animals are rarely eaten by human beings, except under the pressure of necessity, we may conclude that the shell-mound people were driven to support existence by this means, through their ill-success in fishing and hunting, and their want of any accumulation of stores to supply deficiencies.

111. The next token of social improvement that is observable is in the tumuli or grave-mounds, which may be referred to a period somewhat later than that of the shell-mounds. These contain indications that the people who constructed them possessed some important elements necessary to their social progress. They had a certain amount of time to spare after providing for their daily wants, and they did not spend that time exclusively in idleness. The erection of these mounds must have been a work of considerable labor, and they often contain highly-finished implements and ornaments, which must have been put there for the use of the dead. They are evidences that no little honor was sometimes shown to the dead; so that some sort of religion must have existed among the people who constructed them. The importance of this element in early society is evident if we inquire further for whom and by whom these mounds were erected. Now they are not sufficiently numerous, and are far too laborious in their construction, to have been the ordinary tombs of the common people. They were probably tombs erected for chiefs or captains of tribes to whom the tribes were anxious to pay especial honor. We do not know at all how these separate tribes or clans came into existence, and what bonds united their members together; but so soon as we find a tribe erecting monuments in honor of its chiefs, we may conclude that it has attained a certain amount of compactness and solidity in its internal relations. Among an uneducated people there is probably no stronger tie than that of a common faith, or a common subject of reverence. It is impossible not to believe then that the people who made these great, and in some cases elaborately constructed tombs, would continue ever after to regard them as in some sort consecrated to the great chiefs who were buried under them. Each tribe would have its own specially sacred tombs, and perhaps we may here see a germ of that ancestor-worship which may be traced in every variety of religious belief.

112. It has been supposed by some that a certain amount of commerce or barter existed in the later stone age. The reason for this opinion is that implements of stone are frequently found in localities where the stone of which they are made is not native. At Presigny le Grand, in France, there exists a great quantity of a particular kind of flint which seems to have been very convenient for the manufacture of implements; for the fields there are covered with flint-flakes and chips which have been evidently knocked off in the process of chipping out the knives, and arrowheads, and hatchets which the stone-age men were so fond of. Now implements made of this particular kind of flint are found in various localities, some of which are at a great distance from Presigny; and it has therefore been supposed that Presigny was a sort of manufactory for flint weapons which were bartered to neighboring tribes, and by them again perhaps to others further off; and so these weapons gradually got dispersed. But it is also possible that the tribes of the interior, who would subsist almost exclusively by hunting, and would therefore be of a more wandering disposition than those on the sea-coast, may have paid occasional visits to this flint reservoir for the purpose of supplying themselves with weapons of a superior quality, just as the American Indians are said to go to the quarry of Coteau des Prairies on account of the particular kind of stone which is found there.

113. In any case, any system of barter which was carried on at that time was of a very primitive kind, and not of frequent enough occurrence to produce any important effects on the social condition of the people. That that condition had already advanced to some extent from its original rudeness, shows us that there existed, at all events, some capacity for improvement among the tribes which then inhabited Europe; but, when we compare them with modern tribes of savages, whose apparent condition is much the same as theirs was, and who do not seem to have made any advance for a long period, or, so far as we can judge, to be capable of making any advance by their own unassisted efforts we cannot but conclude that the stone-age people, if left to themselves, would only have

emerged out of barbarism by very slow degrees. Now we know that, about the time when bronze implements first began to be used, some very important changes also occurred in the manners and customs of the inhabitants of Europe. A custom of burning the dead supersedes then the older one of burial; domestic animals of various sorts seem to have been introduced, and the bronze implements themselves show, both in the elaborateness of their workmanship and the variety of their designs, that a great change had come over European civilization. The greatness and completeness of this change, the fact that there are no traces of those intermediate steps which we should naturally expect to find in the development of the arts, denote that this change was due to some invading population which brought with it the arts that had been perfected in its earlier home; and other circumstances point to the East as that earlier home from which this wave of civilization advanced. Language has taught us that at various times there have been large influxes of Aryan populations into Europe To the first of these Aryan invaders probably was due the introduction of bronze into Europe, together with the various social changes which appear to have accompanied its earliest use. To trace then the rise and progress of the social system which the Aryans had adopted previous to their appearance in Europe, we must go to their old Asiatic home, and see if any of the steps by which this system had sprung up, or any indications of its nature, may be extracted from the records of antiquity.

114. Hitherto scarcely any attempt has been made to discover or investigate prehistoric monuments in the East. We can no longer therefore appeal to the records of early tombs or temples, to the indications of early seats of population; but though as yet this key to Aryan history has not been made available, we have another guide ready to take us by the hand, and show us what sort of lives our ancestors used to lead in their far-off Eastern home. That guide is the science of Language, which can teach us a great deal about this if we will listen to its lessons: a rich mine of knowledge which has as yet been only partially explored, but one from which every day new information is being obtained about the habits and customs of the men of pre-historic times.

115. All that we know at present of the Aryan race indicates that its social organization originated in a group which is usually called the Patriarchal Family, the members of which were all related to each other either by blood or marriage. At the head of the family was the patriarch, the eldest male descendant of its founder; the other members consisting of all the remaining males descended on the father's side from the original ancestor, and their wives, and such of the females also descended on the father's side from the same ancestor as were still unmarried. To show more clearly exactly what people were members of the patriarchal family, we will trace such a family for a couple of generations from the original founder. Suppose then the original founder married, and with several children, both sons and daughters. All the sons would continue members of this family. The daughters would only continue members until they married, when they would cease to be members of the family of their birth, and become members of their respective husbands' families. So when the sons of the founder married, their wives would become members of the family; and such of their children as were sons would be members, and such as were daughters would be members only until they married; and so on through succeeding generations. On the founder's death he would be succeeded as patriarch by his eldest son. On the eldest son's death, he would be succeeded by *his* eldest son, if he had a son; and if not, then by his next brother. The patriarchal family also included in its circle, in later times at all events, slaves and other people, who, although perhaps not really relations at all, were *adopted* into the household, assumed the family name, and were looked upon for all purposes as if its actual members. This little group of individuals seems originally to have existed entirely independent of any external authority. It supported itself by its own industry, and recognized no other law or authority than its own. The only source of authority within this little State was the patriarch, who was originally regarded, not only as the owner of all the property of which the family was possessed, but also as having unlimited power over the different individuals of which it was composed. All the members lived together, under the same roof, or within the same inclosure. No member could say that any single thing was his own property. Everything belonged to the family, and every member was responsible to the patriarch for his actions.

116. Although originally the power of the patriarch may have been almost absolute over the other members of the family, it must very early have become modified and controlled by the growth of various customs. Indeed, in trying to picture to ourselves these early times, when as yet no regular notions of law had arisen, it is important to remember how great a force was possessed by custom. Even now, when we distinguish pretty clearly between law and custom, we still feel the great coercive and restraining powers of the latter in all the affairs of life. But when no exact notions of law had been formed, it seemed an almost irresistible argument in favor of a particular action that it had always been performed before. There would thus spring up in a household certain rules of conduct for the different members, certain fixed limits to their respective family duties. Before

any individual would be commanded by the patriarch to do any particular duty, it would come to be inquired whether it was customary for such a duty to be assigned to such an individual. Before the patriarch inflicted any punishment on a member of the family, it would come to be inquired whether and in what manner it had been customary to punish the particular act complained of. Many things would tend to increase this regard for custom. The obvious advantages resulting from regularity and certainty in the ordering of the family life would soon be felt, and thus a public opinion in favor of custom would be created. Ancestor-worship too, which plays so conspicuous a part in early Aryan civilization, acted, no doubt, as a powerful strengthener of the force of custom, as is indicated by the fact that in many nations the traditionary originator of their laws is some powerful ancestor to whom the nation is accustomed to pay an especial reverence.

117. Resulting from this development of custom into law in the early family life of the Aryans, we find that special duties soon became assigned to persons occupying particular positions. To the young men of the household were assigned the more active outdoor employments; to the maidens the milking of the cows; to the elder women other household duties. And the importance of knowing what the customs were also gave rise to the family council, or "sabhâ" as it is called in Sanskrit, which consisted of the elders of the family, the "sabhocita," presided over by the "sabhapati," or president of the assembly. The importance attached to the decisions of this council was so great, that the "sabyâ," or decrees of the "sabhâ," came to be used simply to express law or custom. It is probable therefore that this assembly regulated to a great extent the customs and laws of the family in its internal management, and also superintended any negotiations carried on with other families. To complete our picture of the patriarchal family, we have the traditions of three distinct customs affecting its internal economy. Two of these, the maintenance of the sacred house-fire, and the marriage ceremony, probably date back to a very remote period; and the third, the custom of adoption, though of later development, may be regarded, in its origin at least, as primitive. Fire is itself so wonderful in its appearance and effects, so good a servant, so terrible a master, that we cannot feel any surprise at its having attracted a great deal of attention in early times. The traces of fire worship are so widely spread over the earth that there is scarcely a single race whose traditions are entirely devoid of them. But the sacred house-fire of the Aryans is interesting to us chiefly in its connection with other family customs in which it played an important part. This fire, which was perpetually kept burning on the family hearth, seems to have been regarded in some sort, as a living family deity, who watched over and assisted the particular family to which it belonged. It was by its aid that the food of the family was cooked, and from it was ignited the sacrifice or the funeral pyre. It was the center of the family life; the hearth on which it burned was in the midst of the dwelling, and no stranger was admitted into its presence. When the members of the family met together to partake of their meals, a part was always first offered to the fire by whose aid they were prepared; the patriarch acted as officiating priest in this as in every other family ceremony; and to the patriarch's wife was confided the especial charge of keeping the fire supplied with fuel.

118. By marriage, as we have seen, a woman became a member of her husband's family. She ceased to be any longer a member of the household in which she was born, for the family life was so isolated that it would have been impossible to belong at once to two different families. So we find that the marriage ceremony chiefly consisted in an expression of this change of family by the wife. In general, however, it was preceded by a treaty between the two families, a formal offer of marriage made by the intending husband's family on his behalf, together with a gift to the bride's family, which was regarded as the price paid for the bride. If all preliminary matters went forward favorably, then, on the day fixed for the marriage, the different members of the bridegroom's family went to the household of the bride and demanded her. After some orthodox delay, in which the bride was expected to express unwillingness to go, she was formerly given up to those who demanded her, the patriarch of her household solemnly dismissing her from it and giving up all authority over her. She was then borne in triumph to the bridegroom's house; and, on entering it, was carried over the threshold, so as not to touch it with her feet; thus expressing that her entry within the house was not that of a mere guest or stranger. She was then, before the house-fire, solemnly admitted into her husband's family, and as a worshiper at the family altar.

119. This ceremony was subject to a great many variations among the different Aryan races; but in every one of them some trace of it is to be found, and always apparently intended to express the same idea, the change of the bride's family. Adoption, which in latter times became extremely common among the Romans—the race which seems in Europe to have preserved most faithfully the old Aryan family type—originated in a sort of extension of the same theory that admitted of the wife's entry into her husband's family, as almost all the details of the ceremony of adoption are copied from that of marriage. Cases must have occurred pretty often where a man might be placed in such a position as to be without a family. He may have be-

come alienated from his own kindred by the commission of some crime, or all his relatives may have died from natural causes, or been killed in war. In the condition in which society was then, such a man would be in a peculiarly unenviable position. There would be no one in whom he could trust, no one who would be the least interested in or bound to protect him. Thus wandering as an outlaw, without means of defence from enemies, and unable to protect his possessions if he chanced to have any, or to obtain means of subsistence if he had none, he would be very desirous of becoming a member of some other family, in order that he might find in it the assistance and support necessary for his own welfare. It might also sometimes happen that owing to a want of male descendants some house might be in danger of extinction. Now the extinction of a family was a matter of peculiar dread to its members. Connected with the worship of the hearth was the worship of the ancestors of the family. It was the duty of each patriarch to offer sacrifices on stated occasions to the departed spirits of his ancestors; and it was considered as a matter of the utmost importance that these sacrifices should be kept up, in order to insure the happiness of those departed spirits after death. So important indeed was this held to be that it was reckoned as one of the chief duties which each patriarch had to perform, and the family property was regarded as especially dedicated to this object in priority to every other. It would therefore be the chief care of each head of a household to leave male descendants, in order that the offerings for his own and his ancestor's benefit might be continued after his death. The only person, however, capable of performing these rites was a member of the same family, one who joined in the same worship by the same household fire: so if all the males of a family were to die out, these rites must of necessity cease.

120. Now the marriage ceremony had already supplied a precedent for introducing members into a house who were not born in it. It was very natural, then, that this principle should be extended to the introduction of males when there was any danger of the male line becoming extinct. This was done by the ceremony of adoption, which was in many respects similar to that of marriage, being a formal renunciation of the person adopted by the patriarch of his original family, in case he was a member of one, and a formal acceptance and admission into the new family of his adoption, of which he was thenceforward regarded as a regular member. This ceremony exhibits in a very marked manner the leading peculiarity of the patriarchal household. We see how completely isolated, in theory, such a group was from the rest of the world; having its own distinct worship, in which no one but its own members was permitted to share, reverencing its own ancestors only, who might receive worship from none but their descendants. So jealously was this separation of families guarded that it was impossible for a man or woman at the same time to worship at two family shrines. Though showing this isolation in the strongest light, adoption is nevertheless a mark of decay in the patriarchal family. It is an artificial grafting on the original simple stock; and however carefully men may have shut their eyes at first to its artificial nature, it must have had a gradual tendency to undermine the reverence paid to the principle of blood relationship.

121. Before we consider, however, the causes of decay of this form of society, which we shall do in the next chapter, there are some other indications of their manner of livelihood which will help us to understand the social condition of these Aryan patriarchal families. We have seen that with the introduction of bronze into Europe, certain other changes took place in the manner of men's lives. One of these is the domestication of animals. It is true that domestic animals were not altogether unknown before the bronze age in Europe; but until that time this custom had not attained any great extension. In the remains of settlements whose age is supposed to be before the introduction of bronze, by far the larger number of animals' bones found are those belonging to wild species, while those belonging to tame species are comparatively rare. This shows that the principal part of the food of those people who lived before the bronze age was obtained by hunting. After the introduction of bronze, however, exactly the reverse is the case. In these latter remains the bones of domestic animals become much more common, while those of wild animals are comparatively rare, which shows what an important revolution had taken place in men's habits.

122. It must also be remembered that many remains supposed to belong to the latter stone age may, in fact, belong to societies that existed during the bronze age, but who had not yet adopted the use of bronze, or else from their situation were unable to obtain any. As yet so little is known of how this metal was obtained at that time that it is impossible to say what situations would be least favorable for obtaining it; but considering that tin, of which bronze is partly composed, is only found in a very few places, the wonder is rather that bronze weapons are found so generally among the different remains scattered over Europe, than that they should be absent from some of them Moreover, the races that inhabited Europe before the Aryans came there would afterward remain collected together in settlements, surrounded by the invading population, for a considerable length of time before they would either be exterminated or absorbed by the more civilized race. These aborigines would adopt such of the arts and customs of the Aryans as

were most within their reach. The increased population and the greater cultivation of the land which followed the Aryan invasion would make it more difficult to obtain food from hunting, and the aborigines would therefore be compelled to adopt domestication of animals as a means of support, which they would have little difficulty in doing, as they would be able to obtain a stock to start from, either by raids on their neighbors' herds, or, perhaps, by barter. But the manufacture of bronze weapons, being a much more complicated affair than the rearing of cattle, would take a much longer time to acquire. This perhaps may account for the remains found in the lake-dwellings, some of which show a considerable degree of social advance, but an entire ignorance of the use of bronze, while in the later ones bronze weapons are also found. We may then regard the domestication of animals as one of the customs introduced into Europe by the Aryans, and as practiced by them in their Asiatic home. It was on their flocks and herds that they chiefly depended for subsistence, and the importance of the chase as a means of livelihood was very much less with them than it was with the old hunter-tribes that formed the earlier population of Europe. This in itself was a great advance in civilization. It implied a regular industry, and the possession of cattle was not only a guarantee against want, but an inducement to a more regular and orderly mode of living.

123. There are no lessons so important to uncivilized nations as those of providence and industry, and the pastoral life required and encouraged both these qualities. It was necessary to store up at one time of year food to support the cattle during another time; to preserve a sufficient number of animals to keep the stock replenished. The cows, too, had to be milked at regular times, and every night the flocks and herds had to be collected into pens to protect them from beasts of prey, and every morning to be led out again to the pasture. All this shows the existence of a more organized and methodical life than is possible in a hunter-tribe. The pastoral life, moreover, seems to be one particularly suited to the patriarchal type of society. Each little community is capable of supplying its own wants, and is also compelled to maintain a certain degree of isolation. The necessity of having a considerable extent of country for their pasturage would prevent different families from living very near each other. In its simplest state, too, the pastoral life is a nomadic one; so that the only social connection which can exist among such a people is one of kinship, for having no fixed homes they can have no settled neighbors or fellow-countrymen. The importance attached to cattle in this stage of civilization is evidenced by the frequent use of words in their origin relating to cattle, in all the Aryan languages, to express many of the ordinary incidents of life. Not only do cattle occupy a prominent place in Aryan mythology, but titles of honor, the names for divisions of the day, for the divisions of land, for property, for money, and many other words, all attest by their derivation how prominent a position cattle occupied with the early Aryans. The patriarch is called in Sanskrit "lord of the cattle," the morning is "the calling of the cattle," the evening "the milking time." The Latin word for money, *pecunia*, and our English word "fee" both come from the Aryan name for cattle. In Anglo-Saxon movable property is called "cwicfeoh," or living cattle, while immovable property, such as houses and land, is called "dead cattle." And so we find the same word constantly cropping up in all the Aryan languages, to remind us that in the pastoral life cattle are the great interest and source of wealth of the community, and the principal means of exchange employed in such commerce as is there carried on.

124. The commerce between different tribes or families seems to have been conducted at certain meeting-places agreed upon, and which were situated in the boundary-land or neutral territory between the different settlements. Almost habitually at war with each other, or at best only preserving an armed and watchful quiet—each side ready at a moment's notice to seize on any favorable opportunity for the commencement of active hostilities—regular friendly intercourse was impossible. So that when they wished for their mutual advantage to enter into amicable relations, it was necessary to establish some sort of special agreement for that purpose. It is probable, then, that when they found the advantages which could be derived from commercial exchanges, certain places were agreed upon as neutral territory where these exchanges might take place. Such places of exchange would naturally be fixed upon as would be equally convenient to both parties; and their mutual jealousy would prevent one tribe from permitting the free entrance within its own limits of members of other tribes. Places, too, would be chosen so as to be within reach of three or four different tribes; and thus the place of exchange, the market place, would be fixed in that border-land to which no tribe laid any special claim. So we see that to commerce was due the first amicable relations of one tribe to another, and perhaps our market crosses may owe their origin to some remains of the old ideas connected with the assemblies where men first learnt to look upon men of different tribes as brothers in a common humanity.

125. It took a long time, however, to mitigate that feeling of hostility which seems to have existed in early times between different communities. Even when they condescended to barter with each other they did not forget the difference between the friend and the foe. In the *Senchus Mor*, a book compiled by the

old Irish or "Brehon" lawyers, this difference between dealing with a friend and a stranger is rather curiously indicated in considering the rent of land. "The three rents," says the *Great Book of the Law*, as it is called, "are rack rent (or the extreme rent) from a person of a strange tribe, a fair rent from one of the tribe (that is one's own tribe), and the stipulated rent, which is paid equally by the tribe and the strange tribe." This distinction is generally recognized in all early communities. In dealing with a man of his own tribe, the individual was held bound in honor not to take any unfair advantage, to take only such a price, to exact only such a value in exchange, as he was legitimately entitled to. It was quite otherwise, however, in dealings with members of other tribes. Then the highest value possible might justly be obtained for any article; so that dealings at markets which consisted of exchanges between different tribes, came to mean a particular sort of trading, where the highest price possible was obtained for anything sold. It is probable that this cast, to a certain extent, a slur upon those who habitually devoted themselves to this kind of trading. Though it was recognized as just to exact as high a price as possible from the stranger, still the person who did so was looked upon to a certain extent as guilty of a disreputable action; viewed, in fact, much in the same light as usurious money lenders are viewed nowadays. They were people who did not offend against the laws of their times, but who sailed so near the wind as to be tainted, as it were, with fraud. Indeed, our word "monger," which simply means "dealer," comes from a root which, in Sanskrit, means to "deceive;" so commerce and cheating seem to have been early united, and we must therefore not be surprised if they are not entirely divorced in popular estimation even in our own time.

126. Now "mark," which, as we know, means a boundary or border-land, comes from a root which means "the chase," of "wild animals." So "mark" originally meant the place of the chase, or where wild animals lived. This gives us some sort of notion of these early settlements, whose in-dwellers carried on their commerce with each other in this primitive fashion. There were little spots of cleared or cultivated land, surrounded by a sort of jungle or primeval forest inhabited only by wild beasts. It was in such wild places as these that the first markets used to be held. Here under the spreading branches of the trees, at some spot agreed upon beforehand,—some open glade perhaps, which would be chosen because a neighboring stream afforded means of refreshment,—the fierce distrustful men would meet to take a passing glimpse at the blessings of peace. These wild border-lands which intervene also explain to us how it was that so great an isolation continued to be maintained between the different settlements. If their pasture-lands had bordered on each other immediately, if the herds of one tribe had grazed by the herds of another, there must have been much more intercommunion and mutual trust than appears to have existed.

127. The value of cattle, however, does not consist only in the food and skins which they provide. Oxen have from a very early time been employed for purposes of agriculture; and we find among the names derived from cattle many suggesting that they must have been put to this use at the time when those names arose. Thus the Greeks spoke of the evening as "boulutos," or the time for the unyoking of oxen; and the same idea is expressed in the old German word for evening "âbant" (abend), or the unbinding. This then is the next stage in social progress: when agriculture becomes the usual employment of man. With the advance of this stage begins the decay of the patriarchal life, which, as we shall see in the next chapter, gradually disappears and gives place to fresh social combinations. Though we have hitherto spoken only of the patriarchal life among the Aryans, it was still more characteristic of the Semitic race. They were essentially pastoral and nomadic in their habits, and they seem to have continued to lead a purely pastoral life much longer than the Aryans did. In the Old Testament we learn how ABRAHAM and LOT had to separate because their flocks were too extensive to feed together; and how ABRAHAM wandered about with his flocks and herds, his family and servants, dwellers in tents, leading a simple patriarchal life, much as the Arabs of the present day do. Long after the neighboring people had settled in towns, these Semitic tribes continued to wander over the intervening plains, depending for food and clothing only on their sheep and cattle and camels.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY.

128. So long as people continued to lead a wandering shepherd life, the institution of the patriarchal family afforded a sufficient and satisfactory basis for such cordial union as was possible. It was a condition of society in which the relations of the different members to each other were extremely simple and confined within very narrow boundaries; but the habits of life prevented the existence of any very complicated social order, and at the same time gave a peculiar force and endurance to those customs and ties which did exist. For while the different tribes had no settled dwelling-places, the only cohesion possible was that produced by the personal relations of the different members to each other. Those beyond the limits of the tribe or household could have no permanent connec-

tion with it. They were simply "strangers," friends or enemies, as circumstances might determine, but having no common interests, connected by no abiding link, with those who were not members of the same community. When a family became so numerous that it was necessary for its members to separate, the new family, formed under the influence of this pressure, would at first remember the parent stock with reverence, and perhaps regard the patriarch of the elder branch as entitled to some sort of obedience from, and possessing some indefinite kind of power over, it after separation. It would however soon wander away and lose all connection with its relatives, forgetting perhaps in the course of time whence it had sprung, or inventing a pedigree more pleasing to the vanity of its members. But when men began to learn to till the soil, by degrees they had to abandon their nomadic life, and to have for a time fixed dwelling-places, in order that they might guard their crops, and gather, in the time of harvest, the fruits of their labor. Cattle were no longer the only means of subsistence, nor sufficiency for pasture the only limit to migration. A part of their wealth was, for a time, bound up in the land which they had tilled and sowed, and to obtain that wealth they must remain in the neighborhood of the cultivated soil. Thus a new relationship arose between different families. They began to have neighbors; dwellers on and cultivators of the land bordering their own; so that common interests sprang up between those who had hitherto had nothing in common, new ties began to connect together those who had had formerly no fixed relations.

129. The adoption of agriculture changed likewise the relation of men to the land on which they dwelt. Hitherto the tracts of pasture over which the herdsman had driven his flocks and cattle had been as unappropriated as the open sea, as free as the air which he breathed. He neither claimed any property in the land himself, nor acknowledged any title thereto in another. He had spent no labor on it, had done nothing to improve its fertility; and his only right as against others to any locality was that of his temporary sojourn there. But when agriculture began to require the expenditure of labor on the land, and its inclosure, so as to protect the crops which had been sown, a new distinct idea of the possession of these inclosed pieces of land began to arise, so that a man was no longer simply the member of a particular family. He had acquired new rights and attributes, for which the patriarchal economy had made no provision. He was the inhabitant of a particular locality, the owner and cultivator of a particular piece of land. The effect of this change was necessarily to weaken the household tie which bound men together, by introducing new relations between them. The great strength of that early bond had consisted in its being the only one which the state of society rendered possible; and its force was greatly augmented by the isolation in which the different nomadic groups habitually lived. The adoption of a more permanent settlement thus tended in two ways to facilitate the introduction of a new social organization. By increasing the intercourse, and rendering more permanent the connection between different families, it destroyed their isolation, and therefore weakened the autocratic power of their chiefs; and at the same time, by introducing new interests into the life of the members of a family, and new relations between different families, it required the adoption of regulations sometimes necessarily opposed to the principles of patriarchal rule. We must remember, however, that the change from a nomadic to a settled state took place very gradually, some peoples being influenced by it much more slowly than others. Agriculture may be practised to a certain extent by those who lead a more or less wandering life, as is the case with the Tartar tribes, who grow buckwheat, which only takes two or three months for its production; so that at the end of that time they are able to gather their harvest and once more wander in search of new pastures. It is probable that the earliest agriculture practised was something of this rude description; and even when tribes learnt the advantage of cultivating more slowly-germinating crops, they would not readily abandon their nomadic habits, which long continuance rendered dear to them; but would only become agriculturists under the pressure of circumstances. The hunter tribes of North American Indians, and the Gipsies of Europe, serve to show us how deeply rooted the love of wandering and the dislike of settled industry may become in a people. It was probably to the difficulty of supporting existence produced by the increase of population that the more continuous pursuit of agriculture was due; and it would therefore be first regularly followed by the less warlike tribes, whose territory would be curtailed by the incursions of their bolder neighbors. No longer able to seek pasture over so extended an area as formerly, and with perhaps an increasing population, they would find the necessity of obtaining from the land a greater proportionate supply of subsistence than they had hitherto done. Agriculture would therefore have to be pursued more regularly and laboriously, and thus the habit of settlement would gradually be acquired. Under this influence we may discern a change taking place in the social state of the Aryan tribes. Gradually they become less nomadic and more agricultural; and as this takes place, there arises also a change in the relations of peoples to each other. We should naturally expect considerable variety in the effects produced on different nations by the adoption of a settled life; the results varying with the climate and locality, the sort of cultivation

followed, and the idiosyncrasies of the people. But though all these elements had their influence in determining the sort of organization which was adopted, yet one special type is found very widely among the Aryans. This form is called the Village Community, and it possesses some features apparently so peculiarly its own, that it would be difficult to decide on the cause of its adoption or growth. It will be safer with our present limited knowledge to satisfy ourselves with noting its more marked characteristics, and the localities in which it may be traced, without attempting to determine whether it is to be regarded as a natural resultant of the settlement of patriarchal families, or as inherited or evolved by some particular group of tribes.

130. The village community in its simplest state consisted of a group of families, or households, whose dwellings were generally collected together within an inclosure. To this group belonged a certain tract of land, the cultivation and proprietorship of which was the subject of minute regulations, varying in different localities to a certain extent, but based on the division of the land into three principal parts, one of which consisted of that immediately in the neighborhood of the dwellings, another of a part especially set aside for agricultural purposes, and the remaining third was the surrounding open country, which was used only for grazing. Each of these divisions was regarded as in some sort the common property of the village; but the rights of individuals in some of them were more extensive than in others. That part of the land which was annexed especially to the dwellings was more completely the property of the different inhabitants than any other. Each head of a house was entitled to the particular plot attached to his dwelling, and probably these plots, and the dwellings to which they were annexed, remained always practically in the ownership of the same family. The area of this division, however, was very insignificant when compared with the rest of the communal estate. The arable part was divided into a number of small plots, each or several of which were assigned to particular households. The mode of division of this part was very various; but generally speaking, either each household had an equal share assigned to it, or else a share in proportion to the number of its males. Redistributions of the shares took place either at stated periods, or whenever circumstances had rendered the existing division inequitable. Each household cultivated the particular share assigned to it, and appropriated to its own use the crops produced; but individuals were never allowed to adopt for themselves the mode of cultivation that they might choose. The crops to be sown, and the part of land on which they were to be sown, were all regulated by the common assembly of the whole village, as were also the times for sowing and for harvest, and every other agricultural operation; and these laws of the assembly had to be implicitly followed by all the villagers. The open or common land of the village was not divided between the households at all; but every member of the community was at liberty to pasture his flocks and herds upon it.

131. In their relations to each other the villagers seem to have been on a footing of perfect equality. It is probable that there existed generally some sort of chief, but his power does not appear to have been very great, and for the most part he was merely a president of their assemblies, exercising only an influence in proportion to his personal qualifications. The real lawgivers and rulers of this society are the different individuals who compose the assembly. These, however, do not comprise all the inhabitants of the village. Only the heads of the different families were properly included in the village assembly. But the household has no longer the same extended circle as formerly, and, so far as we can gather, there seems to have been little check on the division of families and the formation of new households.

132. It must be borne in mind, however, that we have no existing institution exactly resembling the village community, as we may suppose it must have originally been. As with the patriarchal family, we meet with it only after it has undergone considerable modification, and we have to reconstruct it from such modified forms and traditions as remain to us. Many minor details of its nature are therefore necessarily matters of speculation. The community, however, may still be found in a changed form in several localities; notably among the peasantry of Russia, and the native population of India; and its former existence among the native Teuton tribes is attested by evidence of the clearest description. With each of these peoples, however, the form is somewhat varied from what we may conclude to have been its original nature; in each country it has been subject not only to the natural growth and development which every institution is liable to, but to special influences arising from the events connected with the nation's history, and from the nature and extent of its territory. But before we inquire what these different influences may have been, let us notice first certain leading characteristics of this group, and consider how they may have arisen.

133. The first thing that attracts observation is the change in the source of authority in this community from that which existed in the patriarchal family. The ruling power is no longer placed in the hands of an individual chief, but is vested in an assembly of all the householders. The second marked peculiarity is the common possession of the land by the village, combined with the individual possession of goods of a movable nature by the different members. These may be said to be the two essentials of a true

village community. Now the change from the patriarchal to this later social form may have taken place by either of two processes—the extension of an individual family into a community, or the amalgamation of various families. Probably both of these processes took place; but wherever anything like the formation of a village community has been actually observed, and the process has occasionally been discernible even in modern times in India, it is due to the former of the two causes indicated. This mode of formation also appears to have left the most distinct impress on society, and we will therefore notice first how it probably acted.

134. When a family had devoted itself to agricultural persuits, and settled in a fixed locality, one of those divisions of its members might take place which probably were of frequent occurrence in the nomadic state. Although theoretically we speak of the patriarchal family as united and indivisible, yet as a matter of fact we know that such was not always the case, and that families must frequently have either split up, or else sent off little colonies from their midst. Now as we have already pointed out, the settlement of the family would have a marked effect in preserving a permanent connection between it and its offspring; so that the separation would be by no means so complete as formerly. The subsidiary family would continue in close intercourse with the elder branch, and would enjoy with it the use of the land which had been appropriated. In course of time it might happen that a whole group of families would thus become settled near each other, all united by a common origin and enjoying in common the land surrounding the settlement; for the necessity for mutual protection, which would often arise, would alone be a strong inducement to preserve the neighborhood of those who from kinship were by nature and tradition allies. And although each separate family would continue in its internal relations the peculiarities of the patriarchal rule, the heads of the different families would be related to each other on quite a new principle. They would no longer be members of one family all subservient to a common chief, but they would still be united by the bond of their common interests.

135. There would thus spring a new relationship between the family chiefs, a relationship not provided for in the construction of the patriarchal family. We might expect perhaps that a special pre-eminence would be accorded to the original family from which others had separated, and possibly some traces of this pre-eminence may here and there be discovered. But, for some reason which has not hitherto received any explanation, the general principle of equality among the different heads of households prevailed. As we do not know exactly by what process families became divided it is useless to speculate how this equality arose. Another effect produced by settlement has already been indicated; namely, the decrease of the power of the patriarch within his own circle. The family having ceased to be the bond of union, though the units composing the new combination were themselves groups constructed on the patriarchal type, the fact that they were now only parts of larger groups had the effect of weakening the force of patriarchal customs. When the household was the only state of which an individual was a member, to leave it was to lose all share in its rights and property. But when a family became part of the village, the facilities for separating from it were necessarily increased. Households would more readily subdivide, now that after separation their component parts continued united in the community. Thus by degrees the old patriarchal life decayed and gave place to this new and more elastic social formation. The importance of an individual's relation to the family became less, that of the family to the community became greater; so that by degrees the community absorbed the regulation of many affairs originally within the exclusive power of the patriarch. A new lesson has also been learnt with regard to property. It is difficult to discern whether, in the older group, the property was regarded as exclusively that of the chief, or as belonging to the family collectively. The truth seems to be that the two ideas were blended, and neither was conceived with any completeness. In the later group for the first time each form of property becomes fully developed; either kind producing a clearer idea of the other by their contrast. The land, the bond of union, and the limit of the extent of the community, remained the common property of all; in part, no doubt, because the idea of possessing land was still so new that it had not been thoroughly grasped. The produce of the land, whether corn or pasture, was rather regarded as a proper subject of possession; and though at first, in obedience to the habits of their former life, this may also have been looked upon as common property, it did not long continue so, as the separation of the households remained too complete to permit of any community with regard to the actual homestead, or of the produce required for the support of each household; and this separation of goods by the force of circumstances soon extended to cattle and the produce of the harvest.*

136. The effects produced by their new relation to each other on the members of this group were very important. Hitherto such idea of law as existed was confined to the mandates or traditional regulations of the patriarchs. Law too appears at first inseparably

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* Cattle were probably originally communal property: and were appropriated to individuals at a later stage than other movable goods. In the Roman law we find that they could only be transferred by the same forms as were required for the conveyance of land: being classed among the "res mancipi."

connected with religion. It was looked upon as a series of regulations handed down from some ancestor who received them by divine inspiration. This notion of the origin of law is so general, that it is to be met with in the traditions of almost every nation Thus we find the Egyptians reputing their laws to the teachings of HERMES (THOTH); while the lawgivers of Greece, MINOS, and LYCURGUS, are inspired, the one by Zeus, the other by Apollo. So too the Iranian lawgiver ZOROASTER is taught by the Good Spirit; and MOSES receives the commandments on Mount Sinai. Now though this idea of law is favorable to the procuring obedience to it, it produces an injurious effect on the law itself, by rendering it too fixed and unalterable. Law, in order to satisfy the requirements and changes of life, should be elastic and capable of adaptation; otherwise, regulations which in their institution were beneficial will survive to be obnoxious under an altered condition of society. But so long as laws are regarded as divine commands they necessarily retain a great degree of rigidity. The village community, in disconnecting the source of law from the patriarchal power, tended to destroy this association. The authority of the patriarch was a part of the religion of the early Aryans; he was at once both the ruler and the priest of his family; and though this union between the two characters long continued to have a great influence on the conception of law the first efforts at a distinction between divine and human commands sprang from the regulations adopted by the assembly of the village. The complete equality and the joint authority exercised by its members was an education in self-government, which was needed to enable them to advance in the path of civilization, teaching them the importance of self-dependence and individual responsibility.

137. Those who learnt that lesson best displayed in their history the greatness of its influence, having gained from it a vigor and readiness to meet and adapt themselves to new requirements never possessed by the absolute monarchies which sprang from tribes unacquainted with any other principle than that of patriarchal government. The history of the various states which sprang up in Asia, each in its turn to be overwhelmed in a destruction which scarcely left a trace of its social influence, exhibits in a very striking manner the defects which necessarily ensue when a people ignorant of social arts attempts to form an extensive scheme of government. The various races raised to temporary power by the chances of war in the East, were, generally speaking, nomadic tribes whose habits had produced a hardihood which enabled them to conquer with ease their effeminate neighbors of the more settled districts, but whose social state was not sufficiently advanced to allow them to carry on any extended rule. Used only to their simple nomadic life, they were suddenly brought face to face with wants and possessions of which they had hitherto had no experience, and which lay beyond the bounds of their customs or ideas. They contented themselves with exacting from the conquered such tribute as they could extort, leaving their new subjects to manage their own affairs much as they had done before, till the conquerors, gradually corrupted by the luxuries which their position afforded, and having failed to make for themselves any firm footing in their new empire, were in their turn overwhelmed by fresh hordes of nomadic invaders. The mighty empire of Rome too fell; but how different a record has she left behind! Having learnt in her earliest infancy, better perhaps than any other nation, how to reconcile the conflicting theories of the household and the community, she never flagged in her study of the arts of government. Early imbued with a love of law and order, her people discovered also how to accommodate their rules to the various conditions of those which came under their sway. Her laws penetrated to the remotest boundaries of her possessions, and the rights of a Roman citizen were as clearly defined in Britain as in Rome itself. Thus the Romans have left behind them a system of law the wonder and admiration of all mankind, and which has left indelible marks on the laws and customs, the arts and civilization, of every nation which once formed part of their dominions.

138. Such were among the influences following the adoption of the village community; but such influences only gradually asserted themselves, and the extent of their development was very various among different people. In India, the religious element in the household had always a peculiar force, and its influence continued to affect to a great extent the formation of the community. There this organization never lost sight of the patriarchal power, and has exhibited a constant tendency to revert to the more primitive social form. Among the Slavonic tribes the village community seems to have found its most favorable conditions, and some of the reasons for this are not difficult to discern. The Slavs in Russia have for a long time had open to them an immense tract of thinly inhabited country, their only rivals to the possession of which were the Finnish tribes of the north. Now the village community is a form peculiarly adapted for colonization, and this process of colonizing fresh country by sending out detachments from over-grown villages seems to have gone on for a long time in Russia; so that the communities which still exist there present a complete network of relationship to each other, every village having some "mother-village" from which it has sprung.* Having thus a practically boundless territory for their settlement, none of those difficulties in obtaining land which led to the decay of the village in

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* The same connection between "mother" and "daughter" villages also existed to a large extent in Germany.

western Europe affected the Russians in their earlier history. With the Teutons the village had a somewhat different history. It is difficult to determine exactly to what extent it existed among them; but traces of its organization are still discoverable among the laws and customs of Germany and England. The warlike habits of the German tribes, however, soon produced a marked effect on its organization. The chief of the village, whether hereditary or elective, was generally possessed of but little power. Among a warlike people, however, the necessity for a captain or dictator must have been much greater than with peaceful tribes; for war requires, more than any other pursuit, that it should be conducted by an individual will. Among the peaceful inhabitants of India or Russia the village head-man was generally some aged and venerable father exercising a sort of paternal influence over the others through the reverence paid to his age and wisdom. With the Teutons, however, their habits gave an excessive importance to the strength and vigor of manhood, and they learnt to regard those who exhibited the greatest skill in battle as their natural chieftains.

Beacon Lights of Science

THE DAWN OF HISTORY:

An Introduction to Pre-historic Study.

EDITED BY C. F. KEARY, M.A., OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

IN TWO PARTS—PART TWO.

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION

139. We have hitherto been occupied in tracing the growth of inventions which had for their end the supply of material wants, or the ordering of conditions which should enable men to live peaceably together in companies, and defend the products of their labor from the attacks of rival tribes and neighbors. A very little research into the relics of antiquity, however, brings another side of human thought before us, and we discover, whether by following the revelations of language or by examining into the traces left in ancient sites, abundant proof to show that the material wants of life did not alone occupy the thoughts of our remote ancestors any more than our own, and that even while the struggle for life was fiercest, conjectures about the unseen world and the life beyond the grave, and aspirations toward the invisible source of life and light they felt to be around them, occupied a large space in their minds. God did not leave them without witness at any time, but caused the "invisible things to be shown by those that do appear." And even in the darkest ages and among the least favored races, there were always to be found some minds that vibrated, however feebly, to the suggestions of this teaching, and shaped out for themselves and their tribe some conception of a Divine Ruler and His government of the world from those works of His hands of which their senses told them. Before commerce, or writing, or law had advanced beyond their earliest beginnings, religious rites and funeral rites had no doubt been established in every tribe, and men's thoughts about God and His relationship to His creatures had found some verbal expression, some sort of creed in which they could be handed down from father to son and form a new tie to bind men together. The task of tracing back these rites and creeds to their earliest shape is manifestly harder than that of tracing material inventions, or laws between man and man, to their first germs, for we are here trenching on some of the deepest questions which the human mind is capable of contemplating—nothing less indeed than the nature of conscience and the dealings of God Himself with the souls of

His creatures. We must therefore tread cautiously, be content to leave a great deal uncertain, and, making up our minds only on such points as appear to be decided by revelation, accept on others the results of present researches as still imperfect, and liable to be modified as further light on the difficult problems in consideration is obtained.

140. The study of language has perhaps done more than anything else to clear away the puzzles which mythologies formerly presented to students. It has helped in two ways: first, by tracing the names of objects of worship to their root-forms, and thus showing their meaning and revealing the thought which lay at the root of the worship. Secondly, by proving the identity between the gods of different nations, whose names, apparently different, have been resolved into the same root-word, or to a root of the same meaning, when the alchemy of philological research was applied to them.

141. The discovery of a closer relationship than had been formerly suspected between the mythologies of various nations is a very important one, as it enables us to trace the growth of the stories told of gods and heroes, from what may be called the grown-up form in which we first become acquainted with them in the religious systems of the Greeks, Romans, and Scandinavians, to the primitive shape in which the same creeds were held by the more metaphysical and less imaginative Eastern people among whom they originally sprang up. In some respects this task of tracing back the poetical myths of Greek and Northern poets, to the simpler, if grander, beliefs of the ancient Egyptians and Hindus is not unlike our search in a perfected language for its earliest roots. We lose shapeliness and beauty as we come back, but we find the form that explains the birth of the thought, and lets us see how it grew in the minds of men. One chief result arrived at by this comparison of creeds, and by unravelling the meaning of the names of ancient gods and heroes, is the discovery that a worship of different aspects and forces of nature lies at the bottom of all mythologies, and that the cause of the resemblance between the stories told of the gods and heroes (a resemblance which strikes us as soon as we read two or three of them together) is, that they are in reality only slightly different ways of describing natural appearances according to the effect produced on different minds, or to the variations of climate and season of the year. Having once got the key of the enigma in our hands, we soon become expert in hunting the parable through all the protean shapes in which it is presented to us. The heroes of the old stories we have long loved begin to lose their individuality and character for us. And instead of thinking of Apollo, and Osiris, and Theseus, and Herakles and Thor, as separate idealizations of heroic or godlike character; of Ariadne, and Idun, and Isis as heroines of pathetic histories, our thoughts as we read are busied in tracing all that is said about them to the aspects of the sun's march across the heavens, through the vicissitudes of a bright and thundery eastern, or a gusty northern, day, and the tenderly glowing and fading colors of the western sky into which he sinks when his course is run.

142. Our first feeling in receiving this simple explanation of the puzzling old stories is rather one of disappointment than of satisfaction; we feel that we are losing a great deal—not the interest of the stories only, but all those glimpses of deep moral meanings, of yearnings after divine teachers and rulers, of acknowledgment of the possibility of communion between God and man, which we had hitherto found in them, and which we are sure that the original makers of them could not have been without. It seems to rob the old religions of the essence of religion—spirituality—and reduce them to mere observations of natural phenomena, due rather to the bodily senses than to any instincts or necessities of the soul. But here the science of language, with which we were about to quarrel as having robbed us, comes in to restore to the old beliefs those very elements of mystery, awe, and yearning toward the invisible, which we were fearing to see vanish away. As is usually the case on looking deeper, we shall find that the explanation which seemed at first to impoverish, really enhances the beauty and worth of the subject brought into clearer light. It teaches us to see something more in what we have been used to call mere nature-worship than appears at first sight.

143. When we were considering the beginnings of language, we learned that all root-words were expressions of sensations received from outward things, every name or word being a description of some bodily feeling, a gathering-up of impressions on the senses made by the universe outside us. With this stock of words—pictorial words we may call them—it is easy to see that when people in early times wanted to express a mental feeling, they were driven to use the word which expressed the sensation in their bodies most nearly corresponding to it. We do something of the same kind now when we talk of *warm* love, *chill* fear, *hungry* avarice, and *dark* revenge—mixing up words for sensations of the body to heighten the expression of emotions of the mind. In using these expressions we are conscious of speaking allegorically, and we have, over and above our allegorical phrases, words set aside especially for describing mental actions, so that we can talk of the sensations of our bodies and of our minds without any danger of confounding them together. But in early times, before words had acquired these varied and enlarged meanings, when men had only one word by which to express the glow of the body when the sun shone and the glow of the mind when a friend

was near; the difficulty of speaking, or even thinking, of mental and bodily emotions apart from each other must have been very great Only gradually could the two things have become disentangled from one another, and during all the time while this change was going on an allegorical way of speaking of mental emotions and of the source of mental emotions must have prevailed. It is not difficult to see that while love and warmth, fear and cold, had only one word to express them, the sun, the source of warmth, and God, the source of love, were spoken of in much the same terms, and worshiped in songs that expressed the same adoration and gratitude. It follows, therefore, that while we acknowledge the large proportion in which the nature element comes into all mythologies, we need not look upon the worshipers of nature as worshipers of visible things only. They felt, without being able to express, the Divine cause which lay behind the objects whose grandeur and beauty appealed to their wonder, and they loved and worshiped the Unseen while naming the seen only. As time passed on and language developed, losing much of its original significance, there was, especially among the Greeks and Romans, a gradual divergence between the popular beliefs about the gods and the spirit of true worship which originally lay behind them. People no longer felt the influence of nature in the double method in which it had come to them in the childhood of the race, and they began to distinguish clearly between their bodies and their minds, between the things that lay without and the emotions stirred within Then the old nature beliefs became degraded to foolish and gross superstitions, and the yearning soul sought God in a more eternal way.

144. The mythologies of the different Aryan nations are those which concern us most nearly, entering as they do into the very composition of our language, and coloring not only our literature and poetry, but our baby-songs and the tales told in our nurseries. We shall find it interesting to compare together the various forms of the stories told by nations of the Aryan stock, and to trace them back to their earliest shape. But before entering on this task it may be well to turn our attention for a little while to a still earlier mythology, where the mingling of metaphysical conceptions with the worship of natural phenomena is perhaps more clearly shown than in any other, and which may therefore serve as a guide to help us in grasping this connection in the more highly colored, picturesque stories we shall be hereafter attempting to unravel. This earliest and least ornamented mythology is that of the ancient Egyptians, a people who were always disposed to retain primitive forms unchanged, even when, as was the case with their hieroglyphics, they had to use them to express more developed thoughts than the forms could well hold. That they followed this course with their religious ceremonies and in their manner of representing their gods, is perhaps fortunate for us, as it enables us to trace with greater ease the particular aspect of nature, and the mental sensation or moral lesson identified with it, which each one of their gods and goddesses embodies. We have the rude primitive form embodying an aspect or force of nature, and instead of a beautiful confusing story, merely for the most part titles, addresses, and prayers, whose purport more or less reveals the spiritual meaning which that aspect of nature conveyed to the worshiper.

145. The chief objects of nature-worship must obviously be the same, or nearly the same, in every part of the world, so that even among different races, living far apart, and having no connection with each other, a certain similarity in the stories told about gods and heroes, and in the names and titles given to them, is observable. The sun, the moon, the sky, the sea, the river, sunshine and darkness, night and day, summer and winter —these objects and changes must always make the staple, the back-bone so to speak, round which all mythological stories founded on nature-worship are grouped. But climate and scenery, especially any striking peculiarity in the natural features of a country, have a strong influence in modifying the impressions made by these objects on the imaginations of the dwellers in the land, and so giving a special form or color to the national creed, bringing perhaps some divine attribute or some more haunting impression of the condition of the soul after death, into a prominence unknown elsewhere. The religion of the ancient Egyptians was distinguished from that of other nations by several such characteristics, and in endeavoring to understand them we must first recall what there is distinctive in the climate and scenery of Egypt to our minds.

146. The land of Egypt is, let us remember, a delta-shaped valley, broad at its northern extremity and gradually narrowing between two ranges of cliffs till it becomes through a great part of its length a mere strip of cultivatable land closely shut in on each side. Its sky overhead is always blue, and from morning till evening intensely bright, flecked only occasionally, and here and there, by thin gauzy clouds, so that the sun's course, from the first upshooting of his keen arrowy rays over the low eastern hills to his last solemn sinking in a pomp of glorious color behind the white cliffs in the west, can be traced unimpeded day after day through the entire course of the year. Beyond the cliffs which receive the sun's first and last greeting, stretches a boundless waste—the silent, dead, sunlit desert, which no one had ever traversed, which led no one knew where, from whose dread, devouring space the sun escaped triumphant each morning, and back

into which it returned when the valley was left to darkness and night.

147. The neighborhood of the desert, and the striking contrast between its lifeless wastes and the richly-cultivated plains between the hills, had, as we can see, a great effect on the imaginations of the first inhabitants of the land of Egypt, and gave to many of their thoughts about death and the world beyond the grave an intensity unknown to the dwellers among less monotonous scenery. The contrast was a perpetual parable to them, or rather perhaps a perpetual *memento mori*. The valley between the cliffs presented a vivid picture of active and intense life, every inch of fruitful ground teeming with the results of labor—budding corn, clustering vines, groups of palm-trees, busy sowers, and reapers, and builders; resounding, too, everywhere with brisk sounds of toil or pleasure. The clink of anvil and hammer, the creaking of water-wheels, the bleating and lowing of flocks and herds, the tramp of the oxen treading out the corn, the songs of women, and the laughter of children playing by the river. On the other side of the cliffs, what a change! There reigned an unbroken solitude and an intense silence, such as is only found in the desert, because it comes from the utter absence of all life, animal or vegetable: no rustle of leaf or bough, no hum of an insect, or whirr of a wing, breaks the charmed stillness even for a minute. There is silence, broad, unbroken sunshine, bare cliffs, rivers of golden sand—nothing else. Amenti, the ancient Egyptians called the western desert into which, as it seemed to them the sun went down to sleep after his day's work was done; Amenti, the vast, the grand, the unknown, and it was there they built their most splendid places of worship, and there they carried their dead for burial, feeling that it spoke to them of rest, of unchangeableness, of eternity.

148. Another striking and peculiar feature of Egyptian scenery was the beautiful river—the one only river—on which the prosperity, the very existence, of the country depended It, too, had a perpetual story to tell, a parable to unfold, as it flowed and swelled and contracted in its beneficent yearly course. They saw that all growth and life depended on its action ; where its waters reached, there followed fruitfulness and beauty, and a thousand teeming forms of animal, vegetable, and insect life; where its furthest wave stayed, there the reign of nothingness and death began again. The Nile therefore became to the ancient Egyptians the token and emblem of a life-giving principle in nature, of that perpetual renewal, that passing from one form of existence into another, which has ever had so much hopeful significance for all thinking minds. Its blue color, reflecting the sky, was the most sacred of their emblems, and was devoted to funeral decorations and to the adornments of the dead, because it spoke to them of the victory of life over death, of the permanence of the life principle amid the evanescent and vanishing forms under which it appeared. Of these two distinctive features of nature in Egypt, the unexplored western desert and the unending river, we must then think as exercising a modifying or intensifying effect on the impressions produced on the minds of ancient Egyptians by those aspects of nature which they had in common with other Eastern people. Let us think what these are. First and most conspicuous we must put the sun, in all his changing aspects, rising in gentle radiance over the eastern hills, majestically climbing the cloudless sky; sending down fierce perpendicular rays through all the hot noon, withdrawing his overwhelming heat toward evening as he sloped to his rest, and painting the western sky with color and glory, on which the eyes of men could rest without being dazzled, vanishing from sight at last behind the white rocks in the west. And then the moon—white, cold, changeable, ruling the night and measuring time. Besides these, the countless hosts of stars; the green earth constantly pouring forth food for man from its bosom; the glowing blue sky at noon and the purple midnight heaven; the moving wind; the darkness that seemed to eat up and swallow the light.

149. Now let us see how the ancient Egyptians personified these into gods, and what were the corresponding moral or spiritual ideas of which each nature-power spake to their souls. We shall find the mythology easier to remember and understand if we group the personifications round the natural objects whose aspects inspired them, instead of enumerating them in their proper order as first, second, and third class divinities. So for the present we will class them as Sun-Gods, Sky-Gods, Wind-Gods, etc.; and we will begin with the sun, which among the ancient Egyptians occupied the *first* place, given, as you will see, to the sky among our Aryan ancestors. The sun indeed not only occupies the most conspicuous position in Egyptian mythology, but is presented to us in so many characters and under so many aspects, that he may be said to be the chief inspiration, the central object of worship, nothing else indeed coming near to his grandeur and his mystery. It is to be remarked, however—and this is a distinctive feature in the Epyptian system of worship—that the *mystery* of the sun's disappearance during the night and his reappearance every morning, is the point in the parable of the sun's course to which the Egyptians attached the deepest significance, and to the personification of which they gave the most dignified place in their hierarchy of gods. Atum or Amun, "the concealed one," was the name and title given to the sun after he had sunk, as they believed, into the under-world; and by this name they worshiped the concealed

Creator of all things, the "Dweller in Eternity," who was before all, and into whose bosom all things, gods and men, would, they thought, return in the lapse of ages. The figure under which they represented this their oldest and most venerable deity was that of a man, sometimes human headed and sometimes with the man's face concealed under the head and horns of a ram—the word ram meaning concealment in the Egyptian language. The figure was colored blue, the sacred color of the Source of Life. Two derivations are given for the name Amun. It means that which brings to light; but it also expresses the simple invitation "Come," and in this sense it appears to be connected with a sentence in the ritual, where Atum is represented as dwelling alone in the under-world in the ages before creation, and on "a day" speaking the word "Come," when immediately Osiris and Horus (light and the physical sun) appeared before him in the under-world.

150. The aspect of the sun as it approached its mysterious setting exercised perhaps a still greater power over the thoughts of the Egyptians, and was personified by them into a deity, which, if not the most venerable, was the best loved of all their gods. Osiris was the name given from the earliest times to the kind declining sun, who appeared to them to veil his glory, and sheathe his dazzling beams in a lovely, many-colored radiance, which soothed and gladdened the weary eyes and hearts of men, and enabled them to gaze fearlessly and lovingly on the dread orb from which during the day they had been obliged to turn their eyes. The god who loved men and dwelt among them, and for their sakes permitted himself to be for a time quenched and defeated by the darkness—it was thus that the ancient people read the parable of the sun's evening beauty and of his disappearance beneath the shades of night, amplifying it, as the needs of the human heart were more distinctly recognized, into a real foreshadowing of that glorious truth toward which the whole human race was yearning—*the* truth of which these shows of nature were indeed speaking continually to all who could understand. The return of Osiris every evening into the under world invested him also, for the ancient Egyptians, with the character of guardian and judge of souls who were supposed to accompany him on his mysterious journey, or at all events to be received and welcomed by him in the Amenti (the realm of souls) when they arrived there. Osiris therefore filled a place both among the gods of the living and those of the dead. He was the link which connected the lives of the upper and the under world together, and made them one—the Lover and Dweller among men while yet in the body, and also the Judge and Ruler of the spirit realm to which they are all bound. Two distinct personifications showed him in these characters. As the dweller among men and the sharer of the commonness and materiality of their earth-life, he was worshiped under the form of a bull—the Apis, in which shape his pure soul was believed constantly to haunt the earth, passing from one bull to another on the death of the animal, but never abandoning the land of his choice, or depriving his faithful worshipers of his visible presence among them. In his character of Judge of the Dead, Osiris was represented as a mummied figure, of the sacred blue color, carrying in one hand the rod of dominion, and in the other the emblem of life, and wearing on his head the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. In the judgment scenes he is seated on a throne at the end of the solemn hall of trial to which the soul has been arraigned, and in the center of which stands the fateful balance where, in the presence of the evil accusing spirit and of the friendly funeral gods and genii who stand around, the heart of the man is weighed against a symbol of Divine Truth.

151. Next in interest to the setting sun is the personification under which the Egyptians worshiped the strong young sun, the victorious conqueror of the night, who each morning appeared to rise triumphant from the blank realm of darkness, in which the rays of yesterday's sun had been quenched. They figured him as the eldest son of Osiris, Horus, the vigorous bright youth who loved his father, and avenged him, piercing with his spear-like ray the monster who had swallowed him up. Horus is represented as sailing up the eastern sky from the under world in a boat, and slaying the serpent Night with a spear as he advances. The ultimate victory of life over death, of truth and goodness over falsehood and wrong, were the moral lessons which this parable of the sun's rising read to the ancient Egyptians. The midday sun ruling the heavens in unclouded glory, symbolized to them majesty and kingly authority, and was worshiped as a great and powerful god under the name of Ra, from which name the title given to their kings, Phra, was derived.

152. Though these four appearances may well seem to exhaust all the aspects under which the sun can be considered, there are still several other attributes belonging to him which the ancient Egyptians noticed and personified into yet other sun-gods. These we will enumerate more briefly. Pthath, a god of the first order, worshiped with great magnificence at Memphis, personified the life giving power of the sun's beams, and in this character was sometimes mixed up with Osiris, and in the ritual is spoken of also as the creative principle, the "word" or "power" by which the essential deity revealed itself in the visible works of creation. Another deity, Mandoo, appears to personify the fierce power of the sun's rays at midday

in summer, and was looked upon as the god of vengeance and destruction, a leader in war, answering in some measure, though not entirely, to the war-gods of other mythologies. There were also Gom, Moui, and Kons, who are spoken of always as the *sons* of the sun god, those who reveal him or carry his messages to mankind, and in them the *rays*, as distinguished from the *disk* of the sun, are no doubt personified. The rays of the sun had also a feminine personification in Pasht, the goddess with the lioness's head. To her several different and almost opposite qualities were attributed: as indeed, an observer of the burning and enlightening rays of an Eastern sun might be doubtful whether to speak oftenest of the baleful fever-heat with which they infect the blood, or of their vivifying effects upon the germs of animal and vegetable life. Thus the lioness goddess was at once feared and loved; dreaded at one moment as the instigator of fierce passions and unruly desires, invoked at another as the giver of joy, the source of all tender and elevating emotions. Her name, Pasht, means the lioness, and was perhaps suggested by the fierceness of the sun's rays, answering to the lion's fierce strength or the angry light of his eyes. She was al o called the "Lady of the Cave," suggesting something of mystery and concealment. Her chief worship was at Bubastis; but, judging from the frequency of her representations, must have been common throughout Egypt.

153. We will now take the second great light of the heavens, the moon, and consider the forms under which it was personified by the Egyptians. Rising and setting like the sun, and disappearing for regular periods, the moon was represented by a god, who, like the god of the setting sun, occupied a conspicuous position among the powers of the under world, and was closely connected with thoughts of the existence of the soul after death, and the judgment pronounced on deeds done in the body. Thoth, "the Word," the "Lord of Divine Words," was the title given to this deity; but though always making one in the great assemblage in the judgment-hall, his office toward the dead does not approach that of Osiris in dignity. He is not the judge, he is the recorder who stands before the balance with the dread account in his hand, while the trembling soul awaits the final sentence. His character is that of a just recorder, a speaker of true words; he wears the ostrich feather, the token of exact rigid evenness and impartiality, and yet he is represented as having *uneven* arms, as if to hint that the cold white light of justice, untempered by the warmth of love, cannot thoroughly apprehend what it seems to take exact account of, leaving, after all, one side unembraced, unenlightened, as the moonlight casts dense shadows around the spots where its beams fall. The silent watching, peering moon! Who has not at times felt an inkling of the parable which the ancient Egyptians told of her cold eye and her unwarming rays which enlighten chilly. and point out while they distort.

154. In spite of his uneven arms, however, Thoth (the dark moon and the light moon) was a great god, bearing sway in both worlds in accordance with his double character of the revealed and the hidden orb. On earth he is the great teacher, the inventor of letters, of arithmetic, and chronology; the "Lord of Words," the "Lover of Truth," the "Great and Great." Thoth was sometimes represented under the form of an ape, but most frequently with a human figure ibis-headed; the ibis, on account of his mingled black and white feathers, symbolizing the dark and the illumined side of the moon. Occasionally, however, he is drawn with a man's face, and bearing the crescent moon on his head, surmounted by an ostrich feather; in his hand he holds his tablets and his recording pencil.

155. The sky divinities were all feminine among the Egyptians; representing the feminine principle of receptivity, the sky being regarded by them mainly as the abode, the home of the sun and the moon gods. The greatest of the sky deities was Maut, the mother, who represents the deep violet night sky, tenderly brooding over the hot exhausted earth when the day was over, and wooing all living things to rest, by stretching cool, protecting arms above and around them. The beginning of all things, abysmal calm, but above all motherhood, were the metaphysical conceptions which the ancient Egyptians connected with the aspect of the brooding heavens at midnight, and which they worshiped as the oldest primeval goddess, Maut. The night sky, however, suggested another thought, and gave rise to yet another personification. Night does not bring only repose; animals and children sleep, but men wake and think; and, the strife of day being hushed, have leisure to look into their own minds, and listen to the still small voice that speaks within. Night was thus the parent of thought, the mother of wisdom, and a personification of the night sky was worshiped as the goddess of wisdom. She was named Neit, a word signifying "I came from myself," and she has some attributes in common with the Greek goddess of wisdom Athene, whose warlike character she shared. Nu, another sky goddess, who personified the sunlit blue midday sky may also on other accounts claim kinship with the patroness of Athens. She is the life-giver—the joy-inspirer. Clothed in the sacred color which the life-giving river reflects, the midday sky was supposed to partake of the river's vivifying qualities, and its goddess Nu is very frequently pictured as seated in the midst of the tree of life, giving of its fruits to faithful souls who have completed their time of purification and travel in the

under-world, and are waiting for admission to the Land of Aoura, the last stage of preparation before they are received in o the immediate presence of the great gods.

156. Two other aspects of the sky were considered worthy of personification and worship: the morning sky, or perhaps the eastern half of the morning sky, which awaited the sun's earliest beams, and which was called Saté, and honored as the goddess of vigilance and endeavor; and the beautiful western sky at even, more lovely in Egypt than anywhere else, to the exaltation of which the Egyptians applied their prettiest titles and symbols Hathor, the "Queen of Love," was the name they gave to their personification of the evening sky, speaking of her at once as the loving and loyal wife of the sun, who received the weary traveler, the battered conqueror, to rest on her bosom after his work was done, and the gentle household lady whose influence called men to their homes when labor was finished, and collected scattered families to enjoy the loveliest spectacle of the day, the sunset, in company Hathor is represented as a figure with horns, bearing the sun's disk between them, or sometimes carrying a house upon her head.

157. The sky, however, with the ancient Egyptians, did not include the *air;* that again was personified in a masculine form, and regarded as a very great god, some of whose attributes appear to trench on those of Osiris, and Pthath ; Kneph was the name given to the god who embodied the air, the living breath or spirit ; and he was one of the divinities to whom a share in the work of creation was attributed. He is represented in a boat, moving over the face of the waters, and breathing life into the newly created world. He was no doubt connected in the minds of pious Egyptians with thoughts of the breath of god by whose inspiration man became a living soul ; but in his nature aspect he perhaps personified the wind blowing over the Nile valley after the inundation, and seeming to bring back life to the world by drying up the water under which the new vegetation was hidden.

158. The soil of the country thus breathed upon, which responded to the rays of Osiris and the breath of Kneph by pouring forth a continual supply of food for men, was naturally enough personified into a deity who claimed a large share of devotion, and was worshiped under many titles. Isis, the sister-wife of Osiris, was the name given to her, and so much was said of her, and so many stories told, that it appears at times as if, under that name, the attributes of all the other goddesses were gathered up—Isis, being a personification, not of the receptive earth only, but of the feminine principle in nature wherever it was perceived, whether in the tender west that received the sun, or in the brooding midnight sky that invited to repose, or in the cherishing soil that drew in the warmth of the sun, and the breath of the wind, to give them forth again changed into flowers, and fruit, and corn. Isis of "the ten thousand names" the Greeks called her; and if we consider her as the embodiment of all that can be said of the feminine principle, we shall not be surprised at her many names, or at the difficulty of comprehending her nature. She was, above all else, however, the wife of Osiris and the mother of Horus, which certainly points to her being, or at all events to her having been originally, a sky-goddess; but then again she is spoken of as dressed in robes of many hues, which points to the changing and parti-colored earth. Some of her attributes seem to connect her with the dark moon, especially the fact that her most important offices are toward the dead in the under-world, whose government she is spoken of as sharing with her husband Osiris. In pictures of the funeral procession she is drawn as standing at the head of the mummied body during its passage over the river that bounds the under-world, and in that position she represents the beginning; her younger sister Nepthys, the end, stands at the foot of the still sleeping soul; the two goddesses thus summing up, with divinity at each end, the little span of mortal life. In the judgment hall, Isis stands behind the throne of Osiris, drooping great protecting wings over him and it. This quality of protecting, of cherishing and defending, appears to be the spiritual conception worshiped under the form of the many-named goddess. Isis is constantly spoken of as the protector of her brother Osiris, and is drawn on the tombs with long drooping wings. She is also frequently represented as nursing Horus, the son who avenged his father, and in that character she wears the cow's head, the cow being sacred to Isis, as was the bull to Osiris.

159. The origin of the strange intimate connection between these Egyptian gods, and certain animals held to be sacred to them, and in some cases to be incarnated by them, is a very difficult question to determine. Two explanations are given by different writers: one is that the animal worship was a remnant of the religion of an inferior race who inhabited Egypt in very far back times, and who were conquered but not exterminated by emigrants from Asia, who brought a higher civilization and more spiritual religion with them, which however did not actually supersede the old, but incorporated some of its baser elements into itself. Other writers look upon the animal worship as but another form of the unending parable from nature, which, as we have seen, pervades the whole of the mythology—the animals, according to this view, being not less than the nature gods worshiped as revelations of a divine order, manifesting itself through the many appearances of the outside world; their obedient following of the laws imposed on their natures

through instinct making them better witnesses to the Divine Will than self-willed, disobedient man was found to be.

160. This is one of the problems which must be left to be determined by further researches into unwritten history, or perhaps by a fuller understanding of Egyptian symbols. That a great deal of symbolical teaching was wrapped up in their worship of animals may be gathered by the lesson which they drew from the natural history of the sacred beetle, whose habit of burying in the sand of the desert a ball of clay, full of eggs, which in due course of time changed into chrysalises and then into winged beetles, furnished them with their favorite emblem of the resurrection of the body and the continued life of the soul through the apparent death-sleep—an emblem which no temple wanted and without which nobody was ever buried. Thinking of this, we must allow that their eyes were not shut to the teachings of the "visible things" which in the ages of darkness yet spoke a message from God.

161. We have now gone over the most important of Egyptian gods, connecting them with the natural appearances which appear to have inspired them, so as to give the clue to a comparison with the nature gods of the Aryans, of which we shall speak in another chapter. There were of course other objects of worship, not so easily classed, among which we ought to mention Hapi, the personification of the river Nile; Sothis, the dog star, connected with Isis, and two other of the funeral gods; Anubis, who in his nature aspect may be possibly another personification of air and wind, and who is always spoken of as the friend and guardian of pure souls; and represented at the death-bed sometimes in the shape of a human-headed bird as helping the new-born soul to escape from the body; also Thmei, the goddess of Truth and Justice, who introduces the soul into the hall of judgment. The evil powers recognized among the ancient Egyptians were principally embodiments of darkness and of the waste of the desert, and do not appear to have had distinct conceptions of moral evil associated with them. They are, however, spoken of in the book of the dead as enemies of the soul who endeavor to delude it and lead it out of its way on its journey across the desert to the abode of the gods. Amenti was no doubt the desert, but not only the sun-lit desert the Egyptians could overlook from their western hills. It included the unknown world beyond and underneath, to which they supposed the sun to go when he sank below the horizon, and where following in his track the shades trooped when they had left their bodies. The story of the trials and combats of the soul on its journey through Amenti to the judgment-hall, and its reception by the gods, is written in the most ancient and sacred of Egyptian books, the Ritual, or Book of the Dead, which has been translated into French by M. de Rongé, and into English by Dr. Birch. The English translation is to be found in the Appendix to the fifth volume of Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in History*.

162. The mythologies of the other uninspired Semitic nations resemble the Egyptian in the main element of being personifications of the powers of nature. The Chaldæans directed their worship toward the Heavenly bodies even more exclusively than did the ancient Egyptians. Their principal deities were arranged in triads of greater and less dignity, and all the members of these were personifications of different aspects of sun and sky. The first triad comprised Anu, the hidden sun; Father of the Gods, Lord of Darkness, Ruler of a far off city, Lord of Spirits. By these titles suggestive of some of the attributes and offices toward the dead, attributed by the Egyptians to Atum and Osiris, was the first member of their first order of Gods addressed by the Chaldæans. Next in order came Bil, the midday sun: the Ruler, the Lord, the Source of kingly power, and the patron and image of the earthly King, His name has the same signification as Baal, and he personifies the same aspect of nature, the sun ruling in the heavens, whose worship was so widely diffused among all the people with whom the Israelites came in contact. The third member of the first triad was Hoa, who personified the rays of the sun: Lord of the abyss, Lord of the great deep, the intelligent Guide, the intelligent Fish, the Lord of the Understanding. are some of his titles, and appear to reveal a conception somewhat answering to that of Thoth. His symbol was a serpent, and he was represented with a fish's head, which connects him with the Philistines' god Dagon. The second triad comprised Sin or Urki, a moon god, worshiped at Ur, Abraham's city,—his second name Urki, means the watcher, and has the same root as the Hebrew name for angel—San, the disk of the sun, and Vul, the air. Beneath these deities in dignity, or rather perhaps in distance, came the five planets, each representing some attribute or aspect of the deity, or rather being itself a portion of deity endowed with a special characteristic, and regarded as likely to be propitious to men from being less perfect and less remote than the greater gods. These planetary gods were called—Nebo (Mercury), the lover of light Ishtar (Venus), the mother of the gods Nergal, (Mars), the great hero; Bel Merodach (Jupiter), the ruler, the judge; Nin, (Saturn), the god of strength. To these gods the chief worship of the Assyrians was paid, and it was their majesty and strength, typifying that of the earthly king, which Assyrian architects personified in the winged man-headed bulls and lions with examples of which we are familiar. The false gods of the Canaanite nations, Moloch, Baal, Chemo h, Baal Zebub, and Thammuz, were all of them personifications of the sun or of the

sun's rays, considered under one aspect or another; the cruel gods, to whom human sacrifices were offered, representing the strong, fierce summer sun, and the gentle Thammuz being typical of the softer light of morning and of early spring, which is killed by the fierce heat of midday and midsummer, and mourned for by the earth till his return in the evening and in autumn. Ashtoreth, the horned queen, symbolized by trees and worshiped in groves, is the moon and also the evening star, but, like Isis, she seems to gather up in herself the worship of the feminine principle in nature. The Canaanites represented their gods in the temples by symbols instead of by sculptured figures. An upright stone, either an aerolite or a precious stone (as in the case of the great emerald kept in the shrine of the Temple of Baal-Melcarth at Tyre) symbolized the sun and the masculine element in nature; while the feminine element was figured under the semblance of a grove of trees, the Ashara, sometimes apparently a grove outside the temple and sometimes a mimic grove kept within.

163. There was, however, behind and beyond all these, another, and perhaps a more ancient and more metaphysical conception of God worshiped by all the Semitic people of Asia. His name, Il or El, appears to have been for Chaldæans, Assyrians, Canaanites, and for the wandering tribes of the desert, including the progenitors of the chosen people, the generic name for god; and his worship was limited to a distant awful recognition, unprofaned by the rites and sacrifices wherein the nature gods were approached. Il became a concealed distant deity, too far off for worship, and too great to be touched by the concerns of men, among those nations with whom the outside aspects of nature grew to be concealers, instead of revealers of the Devine; while to the chosen people the name acquired even new significance, as the voice of inspiration unfolded the attributes of the Eternal Father to His children.

164. This slight sketch of the heathen mythology of the Shemites will probably strike you as very barren in incident and character; a shadowy hierarchy of gods and heroes indeed, through whose thin personalities the shapes of natural objects loom with obtrusive clearness. They may serve, however, as finger-posts to point the way through the mazes of more complex, full grown myths, and it must also be remembered that we have not touched upon the later more ornamented stories of the Egyptian gods, such as that of the death and dismemberment of Osiris by his enemy Typhon, and the recovery of his body, and his return to life through the instrumentality of Isis and Horus.

CHAPTER IX

ARYAN RELIGIONS

165. That morning speech of Belarius (in *Cymbeline*) might serve as an illustration of a primitive religion, a nature religion in its simplest garb:

> "Stoop, boys; this gate
> Instructs you how to adore the heavens, and bows you
> To morning's holy office: the gates of monarchs
> Are arched so high, that giants may get through
> And keep their impious turbans on without
> Good-morrow to the sun. Hail, thou fair heaven!
> We house i' the rock, yet use thee not so hardly
> As prouder livers do."

Omit only that part which speaks the bitterness of disappointed hopes which once centered round the doing as prouder livers do, and the rest breathes the fresh air of mountain life, different altogether from our life, now free alike from its cares, and temptations, and moral responsibilities. He gazes up with an unawful eye into the heavenly depths, and fearlessly pays his morning orisons. "Hail, thou fair heaven!" There is no sense here of sin, humility, self-reproach. And in this respect—taking this for the moment as the type of Aryan religion—how strongly it contrasts with the utterances of Hebrew writers. Is this the voice of natural as opposed to inspired religion? Not altogether, for the Semitic mind was throughout antiquity imbued with a deeper sense of awe or fear—awe in the higher religion, fear in the lower—than ever belonged to the Aryan character. We see this difference in the religions of Egypt and Assyria; and it will be remembered that when speaking of the earliest records of the Semitic and Aryan races, we took occasion to say that it may very well have been to their admixture of Semitic blood that the Egyptians stood indebted for the mystic and allegorical part of their religious system; for among all the Semitic people, whether in ancient or modern times, we may observe a tendency—if no more—toward religious thought, and toward thoughts of that mystic character which characterized the Egyptian mythology. But the Aryans grew up and formed themselves into nations, and developed the germs of their religion apart from external influence, and in a land which from the earliest times had belonged to them alone. Their character, their religion, their national life, were their own; and though in after times these went through distinctive modifications, when the stems of nations that we know, Greeks, Latins, Germans, and the rest, grew out of the Aryan stock, they yet bore amid these changes the memory of a common ancestry. The land in which they dwelt was favorable to the growth of the imaginative faculties, and to that lightness and brightness of nature which afterward so distinguished the many-minded Greeks, rather than to the slow, brooding character of the Eastern mind. There, down a hundred hillsides, and along a hundred valleys flowed the rivulets whose waters were hurrying to swell the streams of the Oxus and Jaxartes. And each hill and valley had its separate community, joined indeed by language and custom to the common stock, but yet living a separate simple life in its own home, which had, one might almost say, its individual sun and sky as well as hill and river. No doubt in such a land innumerable local legends and beliefs sprang up, and these, though lost to us now, had their effects upon the changes which among the various branches the mythologies of the Aryans underwent; mythologies which are before all remarkable for the endless variations to which the stories of their gods are subject, the infinite rainbow-tints into which their essential thoughts are broken.

166. Despite these divergencies, the Aryans had a common chief deity,—the sky, the "fair heaven." This, the most abstracted and intangible of natural appearances, at the same time the most exalted and unchanging, seemed to them to speak most plainly of an all-embracing deity. And though their minds were open to all the thousand voices of nature, and their imaginations equal to the task of giving a personality to each, yet none, not even the sun himself, imaged so well their ideal of a highest All-Father as did the over arching heaven. The traces of this primitive belief the Aryan people carried with them on their wanderings. This sky-god was the Dyâus (the sky) of Indian mythology, the Zeus of the Greeks, the Jupiter of the Romans, and the Zio, Tew, or Tyr of the Germans and Norsemen. For all these names are etymologically allied. Zeus (gen. Dios) and Dyâus are from the same root as are Jupiter (anciently Diupiter) and the compound form Dyâus-pitar (father Dyâus); and Zio and Tew also bear traces of the same origin. Indeed it is by the reappearance of this name as the name of a god among so many different nations that we argue his having once been the god of all the Aryan people. The case is like that of our word *daughter*. As we find this reappearing in the Greek *thugatêr*, and the Sanskrit *duhitar*, we feel sure that the old Aryans had a name for daughter from which all these names are derived; and as we find the Sanskrit name alone has a secondary meaning, signifying "the milker," we conclude that this was the origin of the word for a daughter. Just so, Zeus and Jupiter and Zio and Dyâus show a common name for the chief Aryan god; but the last alone explains the meaning of that name, for Dyâus signifies the sky.

167. This sky-god then stood to the old Aryans for the notion of a supreme and common divinity. Whatever may have been the divinities reigning over local streams and woods, they acknowledged the idea of one over-ruling Providence whom they could only image to their minds as the overspreading sky. This, we may say, was the essential feature in their religion, its chief characteristic; whereas to the Semitic nations, the sun, the visible orb, was in every case the supreme god. The reason of this contrast does not, it seems to me, lie *only* in the different parts which the sun played in the southern and more northern regions: or if it arises in the difference of the climate, it not the less forms an important chapter in religious development. There are in the human mind two diverse tendencies in its dealings with religious ideas. Both are to be found in every religion, among every people; one might almost say in every heart. The first tendency is an impulse upward—a desire to press the mind continually forward in an effort to idealize the deity, but by exalting or seeming to exalt Him into the highest regions of abstraction, it runs the risk of robbing Him of all fellowship with man, and man of all claims upon His sympathy and love. Then comes the other tendency, which oftentimes at one stroke brings down the deity as near as possible to the level of human beings, and leaves him at the end no more than a demi-god or exalted man. One may be called the metaphysical, the other the mythological tendency: and we shall never be able to understand the history of religions until we learn to see how these influences interpenetrate and work in every system. They show at once that a distinction must be drawn between mythology and religion. The supreme god will not be he of whom most tales are invented, because, as these tales must appeal to human interests and relate adventures of the human sort, they will cling more naturally round the name of some inferior divinity. The very age of mythology—so far as regards the beings to whom it relates—is probably rather that of a decaying religion.

168. In any case there will probably be a metaphysical and a mythological side to every system. Thus among the Egyptians, Amun, the concealed, was the metaphysical god; but their mythology centered round the names of Osiris and Horus. And just so with the Aryans, the sky was the original, most abstracted, and most metaphysical god; the sun rose into prominence in obedience to the wish of man for a more human divinity. And if the Semitic people were more inclined toward sun-worship, the Aryans rather toward heaven-worship, the difference is consistent with the greater faculty for abstract thought which has always belonged to our race.

169. The two influences are perfectly well marked in Aryan mythology. The history of it represents the rivalry between the sky-gods and the gods of the sun. It is on account of his daily change that the last less fitly becomes the position of a supreme god. Born each day in the east, faint and weak he

battles with the clouds of morning; radiant and strong he mounts into the midday sky, and then, having touched his highest point, he turns to quench his beams in the shadowy embrace of night. Even the Egyptians and Assyrians, in view of these vicissitudes, were driven to invent a sort of abstract sun, separated in thought from the mere visible orb. This daily course might stand as an allegory of the life of man. The luminary who underwent these changing shows, however great and godlike in appearance, must have some more than common relationship with the world below; he must be either a hero raised among the gods, or, better (for of this thought the Aryans too had their dim foreshadowing), he is an Avatar, an Incarnation of the Godhead, come down to take upon him for a while the painful life of men. This was the way the sun-gods were regarded by the Indo-European nations. Accordingly, while their deepest religious feelings belonged to the abstract god Zeus, Jupiter among the Greeks and Romans, Dyâus and later on Brahma (a pure abstraction) among the Indians, the stories of their mythology belonged to the sun-god. He is the Indra of the Hindoos, who wrestles with the black serpent, the Night, as Horus did with Typhon; he is the Apollo of the Greeks, likewise the slayer of the serpent, the Pythôn; or else he is Heracles (Hercules), the god-man —sometimes worshiped as a god, sometimes as a demi-god only—the great and mighty hero, the performer of innumerable labors for his fellows; or he is Thorr, the Hercules of the Norsemen, the enemy of the giants and of the great earth-serpent, which represent the dark chaotic forces of nature; or the mild Baldur, the fairest of all the gods, the best-beloved by gods and men.

170. It is clear that a different character of worship will belong to each. The sacred grove would be dedicated to the mysterious pervading presence; the temple would be the natural home of the human-featured god; and this the more because men worshiped in forest glade or upon mountain top before they dedicated to their gods houses made with hands. Dyâus is the old, the primevally old, divinity, the "son of time" as the Greeks called him.* Whenever, therefore, we trace the meeting streams of thought, the *cult* of the sun-god and the *cult* of the sky, to the latter belongs the conservative part of the national creed, his rival is the reforming element. In the Vedic religion of India, Indra, as has been said, has vanquished the older deity; we feel in the Vedas that Dyâus, though often mentioned, no longer occupies a commanding place, not however without concessions on both sides. Indra could not have achieved this victory but that he partakes of both natures. He is the sky as well as the sun, more human than the unmoved *watching* heavens, he is a worker for man, the sender of the rain and the sunshine, the tamer of the stormwinds, and the enemy of darkness. And if one should examine in detail the different systems of the Aryan people he would, I think, have no difficulty in tracing throughout them the two influences which have been dwelt upon, and in each connecting these two influences with their sky- and sun gods. Whatever theory may be used to account for it; the change of thought is noticeable. Man seems to awake into the world with the orison of Belarius upon his lips; he is content with the silent unchanging abstract god. But as he advances in the burden and heat of the day he wishes for a fellow-worker, or at least for some potency which watches his daily struggles with less of godlike sublime indifference. Hence arise his sun-gods,—the gods who toil and suffer, and even succumb and die.

171. It would be too long a task to try and show these varying moods among all the Aryan folk. Among most the traces are obscure, for the religions themselves have been almost lost. Even in those with which we are best acquainted, as for instance, the religions of the Greeks* and Norsemen, we must not attempt a complete or scientific exposition, but let the reader draw from a rough sketch their general character. Let us turn first to the Greek. The chief religious influences in Hellas came from Zeus and Apollo, and belonged to two separate branches of the same race who came together to form the Hellenic people. The ancestors of the Greeks had, we know, traveled from the Aryan home by a road which took them south of the Black Sea, and on to the table-land of Asia Minor. So far a comparison of names and traditions shows them advancing in a compact body. Here they separated; and after a stay of some centuries, during which a part had time to mingle with the Semitic people of the land, they pushed forward, some across the Hellespont and round that way by land through Thrace and Thessaly, spreading as they went down to the extremity of the peninsula; others to the western coast of Asia Minor, and then, when through the lapse of years they had learnt their art from the Phœnician navigators who frequented all

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*As **Welcker** has pointed out (*Griech Götterlehre*) the title, Son of Time, belonged to Zeus before Kronos was invented as a personality to be the father of Zeus.

* Among the nations of Aryan stock we have but small remains of the Celtic and Slavonic mythologies, or of the primitive Persian (Iranian), which was all reformed by Zoroaster. There remains, therefore, the Indian or Vedic, the Greek and the German. The Latin mythology, *as we know it*, is almost all borrowed directly from the Greek. It is obviously right, therefore, to call the deities by their Greek, and not, as was till recently always done, by their Latin names. The Latin gods had no doubt much of the character of their Greek brethren; but it is to the Greek poets that we are really indebted for what we know about them. In this chapter, for the sake of clearness, the Latin name is given after the Greek one in parentheses.

that land, onward from island to island, as over stepping-stones, across the Ægean.

172. Penetrating to every pleasant bay or fertile valley by the coast, but most of all to those upon the east, the new-comers mingled with or drove away the former occupants, whom they called Pelasgi, and who were in fact their brethren who had first gone round by land to Greece. These, who had advanced little in civilization, and still lived their early pastoral life, worshiping their gods in groves or upon hillsides, preserved especially their Aryan god Dyâus, whose name had now become Zeus. This is why wehear of the Pelasgic Zeus; and why Zeus's great shrine lay in the least disturbed districts of Greece proper, in the west, in the sacred *groves* of Dodona and Elis.

173. But the worship of Apollo belonged to the sailors from the Asiatic coast. He is the patron of the arts, of all that higher civilization which the Greeks had learned in contact with older nations, especially of the divine arts of music and song. He was worshiped by both divisions of the new Greek race, the Dorians and Ionians; whose personality was so great that it almost obliterated that of the older dwellers in the European peninsula. So too the worship of Apollo spread after the Dorians and Ionians throughout the land. But it began in the east, as Apollo himself was said to have sprung from the island of Delos.

174. As before by a comparison of words, so now in mythology by a comparison of legends, we form our notion of the remoteness of the time at which these stories first passed current. Not only, for instance, do we see that Indra and Apollo resemble each other in character, but we have proof that nature-myths—stories really narrating some process of nature—were familiar alike to Greeks and Indians. The Vedas, the sacred book from which we gather our knowledge of ancient Hindoo religion, do not relate their stories of the gods in the same way, or with the same clearness and elaboration, as do the Greek poets. They are collections of hymns, prayers in verse, addressed to their gods themselves, and what they relate is told more by reference and implication than directly. But even with this difference, we have no difficulty in signalizing some of the adventures of Indra as almost identical with those of the son Lêtô. Let one suffice. The pastoral life of the Aryans is reflected in their mythology, and thus it is that in the Vedas almost all the varied phenomena of nature are in their turn compared to cattle. Indra is often spoken of as a bull; still more commonly are the clouds the cows of Indra, and their milk the rain. More than one of the songs of the Rig-Veda allude to a time when the wicked Pa*n*is (beings of fog or mist—a word allied to our *fen*), stole away the cows from the fields of Indra and hid them away in a cave. They obscured their footprints by tying up their feet or by making them drag brushwood behind them. But Indra sent his dog Sarama (the dawn or breath of dawn), and she found out where the cattle were hidden. But (according to one story) the Pa*n*is overcame her honesty and gave her a cup of milk to drink, so that she came back to Indra and denied having seen the cows. But Indra discovered the deception and came with his strong spear and conquered the Pa*n*is, and recovered what had been stolen.

175. Now turn to the Greek myth. The story here is cast in a different key.

> Te boves olim nisi reddidisses
> Per dolum amotas, puerum minaci
> Voce dum terret, viduus pharetra
> Risit Apollo.

Hermes (Mercury) is here the thief. He steals the cattle of Apollo feeding upon Mount Pieria, and conceals his theft much as the Pa*n*is had done. Apollo discovers what has been done, and complains to Zeus. But Hermes is a god, and no punishment befalls him like that which was allotted to the Pa*n*is ; he charms Apollo by the sound of his lyre, and is forgiven, and allowed to retain his booty. Still, all the essentials of the story are here ; and the story in either case relates the same nature-myth. The clouds which in the Indian tale are stolen by the damp vapors of morning, are in the Greek legend filched away by the morning breeze ; for this is the nature of Hermes. And that some such power as the wind had been known to the Indians as accomplice in the work, is shown by the complicity of Sarama in one version of the tale. For Sarama likewise means the morning breeze ; and, in fact, *Sarama* and *Hermes* are derived from the same root, and are almost identical in character. Both mean in their general nature the wind; in their special appearances they stand now for the morning, now for the evening breeze, or even for the morning and evening themselves.

176. The next most important deity as regards the whole Greek race is Heracles. It is a great mistake to regard him, as our mythology books often lead us to do, as a demi-god or hero only. Originally, and among a portion of the Greek race, he was one of the mightiest gods ; but at last, perhaps because his adventures became in later traditions rather preposterous and undignified, he sank to be a demi-god, or immortalized man. The story of Heracles's life and labors is a pure but most elaborate sun-myth. From his birth, where he strangles the serpents in his cradle—the serpents of darkness, like the Pythôn which Apollo slew—through his *Herculean* labors to his death, we watch the labors of the sun through the mists and clouds of heaven to its ruddy setting; and these stories are so like to others which are told of the northern Heracles, Thorr, that we cannot refuse to believe that they were known

in the main in days before there were either Greek-speaking Greeks or Teutons. The closing scene of his life speaks the most eloquently of its natural origin. Returning home in victory—his last victory—to Trachis, Deianira sends to him there the fatal white robe steeped in the blood of Nessus. No sooner has he put it on than his death-agony begins. In the madness of his pain he dashes his companion, Lichas, against the rocks; he tears at the burning robe, and with it brings away the flesh from his limbs. Then seeing that all is over, he becomes more calm. He gives his last commands to his son, Hyllus, and orders his funeral pile to be prepared upon Mount Œta, as the sun, after its last fatal battle with the clouds of sunset, sinks down calmly into the sea. Then as, after it has gone, the sky lights up aglow with color, so does the funeral pyre of Heracles send out its light over the Ægean, from its *western* shore.

177. Another deity who was distinctly of Aryan origin was Dêmêtêr (Ceres), a name which is, in fact, none other than Gêmêtêr, "mother earth." The association of ideas which, opposite to the masculine godhead the sun or sky, placed the fruitful all-nourishing earth, is so natural as to find a place in almost every system: we have seen how they formed a part of the Egyptian and Assyrian mythologies There is evidence enough to show that each branch of the Aryan folk carried away along with their sky and sun-worship this earth-worship also. Tellus was one of the divinities of the old Roman pantheon, though her worship gave place in later times to that of Cybele and Ceres: Frigg, the wife of Odin, filled the same position among the Teutons. But among none of the different branches was the great nature-myth which always gathers round the earth-goddess, woven into a more pathetic story than by the Greeks. The story is that of the winter-death or sleep of earth, or of all that makes earth beautiful and glad. And it was thus the Greeks told that world-old legend. Persephone (Proserpine) is the green earth, or the green verdure which may be thought the daughter of earth and sky. She is, indeed, almost the reduplication of Dêmêtêr herself; and in art it is not always easy to distinguish a representation as of one or the other. At spring-time she, a maiden, with her maidens, is wandering careless in the Elysian fields, plucking the flowers of spring, "crocuses and roses and fair violets,"* when in a moment all is changed. Hades, regent of Hell, rises in his black-horsed golden chariot; unheeding her cries, he carries her off to share his infernal throne and rule in the kingdoms of the dead. In other words, the awful shadow of death falls across the path of youth and spring, and Hades appears to proclaim the fateful truth that all spring-time all youth and verdure, are alike with hoary age candidates for service in his Shadowy Kingdom. The sudden contrast between spring flowers and maidenhood and death gives a dramatic intensity to the scene and represents the quiet course of decay in one tremendous moment.* To lengthen out the picture and show the slow sorrow of earth robbed of its spring and summer, Dêmêtêr is portrayed wandering from land to land in bootless search of her lost daughter. We know how deep a significance this story had in the religious thought of Greece; how the representation of it composed the chief feature of the Eleusinian mysteries, and how these and other mysteries probably enshrined the intenser, more hidden feelings of religion, and continued to do so when mythology had lost its hold upon the popular mind. It is, indeed, a new-antique story, patent to all and fraught for all with solemnest meaning. So that this myth of the death of Proserpine has lived on in a thousand forms through all the Aryan systems.

178 Besides these gods, the Greeks had some whose origin was, in part at least, Semitic. Almost the chief of these was the Phœnician moon-goddess Astartê, out of whom grew the Aphroditê (Venus) of the Greeks, and in great measure Artemis (Diana) and Athênê (Minerva) as well. The more sensuous the character in which Aphroditê appears, the more does she show her Asiatic birth; and this was why the Greeks, when regarding her especially as the goddess of love, called her Cypris or Cytheræa, after Cyprus and Cythera which had been in ancient days stations for the Phœnician traders, and where they had first made acquaintance with the Greeks. She was the favorite goddess of these mariners, as, indeed, a moon-goddess well might be; and they gave her her most corrupt and licentious aspect. For she had not this character even among all the Phœnicians; but oftentimes appears as a huntress, more like Artemis, or armed as a goddess of battle, like Athênê. Doubtless, however, goddesses closely allied to Aphroditê or Artemis, divinities of productive nature and divinities of the moon, belonged to the other branches of the Indo-European family. The *idea* of these divinities was a common property; the exact being in whom these ideas found expression varied with each race.

179. If we travel from Hellas and from India to the cold north the same characteristic features reappear. In the Teutonic religions, *as we know them*,† Odin has taken the place

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* HOMER's hymn to Dêmêtêr.

* See Note *Persephone and Baldur*.

† Our knowledge of Teutonic mythology is chiefly gathered from the Norsemen, and in fact almost exclusively from Icelandic literature. The most valuable source of all is the collection of sacred songs made by one Sœmund the Wise, an Icelander. The collection is called the Edda of Sœmund, and was not made earlier than the latter part of the eleventh cen-

of the old Aryan sky-god, Dyâus. This last did, indeed, linger on in the Zio or Tyr of these systems; but he had sunk from the position of a chief divinity. The change, however, is not great. The god chosen to fill his place resembles him as nearly as possible in character. Odin or Wuotan,[*] whose name means "to move violently," "to rush," was originally a god of the wind rather than of the atmosphere of heaven; but along with this more confined part of his character, he bears almost all the attributes of the exalted sky-god, the Dyâus or Zeus. Only he adds to these some parts peculiar to a god of wind; and we can easily understand how, as these Aryan people journeyed northward, their wind-god grew in magnitude, and power.

180. It was Odin who lashed into fury their stormy seas, and kept the impatient *vikings* (fjord-men) forced prisoners in their sheltered bays. He it was who rushed through their mountain forests, making the ancient pine-tops bend to him as he hurried on; and men sitting at home over their winter fires and listening to his howl told one another how he was hastening to some distant battle-field, there to direct the issue, and to choose from among the fallen such heroes as were worthy to accompany him to Valhalla, the Hall of Bliss.[†] Long after the worship of Christ had overturned that of the Æsir,[‡] this, the most familiar and popular aspect of Odin's nature, lived on in the thoughts of men. In the Middle Ages the wind reappears in the legend of the Phantom Army, a strange apparition of two hosts of men seen to join battle in mid-air. The peasant of the Jura or the Alps could tell how, when alone upon the mountain-side, he had beheld the awful vision. Sometimes all the details of the fight were visible, but as though the combatants were riding in the air; sometimes the *sounds* of battle only came from the empty space above, till at the end a shower of blood gave the fearful witness a proof that he was not the dupe of his imagination only.[‖] In other places, especially, for instance, in the Harz mountains, the Phantom Army gave place to the Wild Huntsman—our Herne the Hunter. In the Harz and in other places in Germany he was called Hackelbărend or Hackelberg; and the story went how he had been chief huntsman to the Duke of Brunswick, but for impiety or for some dreadful oath, like that which had brought vengeance on the famous Van der Decken, had been condemned to hunt for ever through the clouds—for ever, that is, until the Day of Judgment.[*] All the year through he pursues his way alone, and the peasants hear his holloa, mingled with the baying of his two dogs.[†] But for twelve nights—between Christmas and Twelfth night—he hunts on the earth; and if any door is left open during the night, and one of the two hounds runs in, he will bring misfortune upon that house.

181. Besides this wilder aspect of his character, Odin appears as the heaven-god—all-embracing—the father of gods and men, like Zeus. "All-father Odin" he is called, and his seat is on Air-throne; there every day he ascended and looked over Gladhome, the home of the gods, and over the homes of men, and far out beyond the great earth-girding sea, to the dim frost-bound giant-land on earth's border. And whatever he saw of wrong-doing and of wickedness upon the earth, that he set to rights; and he kept watch against the coming of the giants over seas to invade the abode of man and the citadel of the gods. Only these last—the race of giants—he could not utterly subdue and exterminate; for Fate, which was stronger than all, had decreed that they should remain until the end, and only be overthrown at the Twilight of the Gods themselves—of which we cannot tell more now.

182. In this picture of Odin we surely see a fellow-portrait to that of the "wide-seeing"

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tury, nearly a hundred years after the legal establishment of Christianity. The songs are, no doubt, of much earlier date.

[*] Odhinn is the Norse, Wuotan the German name.

[†] Literally, "The Hall of the Chosen," *i.e.*, the hall of heroes.

[‡] Æsir, pl. of As, the general Norse name for a god.

[‖] One of the last appearances of such a phantom army is graphically described by Mr. MOTLEY, in his *History of the Dutch Republic*. The occasion was a short time before the battle of Mookerhyde, in which the army of Prince Louis of Nassau was defeated, and himself slain:—"Early in February five soldiers of the burgher guard at Utrecht, being on their midnight watch, beheld in the sky above them the representation of a furious battle. The sky was extremely dark except directly over their heads, where for a space equal in extent to the length of the city, and in breadth to that of an ordinary chamber, two armies in battle array were seen advancing upon each other. The one moved rapidly up from the north-west, with banners waving, spears flashing, trumpets sounding, accompanied by heavy artillery and by squadrons of cavalry. The other came slowly forward from the south-east, as if from an entrenched camp, to encounter their assailants. There was a fierce action for a few moments, the shouts of the combatants, the heavy discharge of cannon, the rattle of musketry, the tramp of heavy-armed foot soldiers, and the rush of cavalry being distinctly heard. The firmament trembled with the shock of contending hosts, and was lurid with the rapid discharges of their artillery. . . . The struggle seemed but short. The lances of the south-eastern army seemed to snap 'like hempstalks,' while their firm columns all went down together in mass beneath the onset of their enemies. The overthrow was complete—victors and vanquished had faded; the clear blue space, surrounded by black clouds, was empty, when suddenly its whole extent where the conflict had so lately raged was streaked with blood, flowing athwart the sky in broad crimson streams; nor was it till the five witnesses had fully watched and pondered over these portents that the vision entirely vanished."—Vol. ii., p. 526.

[*] The story of Van der Decken, the Flying Dutchman, is surely (more especially since its dramatization by Wagner) too well known to need relation.

[†] It may be as well to say here that every detail of the legend is found upon a critical inquiry to be significant. His name Hackelbărend (cloak bearer) connects him with Odin, the wind god. His two dogs connect him with two dogs of Sanskrit mythology, also signifying the wind.

Zeus. "The eye of Zeus, which sees all things and knows all," says one poet; or again, as another says, "Zeus is the earth, Zeus is the sky, Zeus is all, and that which is over all."

183. Behind Odin stands Tyr—of whom we have already spoken—and Thorr and Baldur, who are two different embodiments of the sun. The former corresponds in character very closely with Heracles. He is the mighty champion, the strongest and most warlike of all the gods. But he is the friend of man and patron of agriculture,* and as such the enemy of the giant-race, which represents not only cold and darkness, but the barren, rugged, uncultivated regions of earth. Like Heracles, Thorr is never idle, constantly with some work on hand, "faring eastward to fight Trolls (giants)," as the Eddas often tell us. In one of these expeditions he performs three labors, which may be paralleled from the labors of Heracles. He nearly drains the sea dry by drinking from a horn; this is the sun "sucking up the clouds" from the sea, as people still speak of him as doing. It corresponds to the turning the course of Alpheus and Peneus, which Heracles performs. Then he tries to lift (as he thinks) a large cat from the ground, but in reality he has been lifting the great mid earth serpent (notice the fact that we have the sun at war with a serpent once more) which encircles the whole earth, and he has by his strength shaken the very foundations of the world. This is the same as the feat of Heracles in bringing up Cerberus from the under-world. And lastly, he wrestles, as he thinks, with an old woman, and is worsted; but in reality he has been wrestling with Old Age or Death, from whom no one ever came off the victor. So we read in Homer that Heracles once wounded Hades himself, and 'brought grief into the land of shades," and in Euripides' beautiful play, *Alcestis*, we see Heracles struggling, but this time victoriously, with Thanatos, Death himself. In these labors the Norse hero, though striving manfully, fails; but the Greek is always victorious. Herein lies a difference belonging to the character of the two creeds.

184. Baldur the Beautiful—the fair, mild Baldur—represents the sun more truly than Thorr does: the sun in his gentle aspect, as he would naturally appear to a Norseman. His house is Breidablik, "Wide-glance," that is to say, the bright upper air, the sun's home. He is like the son of Lêtô seen in his benignant aspect, the best beloved among gods, the brightener of their war-like life, beloved, too, by all things on earth, living and inanimate, and lamented as only the sun could be—the chief nourisher at life's feast. For, when Baldur died, everything in heaven and earth, "both all living things and trees and stones and all metals," wept to bring him back again, "as thou nast no doubt seen these things weep when they are brought from a cold place into a hot one." A modern poet has very happily expressed the character of Baldur, the sun-god, the great quickener of life upon earth. Baldur is supposed to leave heaven to tread the ways of men, and his coming is the signal for the new birth, as of springtime in the sleeping world.

"There is some divine trouble
 On earth and in air;
Trees tremble, brooks bubble,
 Ants loosen the sod,
Warm footsteps awaken
 Whatever is fair,
Sweet dewdrops are shaken
 To quicken each clod,
The wild rainbows o'er him
 Are melted and fade,
The light runs before him
 Through meadow and glade.
Green branches close round him.
 Their leaves whisper clear—
He is ours, we have found him."
 Bright Baldur is here."*

185. The earth-mother of the Teutons was Frigg, the wife of Odin; but perhaps when Frigg's natural character was forgotten, Hertha (Earth) became separated into another personage. "Odin and Frigg," says the Edda, "divide the slain;" and this means that the sky-god received the breath, the earth-goddess the body. But on the whole she plays an insignificant part in our late form of Teuton mythology. Closely related to her as Persephone is related to Dêmêtêr, with a name formed out of hers, stands Freyja, the goddess of spring, and beauty, and love; for the northern goddess of love might better accord with the innocence of spring than the Phœnician Aphroditê. Freyja has a brother Freyr, who but reduplicated her name and character, for he too is a god of spring. Very beautiful is the myth which reverses the sad story of Persephone (and Baldur) and tells of the barren earth wooed by the returning spring. Freyr one day mounted the seat of Odin which was called air-throne, and whence a god might look over all the ways of earth. And looking out into giant land far in the north, he saw a light flash forth as the aurora lights up the wintry sky † And looking again, he saw that a maiden wondrously beautiful had just opened her father's door, and that this was her beauty which shone out over the snow. Then Freyr left the air-throne and determined to send to the fair one and woo her to be his wife. Her name was Gerda.‡ Freyr sent his messenger Skirnir to carry his suit to Gerda; and he told her how great Freyr

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* See **UHLAND**, *Der Mythus von Thor*.

**Baldur; a Song of Divine Death*, by ROBERT BUCHANAN.

† This scarcely holds as a simile, for in fact the light *is* the aurora. It need hardly be said, therefore, that the comparison is not found in the original story.

‡ Earth, *gardhr*, being a general word for earth, expanded from the confined one of inclosure (allied to *oikos*, hortus). Just as *gaia* is connected with a cow-inclosure.

was among the gods, how noble and happy a place was Asgard, the home of the gods. For all Skirnir's pleading Gerda would give no ear to his suit. But Freyr had given his magic sword (the sun's rays) to Skirnir: and at last the ambassador, tired of pleading, drew that and threatened to take the life of Gerda unless she granted Freyr his wish. So she consented to meet him nine nights hence in the wood of Barri. The nine nights typify the nine winter months of the northern year; and the name of the wood, Barri, means "the green;" the beginnings of spring in the wood being happily imaged as the meeting of the fresh and barren earth.

186. All the elements of nature were personified by the spirit of Aryan poetry, and it would be a hopeless task—wearisome and useless to the reader—to give a mere category of the nature gods in each system. Those which had most influence upon their religious thought were they who have been mentioned, the gods of the sky and sun and mother earth. The other elemental divinities were (as a rule) more strictly bound within the circle of their own dominions. It is curious to trace the difference between these strictly polytheistic deities—coequal in their several spheres—and those others who rose in obedience to a wider ideal of a godhead. Thus the Indians had a strictly elemental heaven or sky, as well as their god Dyâus. Him they called Varu*n*a, a word which corresponds etymologically to the Greek Ouranos, the heaven. In the later Indian mythology Varu*n*a came to stand, not for the sky, but for the wide expanse of ocean, and so corresponds to the Greek Poseidon, the Latin Neptune, and the Norse Œgir. All these were the gods of the sea and of all waters. The wind, as we saw, combined in the person of Odin with the character of a highest god; but in the Greek the part was played by an inferior divinity, Hermes. In India there is no actual wind-god; but the character is divided among a plurality of minor divinities, the Ma*r*uts. And in revenge a being of the first importance in the Indian system receives scarcely any notice in the others. This is Agni, the god of fire, who corresponds to Hephæstus and Vulcan; and in the north is not a god at all, but an evil being called Loki. This is enough to show that the worship of Agni rose into fervor after the separation of the Aryan folk.

We postpone to the next chapter the mention of the gods of the under-world.

187. The religions of which we have been giving this slight sketch have been what we may call "natural" religions, that is to say, the thoughts about God and the Unseen world which without help of any special *vision* seem to spring up simultaneously in the minds of the different Aryan peoples. But one among the Aryan religions still in pre-historic times broke off abruptly from its relation with the others, and, under a teacher whom we may fairly call god-taught, in beauty and moral purity passed far beyond the rest.

188. This was the Zoroastrian, the faith of the Iranian (ancient Persian) branch, a religion which holds a pre-eminence among all the religions of antiquity, excepting alone that of the Hebrews. And that there is no exaggeration in such a claim is sufficiently witnessed by the inspired writings themselves, in which the Persian kings are frequently spoken of as if they as much as the Hebrews were worshipers of Jehovah. "Cyrus the servant of God," "The Lord said unto my lord (Cyrus)," are constantly recurring expressions in Isaiah. In some respects this Zoroastrianism seems to stand in violent opposition to the Aryan religion; in other lights it appears as merely a much higher development of it. In either case, we may feel sure that the older system was before the coming of the "gold bright" * reformer, essentially a polytheism with only some yearnings toward monotheism, and that Zoroaster settled it upon a firmly monotheistic basis. This very fact leaves us little to say about the Iranian system considered strictly as a religion. For when once nations have risen to the height of a monotheism there can be little essential difference in their beliefs; such difference as there is will be in the conception they have of the character of their gods, whether it be a high, a relatively high, or relatively low one; and this again is more perhaps a question of moral development than of religion. Their one god, since he made all things and rules all things, cannot partake of the exclusive nature of any natural phenomenon; he cannot be a god of wind or water, of sun or sky. The Zoroastrian creed did afterward introduce (then for the first time in the world's history) a very important element of belief, namely, of the distinct origin, and almost if not quite equal powers, of the good and evil principles. But this was later than the time of Zarathustra.

189. The name which Zarathustra taught the people to give to the one God was unconnected with Aryan nature-names, Dyâus or Varu*n*a, or Indra. He simply called him the "Great Spirit," or, in the Zend, Ahuramazda; in later Persian, Hormuzd or Ormuzd. He is the all-perfect, all-wise, all-powerful, all-beautiful. He is the creator of all things. And—still nearer to our Christian belief—before the creation of the world, by means whereof the world itself was made, existed the *Word*. Some trace of this same doctrine of the preexisting Word (*Hanover*, in the Zoroastrian religion) is to be found in the Vedas, where he is called *Vach*. It would be here impossible to enter into an examination of the question how far these early religions seem to shadow forth the mystical doctrine of the *Logos*. The evil principle

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* The meaning of Zoroaster, or rather Zarathustra, his true name.

opposed to Ormuzd is Agra-Mainyus (Ahrimanes), but in the true doctrine he is by no means the equal of God, no more so than is Satan. The successive corruption of pure Zoroastrianism after the time of its founder is marked by a constant exaggeration of the power of the evil principle (suggested perhaps by intercourse with deity-worshiping nations of a lower type) until Ahrimanes becomes the rival of Ormuzd, co-equal and co-eternal with him.

190. Such is the simple creed of the Persians, accompanied of course by rites and ceremonies, part invented by the reformer, part inherited from the common Aryan parentage. It is well known that the Persians built no temples, but worshiped Ormuzd chiefly upon the mountain-tops; that they paid great respect to all the elements—that is to air, water and fire, the latter most of all—a belief which they shared with their Indian brethren, but stopped far short of worshiping any. That they held very strongly the separate idea of the soul, so that when once a body had lost its life, they considered it to be a thing wholly corrupt and evil; a doctrine which carried in the germ that of the inherent evil of matter, as the philosophical reader will discern.

191. It remains to say something of their religious books. The *Zend Avesta* was supposed to comprise the teaching of Zoroaster, and was believed to have been written by him. Only one complete book has been preserved—it is called the *Vendidad*. The *Zend* language in which the *Avesta* is written is the oldest known form of Persian, older than that in use at the time of Darius the Great; but this is no proof that it dates back to the days of Zarathustra. Part of it is in prose and part in verse, and as in every literature we find that the fragments of verse are they which survive the Conquest, it has been conjectured that the songs of the *Zend Avesta* (Gâthâs they are called) may even have been written by the great reformer himself.

CHAPTER X.

THE OTHER WORLD.

192. If the sun-god was so natural a type of a man-like divinity, a god suffering some of the pains of humanity, a sort of type of man's own ideal life here, it was natural that men should question this oracle concerning their future life and their hopes beyond the grave. We have seen that the Egyptians did so: how they watched the course of the day-star, and, seeing him sink behind the sandy desert, pictured a home of happiness beyond that waste, a place to be reached by the soul after many trials and long wandering in the dim Amenti-land which lay between. The Aryans dwelt, as we know, upon the slopes of the Hindoo-Koosh or in the level plain beneath; and, if the conjecture be reasonable that a great part of the land now a sandy desert was then filled by an inland sea, (see Chap. iv. par. 80) many of them must have dwelt upon its borders and seen the sun plunge in its wave each evening. Then or afterward they saw this, and interpreted what they saw in the very thought of Milton :—

"Weep no more, woeful shepherds, weep no more,
For Lycidas, your sorrow, is not dead,
Sunk though he be beneath the watery floor.
So sinks the day-star in the ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled ore
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky."

And thus a belief grew up among them that after death their souls would have to cross this ocean to some happy paradise which lay beyond in the "home of the sun."

193. The expectation of a journey after death to reach the home of shades is all but universal; for this reason was food and drink placed with the corpse in the tombs of the stone age: and the opinion that the home of the departed lies in the west is of an almost equally wide extension. The Egyptian religion, which in its wonderful "Book of the Dead" gives the oldest (next to the stone age remains) and one of the completest accounts of primitive belief, expresses both these ideas very clearly; and to lengthen out the soul's journey, which was fancied to last thousands of years, and give incident where all must have been really imaginary, the actual journey of the mummy to its resting-place was lengthened after life to portray the more ghostly wanderings of the spirit. As the body was carried across the Nile to be buried in the desert, so the soul was believed to begin his journey in the dim twilight region of Apap, king of the desert, to cross a river more than once, to advance *toward the sun*, light gradually breaking upon him the while, until at last he enters the "Palace of the Two Truths," the judgment-hall of Osiris (the sun). Last of all, he walks into the sun itself, or is absorbed into the essence of the deity.

194. It is clear that in all this we have a nucleus of world-belief touching the soul's future. Yet along with this there is another tendency to view the dead as being still present under the mound which conceals his remains, and in obedience to *this* feeling the old stone age men scattered "shards, flints, and pebbles," before the mouth of the grave. Such a theory would more naturally incline to view the home of the dead as being in or beneath the earth, while the other view would look for it as lying in the west with the setting sun. So far as we know, the first was the prevailing feeling among the Semitic people. The old Hebrew writers (with whom the hopes of immortality were not strong) speak of going down to the grave,* a place

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* *Sheol* is the Hebrew word generally translated "grave" in our version.

thought of as a misty, dull, unfeeling, almost unreal abode. And lastly, a third element—if not universal, common certainly to the Aryan races—will be the conception of the soul separating from the body altogether and mounting upward to some home in the sky. All these elements are found to exist and coexist in creeds untaught by revelation: and the force of the component parts determines the color of their doctrine about the other world.

195. Among all the Aryan people the Greeks seem to have turned their thoughts farthest away from the contemplation of the grave, and though the voice of wonder and imagination could not quite be silent upon so important a question, Hades and the kingdom of Hades filled a disproportionately small space in their creed. They shrank from images of Death, and adorned their tombs and cinerary urns with wreaths of flowers and figures of the Dancing Hours: it is doubtful if the god Thanatos has ever been pictured by Greek art. And from what they have left on record concerning Hades and the realms of death, it is evident that they regarded it chiefly from its merely negative side, in that aspect which corresponds most exactly to the notion of a dark subterraneous kingdom, and not to that of a journey to some other distant land. The etymology of their mythical King of Souls corresponds too with the same notions. Hades means nothing else than A-idês, the unseen. And when it was said that the dead had gone to Hades, all that was literally meant was that he had gone to the unseen place. But later on, the place became personified into the grim deity whom we know in HOMER, the brother of Zeus and Poseidon, he to whose share fell, in the partition of the world, the land of perpetual night. And the under-world pictured by HOMER is just of that voiceless, sightless character which accords with the name of Hades. Even the great heroes lose almost their identity, and all the joy and interest they had in life. To "wander mid shadows a shadow, and wail by impassible streams," is henceforward their occupation

196. Not that the Greeks had *no* idea of of another world of the more heavenly sort; ideas obtained as a joint inheritance with their brother nations; only their thoughts and their poetry do not often center round such pictures. Their Elysian fields are a western sun's home, just after the pattern of the Egyptian; and so are their islands of the west, where, according to one tradition, the just Rhadamanthus had been transported when he fled from the power of his brother Minos.* Only, observe, there is this difference between such Elysia and the Egyptian house of Osiris—the latter was reached across the sandy desert, the former are separated by the ocean from the abode of men. There then are the heavens of the Greek mythology; while the realm of Hades—or later on the realm Hades—might by contrast be called their Hell. Let us look a little nearer at this heaven-picture.

197. The Caspian Sea—or by whatever name we call the great mediterranean sea which lay before them—would be naturally, almost inevitably, considered by the Aryans from their home in Bactria to bound the habitable world. The region beyond its borders would be a twilight land like the land of Apap (the desert-king) of the Egyptians: and still farther away would lie the bright region of the sun's proper home. And these ideas would be both literal—cosmological conceptions, as we should call them—and figurative, or at least mythical, referring to the future state of the soul. The beautiful expression of the Hebrew for that twilight western region, "the valley of the shadow of death," might be used for the Apap land in its figurative significance, and not the less justly because there creeps in here the other notion of death as of a *descending* to the land of shades,* for the two ideas of the western heaven and the subterraneous hell were never utterly separated, but among the Aryans at any rate, constantly acted and reacted upon one another. So with the Greeks we have a cosmological conception—or let us say, more simply, a part of their world-theory—the encircling river Oceanus, with the dim Cimmerian land beyond; and we have the Elysian fields and the islands of the west for the most happy dead. And then by a natural transfer of ideas the bounding river becomes the river of death—Styx and Lethe—and is placed in the region of death; even the Elysian fields at last suffer the same change.

198. The Indian religion, too, has its river of death. "On the fearful road to Yama's door," says a hymn, "is the terrible stream Vaitara*ni*, in order to cross which I sacrifice a black cow."† This river of death must be somehow crossed. The Greeks, we know, had their grim ferryman.

> "Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
> Terribili squalore Charon; cui plurima mento
> Canities iuculta jacet; stant lumina flamma,' etc.

The Indians crossed their river of death by a bridge, which was guarded by two dogs, not less terrible to evil-doers than Charon and Cerberus.

"A narrow path, an ancient one, stretches there, a path untrodden by men, a path I know of."

On it the wise, who had known Brahma, ascend to the dwellings of Svarga, when they have received their dismissal.‡

199. The names of these two dogs are in-

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* The reason why the "blameless Ethiopians" were honored by name and by the company of the gods, is most likely to be found in the fact of their living, as HOMER thought, so near the western border of the world.

* Which was the governing notion in early Hebraic religion

† Weber in Chamb. 1020.

‡ Vrhadâranyaka, Ed. Pol. iii. 4—7.

teresting. They are the sons of that Saramâ whom we have already seen sent by Indra to recover the lost cattle, whose name, too, signified the breeze of morning. Her two sons, the dogs of Yama, being so closely connected with the god of the under-world—as Saramâ is with the winds of Indra the sun-god—might be guessed as the winds of evening or more vaguely, the evening, as Saramâ is the morning. They are so; and by their name of Sârameyas, are even more closely related to Hermes than Saramâ was.[*] We know now why to Hermes was allotted the office of Psychopomp, or leader of the shades to the realm of Hades—or at least we partly know; for we see that he is the same with the two dogs of Yama in the Indian myth. But they are also connected by name with another much more infernal being, Cerberus. Their individual names were *Cerbura*[†] the spotted and Syama the black. Thus the identity of nature is confirmed by the identity of name.

200. Death and sleep are twin brothers, and we need not be surprised to find the Sârameyas, or rather *a* god Sârameyas, addressed as the god of sleep, the protector of the sleeping household, as we do find in a very beautiful poem of the Rig-Vedas.[‡]

> "Destroyer of sickness, guard of the house; oh, thou who takest all shapes, be to us a peace-bringing friend.
> Bay at the robber, Sârameyas, bay at the thief; why bayest thou at the singer of Indra, why art thou angry with me, sleep Sârameyas?
> The mother sleeps, the father sleeps, the dog sleeps, the clan-father[‖] sleeps, the whole clan sleeps, sleep thou, Sârameyas.
> Those who sleep by the cattle, those who sleep by the wain, the women who lie on the couches, the sweet-scented ones, all these we bring to slumber."

How these verses breathe of the fragrant air of the early pastoral life! In their names, again, of "black" and "spotted," it is very probable that the dogs typified two appearances of night, black or starry.

201. And yet we must remember that Hermes is not a god of night, or sleep, but strictly and properly of the wind, and that his name, as that of Sârameyas, bears this meaning in its construction. The god who bore away the souls to the other world, however connected with the night, "the proper time for dying," must have been originally the wind. And in this we see an exquisite appropriateness. The soul is in its original and literal meaning the breath[§]—"the spirit does but mean the breath." What more natural therefore than that the spirit should be carried away by the wind-god. This was peculiarly an Aryan idea. Yet let it not be laid to their charge as though their theories of the soul and future life were less spiritual than those of other nations: quite the contrary was the case. So far as they abandoned the notion of the existence of the *body* in another state and transferred the future to the soul, their ideas became higher, and their pictures of the other world more amplified. But how, it may be asked, did the Aryans pass to their more spiritual conception of the soul? The more external causes of this progress it is worth while briefly to trace.

202. The sun, it has been said, acted powerfully upon men's minds in pointing the hopes of futurity. And in sketching the sun-myth which lay concealed in the story of the life of Heracles, we noticed one feature which suggests thoughts about a not yet mentioned element in the funeral rites of the Aryans. The fiery setting of the sun would itself suggest a fiery funeral, and pre-eminently so to a race who seem to have been addicted more than any other to this form of interment. Baldur, the northern sun-god, likewise receives such a funeral, and this more even than the death of Heracles typifies the double significance of the sun's westering course. For he sails away upon a burning ship. When therefore this fire burial was thoroughly established in custom as the most heroic sort of end, it is not likely that men would longer rely upon their belief that the body continued in an after life, the thought of the dead man living in his grave or traveling thence to regions below must, or should, by the consistent be definitely abandoned. In place of it, a theory of the vital faculty residing in the breath, which almost amounts to a soul distinct from the body, is accepted. Or if the doubting brethren still require some visible representation of the vital power, the smoke[*] of the funeral pyre may typify the ascending soul. Nay, it would appear as though inanimate things likewise had some such essence, which by the fire could be separated from their material form. For what would formerly have been placed with the dead in the grave is now placed upon the pyre. In the funeral of Patroclus (*Il.* xxiii.) we have a complete picture of these reformed rites, which seem to have become common to all the Aryan folk; nor surely could we wish anything more vivid and impressive. The fat oxen and sheep are slain before the pyre, and with the fat from their bodies and with honey the corpse is liberally anointed. Then twelve captives are sacrificed to the manes of the hero; they and his twelve favorite dogs are burnt with him upon the pile. We soon see the reason for anointing the corpse with fat. It was necessary for the peace of the shade that his body should be thoroughly burned; for the funeral ceremony was looked upon as the inevitable portal to Hades; with-

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[*] According to the proper laws of change from Sanskrit to Greek, Sârameyes=Hermeias, Hermês.

[†] Wilson, As. Res., iii. 409.

[‡] vii. 6, 15.

[‖] Father of the "family" in its larger sense; see the chapter on Early Social Life.

[§] Psyche, spiritus, geist, ghost, all from the notion of breathing.

[*] *Iliad*, xxiii, 100.

out it the ghost still lingered upon earth unable to cross the Stygian stream. So afterward, when the pile will not burn, Achilles prays to the North and the West Winds and pours libations to them that they come and consummate the funeral rite. All night as the flame springs up Achilles stands beside it, calling upon the name of his friend and watering the ground with libations from a golden cup. Toward morning the flame sinks down; and then the two winds, according to the beautiful language of mythology, return homeward across the Thracian sea.

203. All the Aryan nationalities practiced cremation in some form or other, or had practised it; most only gave it up upon the introduction of Christianity. The time is too remote, therefore, to say when this form of burial was in truth a novelty; and the fact that the bronze age in Europe is, as distinguished from that of stone, a corpse-burning age, is one of the reasons which urge us to the conclusion that the bronze-using invaders were of the Aryan family.[*] The Indians, owing to their excessive reverence for Agni the fire-god, adhered to the practice most faithfully; though the very same reason (namely, their regard for the purity of fire) made the reformed Iranian religion utterly repudiate it—a fact which might seem strange did we not know how much Zoroastrianism was governed by a spirit of opposition to the older faith.[†] Among the Norsemen about the time of the introduction of Christianity into Scandinavia, Burn? or Bury? became a test-question, and a constant cause of dispute between the rival creeds.

204. In the northern religion too, therefore, we have the same leading ideas which we have signalized in the Indian or Grecian systems. Especially does that notion of the breath of the body, or the smoke of the funeral pyre representing the soul of the hero and carried upward under care of the wind, come prominently forward. This might be expected because, it will be remembered, the wind in the northern mythology is not, as with the Indians, a servant of Yama only, or as with the Greeks a lesser divinity, but the first of all the gods. To Odin is assigned the task of collecting the souls of heroes who had fallen in battle; and there are few myths more poetical than that which pictures him riding to battle fields to execute his mission. He is accompanied by his Valkyriur, "the choosers," a sort of Amazonian houris, half human, half godlike, who ride through the air in the form of swans; wherefore they—who are originally perhaps the clouds—are often called in the Eddas, Odin's swan maidens. It has been said that this myth lived on in after-ages in the form of the *Phantom Army* and *Herne the Hunter:* and the essential part of it, the myth of the soul carried away by the wind, lived on more obscurely in a hundred other tales, some of which we may glance at in our next chapter upon *Mythology*. But while this idea of the mounting soul is often clearly expressed—as for instance where in Beowulf[*] in the last scene, the hero is burnt by the sea-shore, it is said of him that he *wand to wolcum*, "curled to the clouds," imaging well the curling smoke of the pyre—there lingered on throughout other ideas of the death home, a subterraneous land (Helheim, Hel's home) ruled over by the goddess Hel,[†] with its infernal Styx-like stream, and the bridge of Indian mythology transferred to the lower world. And so much were the three distinct ideas interwoven, that in the myth of Baldur each one may be traced. For here the sun-god, who is the very origin and prototype of the two more exalted elements of the creed of the heavenward journey,[‡] has himself to stoop downward to the gates of Hel. If this legend sanctified for the heathens the practice of fire burial, they had certainly so much excuse for their obstinate adherence to the older custom, as one of the most beautiful myths ever told might plead for them. We may look upon it in two aspects—first as an image of the setting sun, next as an expression of men's thoughts concerning death, and the course of the soul to its future home. If in this latter respect the story seems to mix up two different myths concerning the other world, we need not be surprised at that.

205. Baldur dies, as the sun dies each day, and as the summer dies into winter. He falls, struck by a dart from the hand of his blind brother Hödr (the darkness), and the shadow of death appears for the first time in the homes of Asgard. At first the gods knew not what to make of it, "they were struck dumb with horror," says the Edda;[‖] but seeing that he is really dead, they prepare his funeral pyre. They took his ship *Hringhorn*

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[*] The suggestion of GRIMM (*Ueber das Verb. der Leichen*), that interment may have been used by an agricultural people, by those who were wont to watch the sown seed spring into new life, whereas burning is the custom of shepherd races, is not supported by a wide survey of the facts. The Aryans were not essentially pastoral, on the whole less so than the Turanian people who buried (see Herod. I. 4., for Scythians), and less so again than the Semites, who did the same.

[†] The *Vendidâd* relates how after that Auramazda had created sixteen perfect localities upon earth, Ahrimanes came after (like the sower of tares), and did what in him lay to spoil the paradises, by introducing all sorts of noxious animals and other abominations, such as the practice of burning the dead body or giving it to the water. The Iranians, as is well known, suspended their dead upon a sort grating, and left them to be devoured of wild birds.

[*] *Beowulf*, the oldest poem in our language (in Early English) is considered to have been written during the seventh century. However that may be, it breathes the spirit of an earlier (heathen) time, as the instance of the burning of Beowulf alone would testify.

[†] Hel, from *helja*, "to conceal," answered identically to Hades.

[‡] This heavenward journey may be described as at first a haven-ward one (*i. e.*, across the sea); later as a really heavenward one through the air, with the wind-god.

[‖] This is the younger, or Prose Edda, of Snorro (Dæmisaga 49), not that of Sœmund.

(Ringhorn, the disk of the sun), and on it set a pile of wood, with Baldur's horse and his armor, and all that he valued most, to which each god added some worthy gift. And when Nanna, the wife of Baldur, saw the preparations, her heart broke with grief, and she too was laid upon the pile. Then they set fire to the ship, which sailed out burning into the sea.

206 But Baldur himself has to go to Helheim, the dark abode beneath the earth, where reigns Hel,* the goddess of the dead. Then Odin sends his messenger, Hermödr, to the goddess, to pray her to let Baldur return once more to earth. For nine days and nine nights Hermödr rode through dark glens, so dark, that he could not discern anything until he came to the river Gjöll ("the sounding"—notice that here the Stygian myth reappears), over which he rode by Gjöll's bridge, which was pleasant with bright gold. A maiden sat there keeping the bridge; she inquired of him his name and lineage—for, said she, "Yestereve five bands of dead men rid over the bridge, yet they did not shake it so much as thou hast done. But thou hast not death's hue upon thee; why then ridest thou here on the way to Hel?"

"I ride to Hel," answered Hermödr, "to seek Baldur. Hast thou perchance seen him pass this way?"

"Baldur," answered she, "hath ridden over Gjöll's bridge. But yonder, northward, lies the road to Hel."

Hermödr then rode into the palace, where he found his brother Baldur filling the highest place in the hall, and in his company he passed the night The next morning he besought Hel, that she would let Baldur ride home with him, assuring her how great the grief was among the gods.

Hel answered, "It shall now be proved whether Baldur be so much loved as thou sayest. If, therefore, all things both living and lifeless weep for him, then shall he return. But if one thing speak against him or refuse to weep, he shall be kept in Helheim."

207. And when Hermödr had delivered this answer, the gods sent off messengers throughout the whole world, to tell everything to weep, in order that Baldur might be delivered out of Helheim. All things freely complied with this request, both men and every other living thing, and earths, and stones, and trees, and metals, just as thou hast no doubt seen these things weep when they are brought from a cold place into a hot one. As the messengers were returning, and deemed that their mission had been successful, they found an old hag, named Thokk,† sitting in a cavern, and her they begged to weep Baldur out of Helheim. But she said:—

"Thokk will wail
With dry eyes
Baldur's bale-fire.
Nought quick or dead
For carl's son care I.
Let Hel hold her own."

So Baldur remained in Helheim. Such was the sad conclusion of the myth of which the memory is kept up even in these days. For in Norway and Sweden—nay, in some parts of Scotland, the *bale-fires* celebrating the bale or death of the sun god are lighted on the day when the sun passes the highest point in the ecliptic. Baldur will not, said tradition, remain forever in Helheim. A day will come, the twilight of the gods, when the gods themselves will be destroyed in a final victorious contest with the evil powers. And then, when a new earth has arisen from the deluge which destroys the old, Baldur, the god of Peace, will come from Death's home to rule over this regenerate world. A sublime myth—if indeed it can be called a *myth*.

CHAPTER XI.

MYTHOLOGIES AND FOLK TALES.

208. If we found it difficult to reduce to a consistent unity the religious ideas of the Aryan races, what hope have we to find any thread through the labyrinth of their unbridled imagination in dealing with more fanciful subjects? The world is all before them where to choose, nature, in her multitudinous works and ever changing shows, is at hand to give breath to the faculty of mythmaking, and lay the foundation of all the stories which have ever been told. The two elements concurrent to the manufacture of mythologies are the varying phenomena in nature, and that which is called the anthropomorphic (personifying) faculty in man. Not, indeed, that all myths represent natural appearances, some may well enough relate events, human adventures; but the gods themselves being in almost every instance the personifications of phenomena or powers of nature, the myths of widest extension were necessarily occupied with these. Religion being the greatest concern of man, the myths which allied themselves most closely to his religious ideas would be those which maintained the longest life and most universal acceptance In reviewing some of the Aryan myths—in a hasty and general review as it must needs be—the preceding chapter will serve as a guide to the myths most closely connected with religious notions, which have a chief claim upon our attention. Indeed, conversely, it was the fact that so many myths cling around certain natural phenomena which allowed us, with proper reservation, to point

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* Hel, in Norse mythology, is a person, the regent of Helheim. Just in the same way Hades is in HOMER always a god, never a place. The idea concerning Helheim seems to have been that all who were not slain in battle went to its dark shore.

† *i. e.* Dokkr, *dark*. She sits in a cave because both day and night are imaged as coming from a cave. So SHELLEY sings—

"Swiftly walk over the western cave,
Spirit of Night,
Out of thy misty eastern cave."

these out as the phenomena which held the most intimate place in men's minds and hearts. *With proper reservations*, because the highest abstracted god does not lend himself to the myth-making faculty. He stands apart from the polytheistic cycle—below him the nature gods who are also the heroes of the mythologies.

209. With a backward glance, then to what has been already written, we may expect the chief myth systems to divide themselves under certain classes corresponding with the god—or natural phenomenon—who is their concern. We may expect to find myths relating especially to the labors of the sun, like those of Heracles and Thorr, or to the wind, like that of Hermes stealing the cattle of Apollo, or to the earth sleeping in the embrace of winter, or sorrowing for the loss of her greenery, or joyful again in her recovered life. And again we may look to find myths more intimately concerned with death, and with the looked-for future of the soul. These will mingle like mingling streams, but we shall often be able to trace their origin.

210. The diversity of the natural phenomena which give rise to them will not in any way hinder the myths from reproducing the *human* elements which have, since the world began, held their pre-eminence in romance and history. There will be love stories, stories of battle and victory, of magic and strange disguises, of suddenly acquired treasure, and, most attractive of all to the popular mind, stories of princes and princesses whose princedom is hidden under a servile station or beggar's gaberdine, and of heroes who allow their heroism to rust for a while in strange inaction, that

> "Imitate the sun,
> Who doth permit the base contagious clouds
> To smother up his beauty from the world,
> That, when he please again to be himself,
> Being wanted, he may be more wondered at."

Not necessarily because such heroes *were* the sun, but rather that the tales, appealing so correctly to the common sympathies of human nature, attach themselves pre-eminently to the great natural hero, the sun-god.

211. Yet to begin with the sun-god, his love stories relate most commonly the pursuit of the dawn, a woman, by the god of day. She flies at his approach; or if the two are married in early morning, when the day advances, the dawn dies or the sun leaves her to pursue his allotted journey. We read how Apollo pursued Daphnê, while she still fled from him, and at last, praying to the gods, was changed into a laurel, which ever afterward remained sacred to the son of Lêtô. There is nothing new in the story; it might be related of any hero. Yet, as we find Greek art so often busy with it, we might guess that it had obtained for some reason a hold more than commonly firm upon the popular imagination. And when we turn from the Greek to the Sanskrit we are able to unravel the myth and show it, so far as the names are concerned, peculiar to the sun-god. Daphnê is the Sanskrit Dahanâ, that is to say, the Dawn.

212. A tenderer love-story is that which speaks of the sun and the dawn as united at the opening of the day, but of the separation which follows when the sun reveals himself in his true splendor. The parting, however, will not be eternal, for the sun in the evening shall sink into the arms of the west, as in the morning he left those of the east—all the physical appearances at sundown will correspond with those of the dawn—so in poetical language he will be said to return to his love again at the evening of life Well according with its natural origin and native attractiveness, we find this story repeated almost identically as regards its chief incidents by all the branches of the Aryan family. For an Indian version of it the reader may consult the story of Urvasi and Pururavas told by MAX MÜLLER from one of the Vedas.* Urvasi is a fairy who falls in love with Pururavas, a mortal, and consents to become his wife, on condition that she should never see him without his royal garment on, "for this is the manner of women." For awhile they lived together happily; but the Gandhavas, the fairy beings to whom Urvasi belonged, were jealous of her love for a mortal, and they laid a plot to separate them. "Now there was a ewe with two lambs tied to the couch of Urvasi and Pururavas, and the fairies stole one of them, so that Urvasi upbraided her husband and said, 'They steal my darlings as though I lived in a land where there is no hero, and no man.' And Pururavas said, 'How can that be a land without heroes or men where I am,' and naked he sprang up. Then the Gandhavas sent a flash of lightning, and Urvasi saw her husband naked as by daylight. Then she vanished. 'I come back,' she said; and went."

213. Cupid loves Psyche as Pururavas Urvasi, but here the story is so far changed that the woman breaks the condition laid upon their union. Not this time by accident, but from the evil counselling of her two sisters, Psyche disobeys her husband. They have long been married, but she has never seen his face; and doubts begin to arise lest some horrid monster, and not a god, may be the sharer of her couch. So she takes the lamp, and when she deems her husband is fast locked in sleep, gazes upon the face of the god of love.

> "But as she turned at last
> To quench the lamp, there happed a little thing
> That quenched her new delight, for flickering,
> The treacherous flame cast on his shoulder fair
> A burning drop; he woke, and seeing her there,

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* Or strictly speaking the Brahmana of the Yagur Veda. The Brahmana is the scholiast (as it were) or *targum* of the original text. Urvasi is Ushas, the Dawn.

> **The meaning of that sad sight knew full well;**
> Nor was there need the piteous tale to tell."
> —Morris, *Earthly Paradise: Cupid and Psyche.*

214. It may be said that we have here wandered far from the sun. Cupid or Eros is in no sense a sun-god; nor has Psyche any proved connection with Ushas, the Dawn. This is true; once a sun-myth does not imply always a sun-myth. So much the contrary, that it is part of our business to show how stories, first appropriated to Olympus or Asgard, may descend to take their place among the commonest collection of nursery tales. It is the case with this myth of the Dawn. The reader's acquaintance with nursery literature has probably already anticipated the kinship to be claimed by one of the most familiar childish legends. But as one more link to rivet the bond ot union between *Urvasi and Pururavas* and *Beauty and the Beast*, let us look at a story of Swedish origin called *Prince Hatt under the Earth*.

215. "There was once, very, very long ago, a king who had three daughters, all exquisitely fair, and much more amiable than other maidens, so that their like was not to be found far or near. But the youngest princess excelled her sisters, not only in beauty, but in goodness of heart and kindness of disposition. She was consequently greatly beloved by all, and the king himself was more fondly attached to her than to either of his other daughters.

216. "It happened one autumn that there was a fair in a town not far from the king's residence, and the king himself resolved on going to it with his attendants. When on the eve of departure he asked his three daughters what they would like for fairings, it being his constant custom to make them some present on his return home, the two elder princesses began instantly to enumerate precious things of curious kinds; one would have this, the other that; but the youngest daughter asked for nothing. At this the king was surprised, and asked her whether she would not like some ornament or other; but she answered that she had plenty of gold and jewels. When the king, however, would not desist from urging her, she at length said, 'There is one thing which I would gladly have, if only I might venture to ask it of my father.' 'What may that be?' inquired the king, 'say what it is, and if it be in my power you shall have it.' 'It is this,' replied the princess, 'I have heard talk of the *three singing leaves*, and them I wish before anything in the world.' The king laughed at her for making so trifling a request, and at length exclaimed, 'I cannot say that you are very covetous, and would rather by half that you had asked for some greater gift You shall, however, have what you desire, though it should cost me half my realm.' He then bade his daughters farewell and rode away."

217. Of course he goes to the fair, and on his way home happens to hear the three singing leaves, "which moved to and fro, and as they played there came forth a sound such as it would be impossible to describe." The king was glad to have found what his daughter had wished for, and was about to pluck them, but the instant he stretched forth his hand toward them, they withdrew from his grasp, and a powerful voice was heard from under the earth saying, "Touch not my leaves." "At this the king was somewhat surprised, and asked who it was, and whether he could not purchase the leaves for gold or good words. The voice answered, 'I am *Prince Hatt under the Earth*, and you will not get my leaves either with good or bad as you desire. Nevertheless I will propose to you one condition.' 'What condition is that?' asked the king with eagerness. 'It is,' answered the voice, 'that you promise me the first living thing that you meet when you return to your palace.'" As we anticipate, the first thing which he meets is his youngest daughter, who therefore is left with lamentation under the hazel bush; and as is its wont on such occasions, the ground opens, and she finds herself in a beautiful palace. Here she lives long and happily with Prince Hatt, upon condition that she shall never see him. But at last she is permitted to pay a visit to her father and sisters; and her stepmother succeeds in awakening her curiosity and her fears, lest she should really be married to some horrid monster. The princess thus allows herself to be persuaded to strike a light and gaze on her husband while he is asleep. Of course, just as her eyes have lighted upon a beautiful youth he awakes, and as a consequence of her disobedience—(here the story alters somewhat)—he is struck blind, and the two are obliged to wander over the earth, and endure all manner of misfortunes before Prince Hatt's sight is at last restored.

218. The sun is so apt to take the place of an almost superhuman hero, that most of the stories of such when they are purely mythical relate some part of the sun's daily course and labors. Thus in the Greek, Perseus, Theseus, Jason, are in the main sun-heroes, though they mingle with their histories tales ot real human adventure. One of the most easily traceable sun-stories is that of Perseus and the Gorgon. The later representations of Medusa in Greek art give her a beautiful dead face shrouded by luxurious snaky tresses; but the earlier art presents us with a round face, distorted by a hideous grin from ear to ear, broad cheeks, low forehead, over which curl a few flattened locks. We at once see the likeness of this face to the full moon; a likeness which, without regard to mythology, forces itself upon us; and then the true story of Perseus flashes upon us as the extinction of the moon by the sun's light. This is the baneful Gorgon's head, the full moon, which so many nations super-

stitiously believed could exert a fatal power over the sleeper; and when slain by the son of Danaê, it is the pale ghostlike disc which we see by day. It is very interesting to see how the Greeks made a myth of the moon in its—one may say—literal unidealized aspect, as well as the countless more poetical myths which spoke of the moon as a beautiful goddess, queen of the night, the virgin huntress surrounded by her pack of dogs—the stars In the instance of Medusa these two aspects of one natural appearance are brought into close relationship, for Athênê in her character of moon goddess—wears the Gorgon's head upon her shield.

219. As we have passed on to speak of the moon, we may as well notice some of the other moon-myths: though in the case of these, as of the myths of the sun, our only object must be to show the characteristic forms which this order of tales assume, so that the way may be partly cleared for their detection; nothing like a complete list of the infinitely varied shapes which the same nature-story can assume being possible. One of the most beautiful of moon-myths is surely the tale of Artemis (Diana) and Endymion. This last, the beautiful shepherd of Latmos,[*] by his name "He who enters," is in origin the sun just entering the *cave* of night.[†] The moon looking upon the setting sun is a signal for his long sleep, which in the myth becomes the sleep of death. The same myth reappears in the well-known legend of Tannhäuser. He enters a mountain, the Venusberg, or Mount of Venus, and is not sent to sleep, but laid under an enchantment by the goddess within. In other versions of the legend the mountain is called not Venusberg but Horelberg, and from this name we trace the natural origin of the myth. For there was an old moon-goddess of the Teutons called Horel or Hursel. She therefore is the enchantress in this case; and the Christian knight falls a victim to the old German moon-goddess. It has been supposed that the story of the massacre of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins—whose bones they show to this day at Cologne—arose out of the same nature-myth; and that this St. Ursula is also none other than Hursel, followed by her myriad troop of stars.[‡]

220. The northern religion has been fruitful of its sun-myths, though in this system the sun is not pre-eminent, but holds almost equal place with the wind—the myths of Thorr and Baldur are balanced by those of Odin in his character of wind-god. And both sorts of stories have descended to a place in our nursery tales. Thorr, the champion of men, and the enemy of the Jōtuns (giants), becomes in later days Jack the Giant Killer; Odin, by a like descent, the Wandering Jew, or the Pied Piper of Hameln. And thus through a hundred popular legends we can detect the natural appearance out of which they originally sprang. Let us look at them first in their old heathen forms. Thorr, the hero and sun-god, the northern Herakles, distinguished himself as the implacable enemy of the rime-giants and frost-giants, the powers of cold and darkness; and to carry on his hostilities, he makes constant expeditions, "farings" into giant-land, or Jōtunheim, as it is called; and these expeditions generally end in the thorough discomfiture of the strong but rude and foolish personifications of barren nature. One of these, the adventure to the house of Thrym,[*] is to recover Thorr's hammer, which has been stolen by the giant and hidden many feet beneath the earth. A spy is sent from Asgard (the city of the gods) into Jōtunheim, and brings back word that Thrym will not give up his prize unless Freyja—goddess of Spring and Beauty—be given to him as his bride; and at first Thorr proposes this alternative to Freyja herself, little, as may be guessed, to her satisfaction.

"Wroth was Freyja
And with fury fumed,
All the Æsir's hall
Under her trembled;
Broken flew the famed
Brisinga-necklace."[*]

But the wily Loki settles the difficulty. Thorr shall go to Jōtunheim clad in Freyja's weeds,

"Let by his side keys jingle, and a neat coif set on his head."

So taking Loki with him clad as a serving-maid, the god fares to Thrym's house, as though he were the looked-for bride. It must, one would suppose, have been an anxious time for Thorr and Loki, while unarmed they sate in the hall of the giant; for the hero could not avoid raising some suspicions by his unwomanly appearance and demeanor He alone devoured, we are told, an ox, eight salmon, "and all the sweetmeats women should have," and he drank eight "scalds" of mead. Thrym naturally exclaimed that he never saw brides eat so greedily or drink so much mead. But the "all-crafty" Loki sitting by, explained how this was owing to the hurry Freyja was in to behold her bridegroom, which left her no time to eat for the eight nights during which she had been journeying there. And so again when Thrym says—

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[*] Connected with Lêthê, *concealment* or *forgetfulness*, as with Lêtô, the mother of Apollo. All signify the darkness.

[†] See par. 207 Endymion is found by Artemis sleeping in a cave of Latmos.

[‡] See BARING-GOULD, *Curious Myths*, etc.

[*] He is actually a reduplication of Thorr; for his name means *thunder*, as does Thorr's Thorr is of course much more than a god of thunder only; but his hammer is undoubtedly the thunder-bolt. Thrym represents the same power associated with beings of frost and snow, the winter thunder, in fact This stealing Thorr's hammer is merely a repetition of the idea implied by his name and character,

[†] Which Freyja wore.

"Why are so piercing Freyja's glances!
Methinks that fire burns from her eyes."

Loki explains that for the same reason she had not slept upon her journey; and the foolish, vain giant is gulled once more. At last the coveted prize, the hammer, was brought in to consecrate the marriage, and "Thorr's soul laughed in his breast, when the fierce-hearted his hammer recognized. He slew Thrym, the Thursar's (giants') lord, and Jōtun's race crushed he utterly." At another time Thorr engages Alvis, "of the race of the Thursar,"* in conversation upon all manner of topics, concerning the names which different natural objects bear among men, among gods, among giants. and among dwarfs, until he guilefully keeps him above earth till after sunrise, which it is not possible for a dwarf or Jōtun to do and live. So Alvis burst asunder.† This tale shows clearly enough how much Thorr's enemies are allied with darkness.

221. Thorr is not always so successful. In another of his journeys‡ the giants play a series of tricks upon him, quite suitable to the Teutonic conception of the cold north, as a place of magic, glamour and illusion. One giant induces the thunderer to mistake a mountain for him, and to hurl at *it* the death-dealing bolt—his hammer Mjōlnir. Afterward he is set to drain a horn, which he supposes he can finish at a draught, but finds that after the third pull at it, scarcely more than the rim has been left bare; at the same time Loki engages in an eating match with one Logi. and is utterly worsted. But in reality Thorr's horn has reached to the sea, and he has been draining at that; while the antagonist of Loki is the devouring fire itself. Afterward Thorr cannot lift a cat from the ground, for it is in truth the great Midgard serpent which girds the whole earth, and he is overcome in a wrestling match with an old hag, whose name is Ella, that is, Old Age or Death. Enough has been said in these stories to show how directly the cloak of Thorr descends to the heroes of our nursery tales, Jack the Giant Killer and Jack and the Bean-Stalk.

222. Closely connected with the sun god are the mythical heroes of northern poetry. the Perseus or Theseus of Germany and Scandinavia. The famous Sigurd the Volsung, the slayer of Fafnir, or his counterpart Siegfrid of the Nibelung song, or again the hero of our own English poem Beowulf,‖ are especially at war with dragons—which represents the powers of darkness—or with beings of a Jōtun-like character. They are all discoverers of treasures; and this so far corresponds with the character of Thorr that the thunderbolt is often spoken of as the revealer of the treasures of the earth, and that the sign of it was employed as a charm for that purpose. And when we read the tales or poems in which these adventures are told we see how entirely unhuman in character they were, and how much the actors in the drama bear the reminiscences of the natural phenomena from which they sprang. This is especially the case with Beowulf. The poem is weird and imaginative in the highest degree: the atmosphere into which we are thrown seems to be the misty delusive air of Jōtunheim, and the unearthly beings whom Beowulf encounters must have had birth within the shadows of night and in the mystery which attached to the wild unvisited tracts of country. Grendel, a horrid ghoul who feasts on human beings, whom Beowulf wrestles with (as Thorr wrestles with Ella) and puts to death, is described as "an inhabiter of the moors," the "fen and fastnesses;" he comes upon the scene "like a cloud from the misty hills, through the wan night a shadow-walker stalking;" and of him and his mother it is said,

"They a father know not,
Whether any of them was
Born before
Of the dark ghosts."

They inhabit, in a secret land, the wolves' retreat, and in "windy ways—

Where the mountain stream
Under the nesses mist
Downward flows."

223. Of the myths which spring from the wind, and which may therefore be reckoned the children of Odin, by far the most interesting are those which attach to him in his part of Psychpomp, or soul-leader, and which form a part, therefore, of an immense series of tales connected with the Teutonic ideas of death as they were detailed in the last chapter. There were many reasons why these occupied a leading place in middle age legend. The German race is naturally a gloomy or at least a thoughtful one: and upon this natural gloom and thoughtfulness the influence of their new faith acted with redoubled force, awaking men to thoughts not only of a new life but of a new death. Popular religion took as strong a hold of the darker as of the brighter aspects of Catholicism, and was busy grafting the older notions of the soul's future state upon the fresh stock of revealed religion. Thus many of the popular notions both of heaven and hell may be discovered in the beliefs of heathen Germany. Let us, therefore, abandoning the series of myths which belong properly to the Aryan religious beliefs as given in chapter ix. (though upon these,

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* GIANT does not really translate Thurs. Most of the Thursar were giants as opposed to the Dvargar, the dwarfs. But this Alvis (all-wise) is spoken of as a dwarf.

† There is a clear recollection of this in the end of Rumpelstiltskin

‡ This story, be it said, comes only from the younger Edda, No hint of it in the older.

‖ "Beowulf," which is thought to have been composed in English about the seventh century, relates the adventures of a Prince of Gothland, in Sweden. Though made and sung in a Christian country, the people of whom it speaks are evidently heathens.

so numerous are they, we seem scarcely to have begun), turn to others which illustrate our last chapter. Upon one we have already touched: Odin, as chooser of the dead, hurrying through the air toward a battle-field with his troop of shield-maidens, the Valkyriur;* or if we like to present the simpler nature-myth, the wind bearing away the departing breath of dying men, and the clouds which he carries on with him in his course. For there is no doubt that these Valkyriur, these shield or swan maidens, who have the power of transforming themselves at pleasure into birds, are none other than the clouds, perhaps like the cattle of Indra, especially the clouds of sunrise. We meet with them elsewhere than in northern mythology. The Urvasi, whose story we have been relating just now, after the separation from her mortal husband changes herself into a bird and is found by Pururavas in this disguise, sitting with her friends the Gandhavas upon the water of a lake. This means the clouds of evening sitting upon the wide blue sky. The Valkyriur themselves, when they have been married to men, often leave them as the Indian fairy left her husband, and lest they should do so it is not safe to restore them the swan's plumage which they wore as Valkyriur; should they again obtain their old equipment they will be almost sure to don it and desert their home to return to their old life. The Valkyriur, therefore, are clouds; and in so far as they appear in the legends of other nations have no intimate connection with Odin. But when they are the clouds of sunset and when Odin in his character of soul-bearer becomes before all things the wind of the *setting* sun (that breeze which so often rises just as the sun goes down, and which itself might stand for the escaping soul of the dying day), then the Valkyriur make part of an ancient myth of death. And almost all the stories of swan maidens, or transformations into swans, which are so familiar to the ears of childhood, originate from Odin's warrior maidens. If we notice the plot of these stories, we shall see that in them too the transformation usually takes place at sunsetting or sun-rising. For instance, in the tale of the six swans in GRIMM'S *Household Stories*,† the enchanted brothers of the princess can only reappear in their true shapes just one hour before sunset.

224. In Christian legends, subject to the changes which inevitably follow a change of belief, the gods of Asgard become demoniacal powers: and Odin the chief god takes the place of the arch-fiend. For this part he is doubly suited by his character of conductor of the souls; if he formerly led them to heaven, he now thrusts them down to hell. But so many elements came together to compose the mediæval idea of the devil that in this character the individuality of Odin is scarcely preserved. At times a wish to revive something of this personal character was felt, especially when the frequent sound of the wind awoke old memories; then Odin re-emerges as some particular fiend or damned human soul. He is the Wandering Jew, a being whose eternal restlessness well keeps up the character of the wind blowing where it listeth; or he is, as we have said, the Wild Huntsman of the Harz, and of many other places. The name of this being, Hackelberg, or Hackelbärend (cloak bearer), sufficiently points him out as Odin, who in the heathen traditions had been wont to wander over the earth clad in a blue cloak,* and broad hat, and carrying a staff. Hackelberg, the huntsman to the Duke of Brunswick, had refused even on his deathbed the ministrations of a priest, and swore that the cry of his dogs was pleasanter to him than holy rites, and that he would rather hunt forever upon earth than go to heaven. "Then," said the man of God, "thou shalt hunt on till the Day of Judgment" Another legend relates that Hackelberg was a wicked noble who went to hunt on Sundays as on other days, and (here comes in the *popular* version) to impress the poor peasants to aid him. One day he was joined suddenly by two horsemen. One was mild of aspect, but the other was grim and fierce, and from his horse's mouth and nostrils breathed fire. Hackelberg turned then from his good angel and went on with his wild chase, and now, in company of the fiend, he hunts and will hunt till the last day. He is called in Germany the *hel-jäger*, "hell hunter." The peasants hear his "hoto" "hutu," as the storm wind rushes past their doors, and if they are alone upon the hill-side they hide their faces while the hunt goes by. The white owl, Totosel, is a nun who broke her vows, and now mingles her "tutu" (towhoo) with his "holloa." He hunts, accompanied by two dogs (the two dogs of Yama), in heaven, all the year round, save upon the twelve nights between Christmas and Twelfth-night.† If any door is left open upon the night when Hackelberg goes by, one of the dogs will run in and lie down in the ashes of the hearth, nor will any power be able to make him stir. During all the ensuing year there will be trouble in that household, but when the year has gone round and the hunt comes again, the unbidden guest will rise from his couch, and, wildly howling, rush forth to join his master.

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* Valkyria, sing., Valkyriur, pl.

† *Kinder- u. Hausmärchen.*

* *i. e.*, the sky. See GRIMM, *Deutsche Myth.* s.v Hackelberg; and also two very interesting articles by A. KUHN *Zeitsch. für deutsch. Alterth.* v 379, vi., 117 showing relationship of Hackelbärend and the Sârameyas

† These twelve nights occupy in the middle-age legends the place of a sort of battle-ground between the powers of light and darkness. One obvious reason of this is that they lie in midwinter, when the infernal powers are the strongest. Another reason perhaps is that they lie between the great Christian feast and the great heathen one, the feast of Yule. Each party might be expected to put forth its full power.

Strangely refracted there lurks in this part of the story a ray of the Vedic sleep-god Sârameyas.

"Destroyer of sickness, guard of the house, oh, thou who takest all shapes, be to us a peace-bringing friend."

225. The Valkyriur in their turn are changed by the mediæval spirit into witches. The Witches' Sabbath, the old beldames on broom-sticks riding through the air, to hold their revels on the Brocken, reproduce the swan maidens hurrying to join the flight of Odin. And again, changed once more, "Old Mother Goose" is but a more modern form of a middle-age witch when the thought of witches no longer strikes terror. And while we are upon the subject of witches it may be well to recall how the belief in witches has left its trace in our word "nightmare." *Mara* was throughout Europe believed to be the name of a very celebrated witch somewhere in the north, though the exact place of her dwelling was variously stated. And it is highly probable that this name Mara was once a bye-name of the death-goddess Hel, and itself etymologically connected with the name of the sea (Meer), the sea being, as we have seen, according to one set of beliefs, the home of the soul.

226. Odin, or a being closely analagous to him, reappears in the familiar tale of the Pied Piper of Hameln, he, who, when the whole town of Hameln suffered from a plague of rats and knew not how to get rid of them, appeared suddenly—no one knew from whence—and professed himself able to accomplish their wish by means of the secret magic of his pipe. But it is a profanation to tell the enchanted legend otherwise than in the enchanted language of BROWNING:

> "Into the street the piper stept,
> Smiling first a little smile,
> As if he knew what magic slept
> In his quiet pipe the while;
> Then like a musical adept
> To blow the pipe his lips he wrinkled."

Then the townsfolk, freed from their burden, refused the piper his promised reward, and scornfully chased him from the town. On the 26th of June he was seen again, but this time (Mr. BROWNING has not incorporated this little fact) fierce of aspect and dressed like a *huntsman*, yet still blowing upon the magic pipe.

227. Now it is not the rats who follow, but the children :

> "All the little boys and girls,
> With rosy cheeks and flaxen curls,
> And sparkling eyes and teeth like pearls,
> Tripping and skipping, ran merrily after
> The wonderful music with shouting and laughter."

And so he leads them away to the Koppelberg Hill, and

> "Lo, as they reached the mountain side,
> A wondrous portal opened wide,
> As if a cavern were suddenly hollowed ;
> And the Piper advanced and the children followed.
> And when all were in, to the very last,
> The door in the mountain side shut fast."

228. This too is a myth of death. It is astonishing, when we come to examine into the origin of popular tales, how many we find that had at first a funeral character. This Piper hath indeed a magic music which none can disobey, for it is the whisper of death ; he himself is the soul-leading Hermes (the wind, the piper), or at least Odin, in the same office. But the legend is, in part at any rate, Slavonic ; for it is a Slavonic notion which likens the soul to a mouse.* When we have got this clue, which the modern folk lore easily gives us, the Odinic character of the Piper becomes very apparent. Nay, in this particular myth we can almost trace a history of the meeting of two peoples, Slavonic and German, and the junction of their legends. Let us suppose there had been some great and long remembered epidemic which had proved peculiarly fatal to the children of Hameln and the country round about. The Slavonic dwellers there—and in pre-historic times the Slavs probably spread quite as far as the Weser—would speak of these deaths mythically as the departure of the mice (*i. e.* the souls), and perhaps keeping the tradition, which we know to be universally Aryan, of a water-crossing, might tell of the mice as having gone to the water. Or further, they might feign that these souls were led there by a piping wind-god : he too is the common property of the Aryan folk. Then the Germans coming in, and wishing to express the legend in their mythological form, would tell how the same Piper had piped away all the *children* from the town. So a double story would spring up about the same event. The Weser represents one image of death, and might have served for the children as well as for the mice : to make the legend fuller, however, another image is selected for them, the dark, "concealed" place, namely, Hel, or the cave of Night and Death.

229. The two images of death which occur in the last story rival each other through the field of middle-age legend and romance. When we hear of a man being borne along in a boat, or lying deep in slumber beneath a mountain, we may let our minds wander back to Baldur sailing across the ocean in his burning ship *Hringhorn*, and to the same Baldur in the halls of Hel's palace. The third image of death is the blazing pyre unaccompanied by any sea voyage. One or other of these three allegories meets us at every turn. If the hero has been snatched away by fairy power to save him from dying, and the last thing seen of him was in a boat —as Arthur disappears upon the lake Avalon

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* Perhaps for a reason like that which made the beetle a symbol of the soul or immortality among the Egyptians, namely, because the mouse hibernates like the sleeping earth. It is worth noticing that Anubis, the Egyptian psychopomp, is also a wind-god.—A. K.

—the myth holds out the hope of his return, and sooner or later the story of this return will break off and become a separate legend. Hence the numerous half-unearthly heroes, such as Lohengrin, who come men know not whence, and are first seen sleeping in a boat upon a river. These are but broken halves of complete myths which should have told of the former disappearance of the knight by the same route. Both portions really belong to the tale of Lohengrin ; he went away first in a ship in search of the holy grail, and in the truest version[*] returns in like manner in a boat drawn by a *swan*. In some tales he is called the Knight of the Swan. He comes suddenly, in answer to a prayer to Heaven for help, uttered by the distressed Else of Brabant. But he does not return at once again to the Paradise which has sent him to earth. He remains upon earth, and becomes the husband of Else, and a famous warrior ; and part of another myth entwines itself with his story. Else must not ask his name : but she disobeys his imperative command, and this fault parts them for ever. Here we have Cupid and Psyche, or Prince Hatt and his Wife, over again. The boat appears once more drawn by the same swan, Lohengrin steps into it, and disappears from the haunts of men. We have already seen how through the Valkyriur the swan is connected with ideas of death. It remains to notice how they are naturally so connected by the beautiful legend—myth or fact I do not know—that the swan sings once only in life, namely, when he is leaving it, that his first song is his own funeral melody. A much older form of the Lohengrin myth is referred to in the opening lines of Beowulf, where an ancestor of that hero is said to have been found, a little child, lying asleep in an open boat which had drifted, no one knows whence, to the shore of Gothland.

230. Death being thus so universally symbolized by the River of Death, it is easy to see the origin of the myth that ghosts will not cross living water. It meant nothing else than that a ghost cannot return again to life. In the dark days which followed the overthrow of the Western Empire, when all the civilization of its remoter territories had melted away, there grew up among the fishermen of Northern Gaul a wild belief that the Channel opposite them was the mortal river, and that the shores of Britain were the asylum of dark ghosts. The myth went, that in the villages of the Gaulish coast the fishermen were summoned by rotation to perform the dreadful task of ferrying over the departed spirits. At night a knocking was heard on their doors, a signal of their duties, and when they approached the beach they saw boats lying deep in the water as though heavily freighted, but yet to *their* eyes empty. Each stepping in, took his rudder, and then by an unfelt wind the boat was wafted in one night across a distance which, rowing and sailing, they could ordinarily scarcely compass in eight. Arrived at the opposite shore (our coast), they heard names called over and voices answering as if by rote, and they felt their boats becoming light. Then when all the ghosts had landed they were wafted back to Gaul.[*]

231. Among underground-sleepers, who reproduce the second image of death, the most celebrated are Kaisar Karl in the Unterberg —the under-hill, or hill leading to the underworld; or, as another legend goes, in the Nürnberg, which is really the Niedern-berg, the down-leading hill ; and Frederick Red-Beard sleeping in like manner at Kaiserslautern, or under the Rabenspurg (raven's hill). Deep below the earth he sits, his knights around him, their armor on, the horses harnessed in the stable ready to come forth at Germany's hour of need. His long red beard has grown through the table on which his head is resting. Once, it is said, a shepherd chanced upon the cave which leads down to the under-ground palace and awoke the Emperor from his slumber. "Are the ravens still flying round the hill?" asked Frederick. "Yes." "Then must I sleep another hundred years."

232. There are two forms of allusion to the old heathen custom of fire-burial. One is by the direct mention of a fire—a circle of fire, probably, through which the Knight must ride ; the second is by putting in place of the fire the thorn which was the invariable concomitant of the funeral pile. A thorn-bush having been employed as the foundation of the fire, a thorn becomes a symbol of the funeral, and so of death.[†] Hence the constant stories of the Sleep-thorn In the tale of Sigurd the Volsung both these symbols are used ; when Sigurd first finds Brynhild she has been pricked by Odin with a sleep-thorn, in revenge, because she took part against his favorite Hialmgunnar ; for she was a Valkyria. Sigurd awakes her. At another time he rides to her through a circle of fire which she has set round her house, and which no other man dared face. In the myth of Sigurd, twice as it were riding through death to Byrnhild, we see first of all a nature-myth precisely of the same kind as the myth of Freyr and Gerda (par. 185),[‡] precisely the re-

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[*] There are at least six different versions of the same legend given in Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*.

[*] This myth is related by Procopius (*B. G.* iv.). I have no doubt that this island, which *he* calls Brittia (and of course distinguished from Britannia), is really identical with it. The *wall* which he speaks of as dividing it is proof sufficient.

[†] See Grimm's Essay, *Ueber das Verb. der Leichen*, for the proof of this fact.

[‡] The fortune which accompanies a myth is very curious. That of Freyr and Gerda is by no means conspicuous in the Edda, and I should not have been justified in comparing it in importance with the Persephone myth, but that precisely the same story forms a leading feature in *the* great Norse and Teuton epic, the Volsung and Nibelung songs.

verse of the myth of Persephone. Byrnhild is the dead earth restored by the kiss of the sun, or of summer. Afterward the part of Byrnhild is taken by the Sleeping Beauty, and Sigurd becomes the prince who breaks through the thorn-hedge. Observe one thing in the last story. The prick from the sleep-thorn becomes a prick from a spinning-wheel, and thus loses all its original meaning, while the circle of fire is transformed into a thorn-hedge, proof sufficient that they were convertible ideas. Lastly, it remains to say, that the stories of glass mountains ascended by knights are probably allegories of death—heaven being spoken of to this day by Russian and German peasants as a glass mountain—and perhaps the glass slipper of Cinderella is so too.

CHAPTER XII.

PICTURE-WRITING.

233. Though it is true, as we have said before, that every manufactured article involves a long chapter of unwritten history to account for its present form, and the perfection of the material from which it is wrought, there is no one of them, not the most artistic, that will so well repay an effort to hunt it through its metamorphoses in the ages to its first starting-point, as will the letters that rapidly drop from our pen when we proceed to write its name. Each one of these is a manufactured article at which a long, long series of unknown artists have wrought, expanding, contracting, shaping, pruning, till at length, the result of centuries of effort, our alphabet stands clear—a little army of mute, unpretending signs, that are at once the least considered of our inherited riches—mere jots and tittles—and the spells by which all our great feats of genius are called into being. Does unwritten history or tradition tell us anything of the people to whose invention we owe them, or, on the other hand, can we persuade the little shapes with which we are familiar to so animate themselves, and give such an account of the stages by which they grew into their present likeness, as will help us to understand better than we did before the mental and social conditions of the times of their birth? One question at least they answer clearly; we know that while in their earliest forms they must have preceded the birth of History, they were the forerunners and heralds of his appearance, and if we are obliged to relegate their invention to the dark period of unrecorded events, we must place it at least in the last of the twilight hours, the one that preceded daybreak, for they come leading sunlight and certainty behind them. It will be hard if these revealers of other births should prove to be entirely silent about their own. Another point seems to grow clear as we think. As letters are the elements by which records come to us, it is not in records, or at least not in early records, that we must look for a history of their invention. Like all other tools, they will have lent themselves silently to the ends for which they were called into being. For a long, long time they will have been too busy giving the histories of their employers to tell us consciously anything about themselves. We must leave the substance of records then, and look to their manner and form, if we would unravel the long story of the invention and growth of our alphabet; and as it is easiest to begin with the thing that is nearest to us, let us pause before one of our written words and ask ourselves exactly what it is to us.

234. In tracing the growth of language, we have learned that words were at first descriptive of the things they named, in fact pictures to the ear. What then is a written word? Is it too a picture, and what does it picture, to the eye? When we have written the words cat, man, lion, what have we done? We have brought the images of certain things into our minds, and that by a form presented to the eye; but is it the form of the object we immediately think of? No, it is the form of its name; it is therefore the picture of a sound. To picture *sound* is, surely, a very far-fetched notion, one that may have grown out of many previous efforts to convey thought from mind to mind; but certainly not likely to occur first to those who began the attempt to give permanent shape to the thoughts floating within them. So great and difficult a task must have baffled the powers of many enterprises, and been approached in many ways before the first steps toward accomplishing it were securely taken. We shall find that the history of our alphabet is a record of slow stages of growth, through which the idea of sound-writing has been evolved; the first attempts to record events were made in a different direction. Since, as we have agreed, we are not likely to find a record of how events were first recorded, and as the earliest attempts are likely to have been imperfect and little durable, we must be content to form our notions of the earliest stage in our grand invention, by observing the methods used by savages now, to aid their memories; and if we wish to determine the period in the history of the human race when such efforts are likely to have been first made, we must recall what we have already learned of the history of primitive man, and settle at what stage of his development the need for artificial aids to memory would first press upon him. Stories and poetry are not likely to have been the first things written down. While communities were small and young, there was no need to write painfully what it was so delightful to repeat from mouth to mouth, and so easy for memories to retain; and when the stock of tradition and the treasure of song grew so large in any tribe as to exceed the capacity of ordinary memories

(greater before the invention of writing, let us remember, than now), men with unusual gifts would be chosen and set apart for the purposes of remembering and reciting, and of handing down to disciples in the next generation, the precious literature of the tribe. Such an order of rememberers would soon come to be looked upon as sacred, or at least highly honorable, and would have privileges and immunities bestowed on them which would make them jealous of an invention that would lessen the worth of their special gift. The invention of writing, then, is hardly likely to have come from the story-tellers or bards. It was probably to aid the memory in recalling something less attractive and more secret than a story or a song that the first record was made.

235. So early as the time of the cave-dwellers, there was a beginning of commerce. Traces have been found of workshops belonging to that period, where flint weapons and tools were made in such quantities as evidently to have been designed for purposes of barter, and the presence of amber and shells in places far from the coast, speaks of trading journeys. With bargains and exchange of commodities, aids to memory must surely have come in; and when we think of the men of the Neolithic age as traders, we can hardly be wrong in also believing them to have taken the next step in civilization which trade seems to bring with it—the invention of some system of mnemonics.

236. No man or woman would be likely to trust their bargaining to another without giving him some little token or pledge by way of safeguard against mistake or forgetfulness. It would be a very trifling, transitory thing at first; something in the nature of a tally, or a succession of knots or woven threads in a garment, allied to the knot which we tie on our handkerchief over night to make us remember something in the morning. It seems hardly worthy of notice, and yet the invention of that artificial aid to memory is the germ of writing, the little seed from which such great things have come. Unfortunately our discoveries of stone-age relics have not yet furnished us with any helps to understand how the ancient men managed and carried out the aids to memory they must have had; but we can trace the process of invention among still extant races, who keep pretty closely to first methods. Some tribes of Red Indians keep records on cords called wampum, by means of beads and knots, and when an embassy is sent from one chieftain to another, the principal speaker carries one of these pieces of wampum, and from it reads off the articles of the proposed treaty, almost as easily as if it were from a note-book.

237. In the Eastern Archipelago, and in Polynesia proper, these cord-records were in use forty years ago, and by means of them the tax-gatherers in the Island of Hawaii kept clear accounts of all articles collected from the inhabitants of the island. The revenue book of Hawaii was a rope four hundred fathoms long, divided into portions corresponding to districts in the island, and each portion was under the care of a tax-gatherer, who by means of knots, loops, and tufts of different shapes, colors, and sizes, managed to keep an accurate account of the number of hogs, dogs, pieces of sandal-wood, etc., at which each inhabitant of his district was rated. The Chinese have a legend that in very early times their people used little cords marked by knots of different sizes, instead of writing; but the people who brought the cord system of mnaemonics to the greatest perfection were the Peruvians. They were still following it at the time of their conquest by the Spaniards; but they had elaborated it with such care as to make it available for the preservation of even minute details of the statistics of the country. The ropes on which they kept their records were called *quipus*, from *quipu*, a knot. They were often of great length and thickness, and from the main ropes depended smaller ones, distinguished by colors appropriate to subjects of which their knots treated—as, white for silver, yellow for gold, red for soldiers, green for corn, parti-colored when a subject that required division was treated of. These dependent colored strings had again other little strings hanging from them, and on these exceptions were noted. For instance, the *quipus* devoted to population—the colored strings on which the number of men in each town and village was recorded had depending from them little strings for the widowers, and no doubt the widows and the old maids had their little strings from the colored cord that denoted women. One knot meant ten; a double knot, one hundred; two singles, side by side, twenty; two doubles, two hundred; and the position of the knots on their string and their form were also of immense importance, each subject having its proper place on the quipus and its proper form of knot. The art of learning to read quipus must have been difficult to acquire; it was practised by special functionaries, called quipucamayocuna, or knot-officers, who, however, seem only to have been able to expound their own records; for when a quipu was sent from a distant province to the capital, its own guardian had to travel with it to explain it. (A clumsy and cumbrous way of sending a letter, was it not?) Knot-records were almost everywhere superseded by other methods of recording events as civilization advanced; but still they continued to be resorted to under special circumstances, and by people who had not the pens of ready writers. Darius made a quipu when he took a thong, and tying sixty knots on it, gave it to the Ionian chiefs, that they might untie a knot every day, and go back to their own land if he had not returned when all the knots were undone, and the Scythians who, about the same time, sent a message to

Darius, afford us an example of another way of attaching meaning to things, and so using them as aids to memory,—writing letters with objects instead of pen and ink, in fact. Here, however, symbolism comes in, and makes the mnemonics at once prettier and less trustworthy, as capable of more than one interpretation. The Scythian ambassadors presented Darius (as Herodotus tells us) with a mouse, a bird, a frog, and an arrow, and the message with which they had been entrusted was that, unless he could hide in the earth like a mouse, or fly in the air like a bird, or swim in water like a frog, he would never escape the arrows of the Scythians.

238. Such, too, was the bow, too heavy for an ordinary man to bend, which the long lived Ethiopians sent to Cambyses; and the twelve memorial stones which Joshua was directed to place in the river Jordan, in order that the sons might ask the fathers, and the fathers tell the sons what had happened in that place; and again such were the yokes and bonds which Jeremiah put round his neck when he testified against the alliance with Egypt before Zedekiah, and the earthen pot that he broke in the presence of the elders of the people—signs joined with words and actions to convey a fuller or more exact meaning than words alone can convey. Perhaps, however, we ought hardly to call these last examples helps to memory; they partake more of the nature of pictures, and were used to heighten the effect of words. We may, perhaps, regard them as a connecting link between the merely mechanical tally, wampum and quipus, and the effort to record ideas we must now consider—picturing. It must, however, always be borne in mind that, though we shall speak of these various methods of making records as stages of progress and development, it is not to be supposed that the later ones immediately, or indeed ever wholly, superseded the first any more than the introduction of bronze and iron did away with the use of flint weapons. The one method subsisted side by side with the other, and survived to quite late times, as we see in such usages as the bearing forth of the fiery cross to summon clansmen to the banner of their chieftain, and the casting down of the knight's glove as a gage of battle, or, to come down to homely modern instances, the tallies and knots on hankerchiefs that unready writers carry to help their memories even now.

239. Helps to memory of all kinds never get beyond being *helps*. They cannot carry thought from one to another without the intervention of an interpreter, in whose memory they keep fast the words that have to be said; they localize tradition, but they cannot change tradition into history, and are always liable to become useless by the death of the man, or order of men, to whom they have been entrusted.

240. A more independent and lasting method of recording events was sure to be aimed at sooner or later; and we may conjecture that it usually took its rise among a people at the period when their national pride was so developed as to make them anxious that the deeds of some conspicuous hero should be made known, not only to those interested in telling and hearing of them, but to strangers visiting their country, and to remote descendants. Their first effort to record an event, so as to make it widely known, would naturally be to draw a picture of it, such as all seeing the picture would understand; and accordingly we find that the earliest step beyond artificial helps to memory is the making of rude pictures which aim at showing a deed or event as it occurred without suggesting the words of a narrative; this is called "picturing" as distinguished from picture-writing. That this, too, was a very early art we may feel sure from the fact that rude pictures of animals have been found among the relics of the earliest stone age. We are not perhaps justified in conjecturing that the pictures actually found are rough memorials of some real hunting scene, but we learn from them that the thought of depicting objects had come, and the skill to produce a likeness been attained to, and the idea of using this power to transmit events lies so near to its possession, that we can hardly believe one to have been long present without the other. To enable ourselves to imagine the sort of picture-records with which the stone age men may have ornamented some of their knives, spears, and hammers, we must examine the doings of people who have continued in the same stage of civilization down to historic times.

241. Some curious pictures done by North American Indians have been found on rocks and stones, and on the stems of pine trees in America, which furnish excellent examples of early picturing. Mr. Tylor, in his *Early History of Mankind*, gives engravings of several of these shadowy records of long-past events. One of these, which was found on the smoothed surface of a pine-tree, consists merely of a rude outline of two canoes, one surmounted by a bear with a peculiar tail and the other by a fish, and beyond these a quantity of shapes meant for a particular kind of fish. The entire picture records the successes of two chieftains named Copper-tail Bear and Catfish, in a fishing excursion. Another picture found on the surface of a rock near Lake Superior is more elaborate, and interests us by showing a new element in picturing, through which it was destined to grow into its next stage. This more elaborate picture shows an arch with three suns in it—a tortoise, a man about to mount a horse, and several canoes, one surmounted by the image of a bird All this tells that the chief King-fisher made an expedition of three days across a lake, and arriving safely on land, mounted his horse. **The new ele-**

ment introduced into this picture is symbolism, the same that transformed the homely system of tallies into the Scythian's graceful living message to Darius. It shows the excess of thought over the power of expression, which will soon necessitate a new form. The tortoise is used as a symbol of dry land. The arch is, of course, the sky, and the three suns in it mean three days. The artist who devised these ways of expressing his thought was on the edge of picture-writing, which is the next stage in the upward progress of the art of recording events, and the stage at which some nations have terminated their efforts.

242. Picture-writing differs from picturing in that it aims to convey to the mind, not a representation of an event, but a narrative of the event in words, each word being pictured. The distinction is important, for the change from one system to the other involves an immense progress in the art of perpetuating thought. Let us take a sentence and see how it might be conveyed by the two methods. *A man slew a lion with a bow and arrows while the sun went down.* Picturing would show the man with a drawn bow in his hand, the lion struck by the arrow, the sun on the horizon. Picture writing would present a series of little pictures and symbols dealing separately with each word—a man, a symbol for slew, say a hand smiting, a lion, a connecting symbol for "with," and so on. We see at once how much more elaborate and exact the second method is, and that it makes the telling of a continuous story possible. We also discover that these various stages of writing correspond to developments of language, and that as languages grow in capacity to express nobler thoughts, a greater stress would be put upon invention to render the more recondite words by pictures and symbols, till at last language will outgrow all possibility of being so rendered, and another method of showing words to the eye will have to be thought of—for all languages at least that attain their full development. That a great deal may be expressed by pictures and symbols, however, we learn from the picturing and picture-writing of past races that have come down to us, and from the present writing of the Chinese, who with their radical language have preserved the pictorial character that well accords with an early stage of language.

243. The Red Indians of North America have invented some very ingenious methods of picturing time and numbers. They have names for the thirteen moons or months into which they divide the year—Whirlwind moon, moon when the leaves fall off, moon when the fowls go to the south, etc., and when a hunter setting forth on a long expedition wished to leave a record of the time of his departure for a friend who should follow him on the same track, he carved on the bark of a tree a picture of the name of the moon, accompanied with such an exact representation of the state of the moon in the heavens on the night when he set out, that his friends had no difficulty in reading the date correctly. The Indians of Virginia kept a record of events in the form of a series of wheels of sixty spokes, each wheel representing the life of a man, sixty years being the average life of a man among the Indians. The spokes meant years, and on each one a picture of the principal occurrences of the year was drawn.

244. A missionary who accompanied Penn to Pennsylvania says that he saw a wheel, on one spoke of which the first arrival of Europeans in America was recorded. The history of this disastrous event for the Indians was given by a picture of a white swan spitting fire from its mouth. The swan, being a water-bird, told that the stranger came over the sea, its white plumage recalled the color of their faces, and fire issuing from its mouth represented fire-arms, the possession of which had made them conquerors. The North American Indians also use rude little pictures, rough writing we may call it, to help them to remember songs and charms. Each verse of a song is concentrated into a little picture, the sight of which recalls the words to one who has once learned it. A drawing of a little man, with four marks on his legs and two on his breast, recalls the adverse charm, "Two days must you fast, my friend, four days must you sit still." A picture of a circle with a figure in the middle represents a verse of a love-song, and says to the initiated, "Were she on a distant island I could make her swim over." This sort of picturing seems to be very *near* writing, for it serves to recall words—but still only to recall them—it would not suggest the words to those who had never heard the song before; it is only an aid to memory, and its employers have only as yet taken the first step in the great discovery we are talking about. The Mexicans, though they had attained to much greater skill than this in the drawing and coloring of pictures, had not progressed much further in the invention. Their picture-scrolls do not seem ever to have been more than an elaborate system of mnemonics, which, hardly less than the Peruvian quipus, required a race of interpreters to hand down their meaning from one generation to another. This fact makes us regret somewhat less keenly the decision of the first Spanish archbishop sent to Mexico, who, on being informed of the great store of vellum rolls, and folds on folds of cloth covered with paintings, that had been discovered at Anahuac, the chief seat of Mexican learning, ordered the entire collection to be burnt in a heap; a *mountain* heap, the chronicles of the time call it—lest they should contain incantations or instructions for the practice of magical arts. As some excuse for this notion of the archbishop's we will mention the subjects treated of in the five books of picture-writing

which Montezuma gave to Cortez:—the first book treated of years and seasons; the second of days and festivals; the third of dreams and omens; the fourth of the naming of children; the fifth of ceremonies and prognostications.

245. The few specimens of Mexican writing which have come down to us, show that, though the Toltecs had not used their picture signs as skilfully as some other nations have done, they had taken the first step toward phonetic, or sound-writing; a step which, if pursued, would have led them through some such process as we shall afterward see was followed by the Egyptians and Phœnicians, to the formation of a true alphabet. They had begun to write proper names of chiefs and towns by pictures of things that recalled the *sound* of their names, instead of by a symbol suggestive of the appearance or quality of the place or chieftain, or of the *meaning* of the names. It is difficult to explain this without pictures; but as this change of method involves a most important step in the discovery of the art of writing, we had better pause upon it a little, and get it clear to our minds. There was a king whose name occurs in a chronicle now existing, called Itz co-atl, Knife-snake; his name is generally written by a picture of a snake, with flint knives stuck in it; but in one place it is indicated in a different manner. The first syllable is still *pictured* by a knife; but for the second, instead of a snake, we find an earthen pot and a sign for water. Now the Mexican name for pot is "co-mitl," for water "atl;" read literally the name thus pictured would read "Itz-comitl-atl;" but it is clear, since the name intended was "Itz-co-atl," that the pot is drawn to suggest only the first syllable of its name, *co*, and by this change it has become no longer a picture, but a phonetic, syllabic sign, the next step but one before a true letter. What great results can be elaborated from this change you will see when we begin to speak of Egyptian writing.

246. We must not leave picture-writing till we have said something about the Chinese character, in which we find the highest development of which *direct* representation of things appears capable. Though we should not think it, while looking at the characters on a Chinese tea-paper or box, every one of those groups of black strokes and dots which seem so shapeless to our eyes is a picture of an object; not a picture of the sound of its name, as our written words are, but a representation real or symbolic of the thing itself. Early specimens of Chinese writing show these groups of strokes in a stage when a greater degree of resemblance to the thing signified is preserved; but the exigencies of quick writing, among a people who write and read a great deal, have gradually reduced the pictures more and more to the condition of arbitrary signs, whose connection with the things signified must be a matter of habit and memory. The task of learning a sign for every word of the language in place of conquering the art of spelling does seem, at first sight, to put Chinese children in a pitiable condition as compared with ourselves. To lessen our compassion, we may recall that the Chinese language is still in the root stage (having been checked in its growth in fact by a too early invention of these same picture-signs), and that consequently it comprehends comparatively few sounds, the same sound being used to express different meanings by a difference in intonation. This difference could not easily be given in writing; it is therefore almost a necessity to recall the thing itself to the mind instead of its name.

247. Pictorial signs are used in several different ways, sometimes as real pictures, sometimes as ideographs, which again may be divided into groups as they are used—metaphorically, as a bee for industry; enigmatically, as among the Egyptians, an ostrich feather is used as a symbol of justice, because all the plumes in the wing of this bird were supposed to be of equal length; by syndoche, putting a part for the whole; as two eyeballs for eyes; by metonymy, putting cause for effect; as a tree for shadow; the disk of the sun for a day, etc. This system of writing in pictures and symbols requires so much ingenuity, such hosts of pretty poetic inventions, that perhaps there is less dullness than would at first appear in getting the Chinese alphabet of some ten thousand signs or so by heart. We will mention a few Chinese ideographs in illustration. The sign for a man placed over the sign for a mountain peak signifies a hermit; the sign for a mouth and that for a bird placed side by side signify the act of singing; a hand holding a sweeping-brush is a woman; a man seated on the ground, a son (showing the respectful position assigned to children in China); an ear at the opening of a door means curiosity; two eyes squinting toward the nose mean to observe carefully; one eye squinting symbolizes the color white, because so much of the white of the eye is shown when the ball is in that position; a mouth at an open door is a note of interrogation, and also the verb to question.

248. Even Chinese writing, however, has not remained purely ideographic. Some of the signs are used phonetically to picture sound, and this use must necessarily grow now that intercourse with Western nations introduces new names, new inventions and new ideas, which somehow or other, must get themselves represented in the Chinese language and writing.

249. The invention of determinative signs —characters put beside the word to show what class of objects a word belongs to— helps the Chinese to overcome some of the difficulties which their radical language offers to the introduction of sound-writing. For example, the word Pa has eight different meanings, and when it is written phonetically,

a reader would have to choose between eight objects to which he might apply it, if there were not a determinative sign by its side which gives him a hint how to read it. This is as if when we wrote the word vessel we were to add "navigation" when we intended a ship; and "household" when we meant a jug or puncheon. The Chinese determinative signs are not, however, left to each writer's fancy Two hundred and fourteen signs (originally themselves pictures, remember) have been chosen out, and are always used in this way. The classes into which objects are divided by these numerous signs are minute, and do not appear to follow any scientific method or arrangement. There is a sign to show that a written word belongs to the class noses, another for rats, another for frogs, another for tortoises. One is inclined to think that the helpful signs must be as hard to remember as the words themselves, and that they can only be another element in the general confusion. Probably their frequent recurrence makes them soon become familiar to Chinese readers and they act as finger-posts to guide the thoughts into the right direction. Determinative signs have always come in to help in the transitional stage between purely ideographic and purely phonetic writing, and were used by both Egyptians and Assyrians in their elaborate systems as soon as the phonetic principle began to be employed among their ideographs.

250. It is an interesting fact that the Japanese have dealt with the Chinese system of writing precisely as did the Phœnicians with the Egyptian hieroglyphics. They have chosen forty-seven signs from the ten thousand employed by the Chinese, and they use them phonetically only: that is to say, as true sound-carrying letters.

CHAPTER XIII.

PHONETIC WRITING.

251. We have now to trace the process through which picture-writing passed into sound-writing, and to find out how signs (for we shall see they are the same signs) which were originally meant to recall objects to the eye, have ended in being used to suggest, or, shall we say, *picture*, sounds to the ear. A written word, let us remember, is the picture of a sound, and it is our business to hunt the letters of which it is formed through the changes they must have undergone while they were taking upon themselves the new office of suggesting sound. We said too that we must not expect to find any written account of this change, and that it is only by examining the forms of the records of other events that this greatest event of literature can be made out. What we want is to see the signs, while busy in telling us other history, beginning to perform their new duties side by side with the old, so that we may be sure of their identity; and this opportunity is afforded us by the hieroglyphic writing of the ancient Egyptians, who, being people disposed to cling to everything that had once been done, never altogether left off employing their first methods, even after they had taken another and yet another step toward a more perfect system of writing, but carried on the old ways and the new improvements side by side. The nature of their language, which was in part radical and in part inflexional, was one cause of this intermixture of methods in their writing; it had partly but not entirely outgrown the stage in which picture-signs are most useful. Ideograph is the proper name for a picture-sign, which, as soon as picture-writing supersedes picturing, becomes the sign for a thought quite as often as it is the sign for an object. Very ancient as are the earliest Egyptian records, we have none which belong to the time when the invention of writing was in the stage of picturing: we only conjecture that it passed through this earliest stage by finding examples of picturing mixed with their other kinds of writing. Each chapter of the *Ritual*, the oldest of Egyptian books, has one or more designs at its head, in which the contents of the chapter are very carefully and ingeniously pictured, and the records of royal triumphs and progresses which are cut out on temple and palace walls in ideographic and phonetic signs, are always prefaced by a large picture which tells the same story in the primitive method of picturing without words.

252. The next stage of the invention, ideographic writing, the ancient Egyptians carried to great perfection, and reduced to a careful system. The signs for ideas became fixed, and were not chosen according to each writer's fancy. Every picture had its settled value, and was always used in the same way. A sort of alphabet of ideographs was thus formed. A heart drawn in a certain way always meant "love," an eye with a tear on the lash meant "grief," two hands holding a shield and spear meant the verb "to fight," a tongue meant "to speak," a foot-print "to travel," a man kneeling on the ground signified "a conquered enemy," etc. Conjunctions and prepositions had their fixed pictures, as well as verbs and nouns; "also" was pictured by a coil of rope with a *second* band across it, "and" by a coil of rope with an arm across it, "over" by a circle surmounting a square, "at" by the picture of a hart reposing near the sign for water—a significant picture for such a little word, which recalls to our minds, "As the hart panteth after the water-brooks," and leads us to wonder whether the writer of the Psalm were not familiar with the Egyptian hieroglyph.

253. So much was done in this way, we almost wonder that the need for another method came to be felt; perhaps a peculiar-

ity of the Egyptian language helped the splendid thought of picturing *sound* to flash one happy day into the mind of some priest, when he was laboriously cutting his sacred sentence into a temple wall. The language of ancient Egypt, like that of China (being, as we said before, in part a radical language), had a great many words alike in sound but different in meaning, and it could not fail to happen that some of these words with two meanings would indicate a thing easy to draw, and a thought difficult to symbolize; for example, the ancient Egyptian word *neb* means a basket and a ruler; and *nofre* means a lute and goodness. There would come a day when a clever priest, cutting a record on a wall, would bethink him of putting a lute instead of the more elaborate symbol that had hitherto been used for goodness. It was a simple change, and might not have struck any one at the time as involving more than the saving of a little trouble to hieroglyphists, but it was the germ out of which our system of writing sprang. The priest who did *that* had taken the first step toward picturing sound, and cut a true phonetic sound—the true if remote parent indeed of one of our own twenty-four letters of the alphabet. Let us consider how the thought would probably grow. The writers once started on the road of making signs stand for sounds, would observe how much fewer sounds there are than objects and ideas, and that words even when unlike are composed of the same sounds pronounced in different succession. If we were employed in painting up a notice on a wall, and intended to use ideographs, instead of letters, and moreover if the words manage, mansion, manly, mantles, came into our sentence, should we not begin each of these words by a figure of a man? and again, if we had to write treacle, treason, treaty, we should begin each with the picture of a tree; we should find it easier to use the same sign often for a part of the word, than to invent a fresh symbol for each entire word as we wrote it. For the remaining syllables of the words we had so successfully begun we should have to invent other signs, and we should perhaps soon discover that in each syllable there were in fact several sounds, or movements of lips or tongue, and that the same sounds differently combined came over and over again in all our words. Then we might go on to discover exactly how many movements of the speaking organs occurred in ordinary speech, and the thought of choosing a particular picture to represent each movement might occur; we should then have invented an alphabet in its early stage of development. That was the road along which the ancient Egyptians traveled, but they progressed very slowly, and never quite reached its end. They began by having syllabic signs for proper names. Osiri was a name that occurred frequently in their sacred writings, and they happened to have two words in their language which made up its sound. *Os* a throne, *iri* an eye. Hence a small picture of a throne came to be the syllabic sign for the sound *os*, the oval of an eye for the sound *iri*; in like manner Totro, the name of an early king, was written by a hand *Tot* and a circle *Ro*, and thus a system of spelling by syllables was established. Later they began to divide syllables into movements of the speaking organs, and to represent these movements by drawing objects whose name began with the movement intended. For example, a picture of a lion (*labo*) was drawn not for the whole sound (*labo*) but for the liquid *l*; an owl (*mulag*) stood for the labial *m*; a water-jug (*nem*) for *n*. They had now in fact invented letters, but though they had made the great discovery they did not use it in the best way. They could not make up their minds to keep to phonetic writing, and throw away their pictures and ideographs. They continued to mix all these methods together, so that when they painted a lion—it might be a picture and mean *lion*, it might be a symbollic sign and mean *pre-eminence*, or it might be a true letter and stand for the liquid *l*. The Egyptians were obliged to invent a whole army of determinative signs, like those now employed by the Chinese, which they placed before their pictures to show when a group was to be read according to its sound, when it was used symbolically, and when it was a simple representation of the object intended.

254. Another source of difficulty in deciphering the writing of the ancient Egyptians, is that they were not content with a single sign for a single sound, they had a great many different pictures for each letter, and used them in fanciful methods: for example, if *l* occurred in the name of a king, or god, they would use the lion picture to express it, thinking it appropriate; but if the same sound occurred in the name of a queen, they would use a lotus-lily as more feminine and elegant. They had as many as twenty different pictures which could be used for the first letter of our alphabet *a*, and thirty for the letter *h*, one of which closely resembles our capital H in form; being two upright palm-branches held by two arms which make the cross of the H. No letter had fewer than five pictures to express its sound, from which the writer might choose according to his fancy; or perhaps, sometimes, according to the space he had to fill up on the wall, or obelisk, where he was writing, and the effect in form and color he wished his sentence to produce. Then again, all their letters were not quite true letters (single breathings). The Egyptians never got quite clear about vowels and consonants, and generally spelt words (unless they *began* with a vowel sound) by consonants only, the consonants carrying a vowel breathing as well as their own sound, and thus being syllabic signs instead of true letters.

255. Since much of the writing of the ancient Egyptians was used ornamentally as decorations for the walls of their houses and temples, and took with them the place of the tapestry of later times, the space required to carry out their complex system of writing was no objection to it in their eyes ; neither did they care much about the difficulty of learning so elaborate an array of signs, as for many centuries the art of reading and writing was almost entirely confined to an order of priests whose occupation and glory it was. When writing became more common, and was used for ordinary as well as sacred purposes, the pictorial element disappeared from some of their styles of writing, and quick ways of making the pictures were invented, which reduced them to as completely arbitrary signs, with no resemblance to the objects intended, as Chinese signs now are.

256. The ancient Egyptians had two ways of quick writing, the Hieratic (used by a priest) which was employed for the sacred writings only, and the Demotic used by the people, which was employed for law-papers, letters, and all writing that did not touch on religious matters or enter into the province of the priest. Yet, though literature increased and writing was much practiced by the people engaged in the ordinary business of life (we see pictures on the tombs of the great man's upper servant seated before his desk and recording with reed-pen and ink horn the numbers of the flocks and herds belonging to the farm), little was done to simplify the art of writing by the ancient Egyptians. Down to the latest times when Hieroglyphics were cut, and Demotic and Hieratic characters written, the same confused variety of signs were employed—pictorial, ideographic, symbolic, phonetic—all mixed up together, with nothing to distinguish them but the determinative signs before spoken of, which themselves added a new element to the complexity.

257. It was left for a less conservative and more enterprising people than the ancient Egyptians to take the last and greatest step in perfecting the invention which the ancient Egyptians had brought so far on its road, and by throwing away all the first attempts, allow the serviceable, successful parts of the system to stand out clear. The Phœnicians, to whom tradition points as the introducers of our alphabet into Europe, and who, during early ages, were in very close political and trading connection with the ancient Egyptians, are now believed to be the authors of the improvement by which we benefit. They did not invent the alphabet which the Greeks learned from them; they could have had no reason to invent signs, when they must have been well acquainted with the superabundance that had been in use for centuries before they began to build their by the sea-shore. What they probably did was to choose from the Egyptian characters, with which all the traders of the world must have been familiar, just so many phonetic or sound-carrying signs as represented the sounds of which speech is made up; and rejecting all others, they kept strictly to these chosen ones in all their future writings. This was a great work to have accomplished, and we must not suppose that it was done by one man, or even in one generation; as probably it took a very long time to perfect the separation between vowels and consonants: a distinction which had already been made by the ancient Egyptians, for they had vowel signs, though, as before remarked, they constantly made their consonants carry the vowels, and spelt words with the consonants alone. You will remember that consonants are the most important elements of language, and constitute, as we have said before, the bones of words; but also that distinctions of time, person, and case depended in an early stage of language on vowels; and you will therefore understand how important to clearness of expression it was to have a clearly defined separate sign for the vowels and diphthongs that had, so to speak, all the exactitude of meaning in their keeping. The Phœnicians, of all the people in the early world, were most in need of a clear and precise method of writing: for, being the great traders and settlers of ancient times, one of its principal uses would be to enable them to communicate with friends at a distance by means of writings which should convey the thoughts of the absent ones, or the private instructions of a trader to his partner without need of an interpreter.

258. The advantages of simplicity and clearness had been less felt by Egyptian priests while inscribing their stately records on walls of temples and palaces, and on the tapering sides of obelisks which were meant to lift sacred words up to the eye of Heaven rather than to expose them to those of men. They believed that a race of priests would continue as long as the temples and obelisks continued, who would explain the writing to those worthy to enter into its mysteries ; and they were not sorry, perhaps, to keep the distinction of understanding the art of letters to their own caste.

259. It was not till letters were needed by busy people, who had other things to do besides studying, that the necessity for making them easy to learn, and really effective as carriers of thought across distances, was sincerely felt. Two conjectures as to the method pursued by the Phœnicians in choosing their letters and adapting them to their own language have been made by the learned. One is, that while they took the forms of their letters from the Egyptian system of signs, and adopted the principle of making each picture of an object stand for the first sound of its name, as *labo* for *l;* they did not give to each letter the value it had in the Egyptian

alphabet, but allowed it to mean for them the first sound of its name in their own language. For example, they took the sign for an ox's head and made it stand for the sound *a*, not because it was one of the Egyptian signs for "*a*," but because Aleph was the name for an ox, and "*a*" was its first syllable. This, which seems a natural method enough, is, however, not the method followed by the Japanese in choosing their alphabet from the Chinese signs; and more recent investigations prove such a close resemblance between the earliest forms of Phœnician letters and early forms of signs for the same sounds in Hieratic character, that a complete descent in sound-bearing power, as well as in form, is now claimed for our letters from those hieroglyphics, which, in our ignorance of the relationship, we used to consider a synonymous term for something unintelligible. The Semitic language spoken by the Phœnicians was richer in sounds than the less developed language spoken by the ancient Egyptians; but as the Egyptians used several signs for each letter, the Phœnicians easily fell into the habit of giving a slightly different value to two forms originally identical, and thus provided for all the more delicate distinctions of their tongue. A close comparison of the forms of the letters of the earliest known Canaanite inscriptions with Hieratic writing of the time of the Old Empire, reveals a resemblance so striking between fifteen of the Phœnician letters and Hieratic characters carrying the same sounds, that a conviction of the derivation of one from the other impresses itself on even a careless observer. The correspondence of the other five Canaanite letters with their Hieratic counterparts is less obvious to the uneducated eye, but experts in such investigations see sufficient likeness even there, to confirm the theory.

260. The gradual divergence of the Phœnician characters from their Hieratic parents is easily accounted for by the difference of the material and the instrument employed by the Phœnicians and Egyptians in writing. The Hieratic character was painted by Egyptian priests on smooth papyrus leaves with a brush or broad pointed reed pen. The Canaanite inscriptions are graven with a sharp instrument on hard stone, and as a natural consequence the round curves of the Hieratic character become sharp points, and there is a general simplification of form and a throwing aside of useless lines and dots, the last remnants of the picture from which each Hieratic character originally sprang. The *names* given later to the Phœnician letters, Aleph, "an ox;" Beth, "a house;" Gimel, "a camel;" Daleth, a "door;" are not the names of the objects from which the forms of these letters were originally taken. The Hieratic "A" was taken from the picture of an eagle, which stood for "A" in hieroglyphics; "B" was originally a sort of heron; "D," a hand with the fingers spread out. New names were given by the Phœnicians to the forms they had borrowed, from fancied resemblances to objects which, in their language, began with the sound intended, when the original Egyptian names had been forgotten. It is hard for us to see a likeness between our letter "A" and an ox's horns with a yoke across; or between "B" and the ground-plan of a house; "G" and a camel's head and neck; "M" and water; "W" and a set of teeth; "P" and the back of a head set on the neck; but our letters have gone through a great deal of straightening and putting into order since they came into Europe and were sent out on their further westward travels. The reader who has an opportunity of examining early specimens of letters on Greek coins will find a freedom of treatment which makes them much more suggestive of resemblances, and the earlier Phœnician letters were, no doubt, more pictorial still. The interesting and important thing to be remembered concerning our letters is that each one of them was, without doubt, a picture once, and gets its shape in no other way than by having once stood for an object, whose name in the ancient people's language began with the sound it conveys to us.

261. These Phœnician letters, born on the walls of Egyptian tombs older than Abraham, and selected by Phœnician traders who took their boats up to Memphis at or before Joseph's time, are the parents of all the alphabets now used in the world, with the exception of that one which the Japanese have taken from Chinese picture-writing. The Phœnicians carried their alphabet about with them to all the countries where they planted trading settlements, and it was adopted by Greeks and Latins, and gradually modified to suit the languages of all the civilized people of east and west. The Hebrew square letters are a form of divergence from the original type, and even the Sanskrit character in all its various styles can be traced back to the same source by experts who have studied the transformations through which it has passed in the course of ages. It is, of course, easy to understand that these ubiquitous little shapes which through so many centuries have had the task laid on them of spelling words in so many different languages must have undergone some variations in their values to suit the tongues that interpreted them.

262. The original family of twenty letters have not always kept together, or avoided the intrusion of new comers. Some of the languages they have had to express, being in an early stage of development, have not wanted even so many as twenty letters, and have gradually allowed some of them to fall into disuse and be forgotten; an instance of this we find in the alphabet of the northern nations—the Gothic—which consisted only

of sixteen *runes*—called by new names; they were most probably taken from the Phœnicians and furnished with mystic sayings belonging only to themselves.

263. In languages where nicer distinctions of sound were called for than the original twenty Phœnician signs carried, a few fresh letters were added, but in no case has any quite new form been invented. The added letters have always been a modification of one of the older forms—either a letter cut in half, or one modified by an additional stroke or dot. In this way the Romans made *G* out of *C*, by adding a stroke to one of its horns. *V* and *U*, *I* and *J* were originally slightly different ways of writing one letter, which had been taken advantage of to express a new sound when the necessity for a greater number of sound signs arose. At first sight it seems a simple thing enough to invent a letter, but let us remember that such a thing as an arbitrarily-invented letter does not exist anywhere. To create one out of nothing is a feat of which human ingenuity does not seem capable. Every single letter in use anywhere (we can hardly dwell on this thought too long) has descended in regular steps from the pictured object in whose name the sound it represents originally dwelt. Shape and sound were wedded together in early days by the first beginners of writing, and all the labor bestowed on them since has only been in the way of modification and adaptation to changed circumstances. No wonder that, when people believed a whole alphabet to have been invented straight off, they also thought that it took a god to do it. Thoth, the Great-and-great, with his emblems of justice and his recording pencil; Oannes, the Sea-monster, to whom all the wonders of the under-world lay open; Swift Hermes, with his cap of invisibility and his magic staff; One-eyed Odin, while his dearly-purchased draught of wisdom-water was inspiring him still. No one indeed—as we see plainly enough now—but a hero like one of these, was equal to the task of inventing an alphabet.

264. Before we have quite done with alphabets, I ought to mention another system of ancient writing, the cuneiform; which, though it has left no trace of itself on modern alphabets, is the vehicle which preserves some of the most interesting and ancient records in the world. The cuneiform or arrow-shaped character used by the ancient Chaldæans, Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, is supposed to owe its peculiar form to the material on which it was habitually graven by those who employed it. It arose in a country where the temples were built of unburned brick instead of stone, and the wedge-shaped form of the lines composing the letters is precisely what would be most easily produced on wet clay by the insertion and rapid withdrawal of a blunt-pointed stick or reed. Like all other systems, it began in rude pictures, which gradually came to have a phonetic value, in the same manner as did the Egyptian hieroglyphics. The earliest records in this character are graven on the unburned bricks of pyramidal-shaped temples, which a little before the time of Abraham began to be built by a nation composed of mixed Shemite, Cushite, and Scythian peoples round the shores of the Persian Gulf. The invention of the character is ascribed in the records to the Scythian race, who are always designated by the sign of a wedge, which was equivalent to calling them the writers, or the literary people. It is perhaps allowable to conjecture that the Scythian invention terminated with the notion of depicting objects by means of wedge-shaped lines, and using them for picture-writing, such as the Chinese (also a Turanian people) invented, as you will remember, so early, that their language was checked in its progress of development by the premature discovery. The subsequent unfolding and application of the invention belonged to the Shemites. In their hands it became the vehicle in which the history of the two great empires of Babylon and Nineveh, and the achievements of ancient Persian kings, have come down to us. We have all seen and wondered at the minute writing on the Assyrian marbles in the British Museum, and stood in awe before the human-headed monster gods—

> "Their flanks with dark runes fretted o'er,"

whose fate, in surviving the ruin of so many empires, and being brought from so far to enlighten us on the history of past ages, can never cease to astonish us. When we look at them again, let us spare a thought to the history of the character itself. Its mysteries have cost even greater labor to unravel than hieroglyphics themselves. To the latest times of the use of cuneiform by the Seleucidæ, pictorial, symbolic, and phonetic groups continued to be mixed together, and a system of determinative signs was employed to show the reader in what sense each word was to be taken. The symbolism, too, is very complex, and the difficulty of reading the signs used phonetically is greatly increased by the fact of the language from which they acquired their values (a Turanian one) being different from the Semitic tongue, in which the most important records are written.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONCLUSION.

265. At this point, where we are bringing our inquiries to a conclusion, we would fain look a little nearer into the mists which shroud the past, and descry, were it possible, the actual dawn of history for the individual na-

tions—see not only how the larger bodies of men have traveled through the pre-historic stages of their journey, but how, having reached their settled home, each people begins to emerge from the obscurity that surrounds its early days. What were the exact means, we ask, whereby a collection of nomadic or half-nomadic tribes separated, reunited, separated again, and developed upon different soils the qualities which distinguish them from all others? What *is*, in fact, the beginning of real national life?

266. The worlds which circle round our sun, or rather, the multitudinous systems of orbs which fill space, might pose a like inquiry. There was a time when *these* which are now distinct worlds were confounded as continuous nebulæ, a thin vapor of matter whirling round in one unchanging circle. In time, their motion became less uniform, vortices—as the word is—set in, smaller bodies of vaporous matter which, obeying the universal movement, set up internal motions among themselves, and cooling, separated into separate orbs. How like is all this to the history of nations. These, conformed once together in one unstable mass of wandering tribes, have in like manner separated from their nebulous brethren, and, setting up their internal vortices, have coalesced into nations. And yet as a system of planets, albeit with their own distinctive motions, do all revolve in one direction round one central force, so the different families of nations, which we may call the planets of a system, seem in like manner compelled by a power external to themselves in one particular course to play a particular part in the world's history. The early stone age Turanians, the Cushite civilizers of Egypt and Chaldæa, the Semitic people, may all be looked upon as different systems of nations, each with their mission to the human race; and thus the Aryan people, after they had become so separated as to lose all family remembrance, are found working together to finish an assigned destiny, migrating in every direction, and carrying with them everywhere the seeds of a higher civilization.

267. If we desire to get any idea of the process by which the separation of the Aryan people became completed, we must put quite upon one side the idea of a nation as we see it now. Now, when we speak the word, we think of a political unit subject to one government, stationary, and confined within pretty exact limits of space. But very different was the nation during the process of its foundation; there was scarcely any political unity among them, their homes were unfixed, the members constantly shifting and changing combinations, like those heaps of sand we see carried along in a cyclone. Let us then forget our political atlases, with their different colors and well-marked boundaries, and think not of the inanimate adjunct of a nation, the soil on which it happens to dwell, but of the nation as the men of whom it is made up. The earliest things we discern are those vortices set up in the midst of a homogeneous people, a attractive power somewhere in the midst of them which draws them into closer fellowship. It acts like the attractive power of a crystal in selecting from any of the surrounding matters the fragments most suited to its proper formation. Thus the earliest traditions of a people are generally the history of some individual tribe from which the whole nation feigns itself descended; either because of its actual pre-eminence from the beginning, the power it had of drawing other tribes to share its fortunes, or because, out of many tribes drawn together by common interest or sentiment, the bards of later days selected this one tribe from among the others, and adopted its traditions for their own. If we remember this, much that would otherwise appear a hopeless mass of contradiction and ambiguity is capable of receiving a definite meaning.

268. The first rays of European history shine upon the island-dotted sea and bounding coasts of the Ægean. Here sprang into life the Greek people, who have left behind so splendid a legacy of art and philosophy. These, as has been already said, made their entry into Europe traversing the southern shores of the Euxine, along which passed, still as one people, the ancestors of the Greeks and the Italians. The former, at all events, seem to have delayed long upon their route, and it was upon these shores, or rather in the table-land of ancient Phrygia, that first began the separation of two races who reunited to form the Greek nation. Some, the older race, the Pelasgi, made their way to the Hellespont, and by that route into European Greece; the others, the Ionians as they subsequently became, passed onward to the sea-shore of Asia Minor, and tempted no doubt by the facilities of the voyage, crossed from this mainland to the neighboring islands, which lie so thickly scattered over the Ægean that the mariner passing from shore to shore of Asiatic and European Greece need never on his voyage lose sight of land. They did not, however, find these islands deserted, or occupied by savages only. The Phœnicians had been there beforehand, as they were beforehand upon almost every coast in Europe, and had made mercantile stations and established small colonies for the purpose of trading with the Pelasgi of Greece. The adventurous Ionians were thus brought early into contact with the advanced civilization of Asia, and from this source gained in all probability a knowledge of navigation, letters, and some of the Semitic mythical legends. Thus while the mainland Greeks had altered little of the primitive culture, the germs of a Hellenic civilization, of a Hellenic life, were being fostered in the islands of the Ægean. We see this reflected in many Greek myths; in

the legend, for example, of Minos and his early Cretan kingdom, in the myth of Aphroditê springing from the sea by Cythera, and in the worship of Phœbus Apollo which sprang up in Delos. Legend spoke of two Minoi, one, the legislator of Crete, representative of all that was most ancient in national polity, and for that reason transferred to be judge of souls in Hell; the second, he who made war against the Athenians, and compelled them to pay their dreadful yearly tribute of seven youths and seven maidens to be devoured of the Minotaur in the Cretan labyrinth, until Theseus came. No doubt the two Minoi are but amplifications of the one being, who, whether mythical or historical, is an echo in the memory of Greeks of the still older Cretan kingdom. In both tales Minos has a dreadful aspect; perhaps because this "Lord of the Isles" had been inimical to the early growing communities of the mainland.

269. The myths of Aphroditê and Apollo have been already commented upon as enfolding within them the history of their origin. Aphroditê is essentially an Asiatic divinity; she springs to life in a Phœnician colony. But Phœbus Apollo is before all things the god of the Ionian Greeks; and as their first national life begins in the islands, his birth too takes place in one of these, the central one of all, Delos. In Homer, Delos, or Ortygia, is feigned to be the central spot of the earth.

270. Thus the Greeks were from the beginning a commercial people. Before their history began, there is proof that they had established a colony in the Delta of the Nile; and the frequent use of the word Javan * in the Bible—which here stands for Ionians—shows how familiar was their name to the dwellers in Asia. Wherever these mariners came in contact with their brethren of the continent they excited in them the love of adventure, and planted the germs of a new life, so that it was under their paramount influence that these primitive Greeks began to coalesce from mutually hostile tribes into nations In northern Greece it was that the gathering together of tribes and cities first began. These confederations were always based primarily upon religious union, the protection of a common deity, a union to protect and support a common shrine. They were called Amphictyonies, confederations of neighbors, a name which lived long in the history of Greece. These amphictyonies seem first to have arisen in the north. Here too the words Hellenic, Hellenes, first sprang up as national epithets. Hellas never extended farther north than the north of Thessaly, and was naturally marked off from foreign countries by Olympia and Pierus. But the term spread southward till it embraced all Greek-speaking lands to the extremity of the peninsula, and over the islands of the Ægean, and the coast of Asia Minor, on to the countless colonies which issued from Greek shores, for Hellas was not a geographical term, it included all the peoples of true Hellenic speech, and distinguished them from the barbaroi, the "babblers," of other lands.

271. The two great nations of the Græco Italic family kept up some knowledge of each other after they had forgotten the days of their common life, and, strange to say, in days before either of the two races had come to regard itself as a distinct people, each was so regarded by the other. The Italians classed the Greeks in the common name of Græci or Graii, and the Greeks bestowed the name of *Opikos* upon the nation of the Italians. It is curious to reflect upon the different destinies which lay ahead of these two races, who came under such similar conditions into their new homes. Whether it were through some peculiarity in their national character, or a too rapid civilization, or the too great influences of a changeful character and adventurous life, the Greeks never welded properly together the units of their race; the Italians through a much slower process of integration lived to weld their scattered fragments into the most powerful nation the world has ever seen.

272. This second half, then, of the Græco-Italic family, crossing the Hellespont like (or with) the first dwellers in Greece proper, proceeded onward until, skirting the shores of the Adriatic, they found out a second peninsula, whose fertile plains tempted them to dispute the possession of the land with the older inhabitants. Who were these older inhabitants? In part they must have been those lake-dwellers of northern Italy to whom reference was made in our second chapter, and who were evidently closely allied to the stone-age men of Switzerland; but besides these we have almost no trace of the men who were dispossessed by the Italic tribes, and these last who pushed to the farthest extremity of the peninsula must have completely absorbed, or completely exterminated, the aborigines. The process by which the Italians spread over the land i altogether hidden from us. Doubtless their several seats were not assigned to the different branches at once, or without bloodshed. Though still no more than separate tribes, we are able to divide the primitive Italicans into stocks of which the southern most resembled the ancient type of the Pelasgic family; those in the center formed the Latin group; while north of these lay the Etruscans, the most civilized of all the three. At this time the tribes seem to have acknowledged no common bond, nothing corresponding to the word Hellenic had sprung up to unite their interests: existence was as yet to the strongest only. And while the land was

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* The word would be more correctly spelt Yawân. It is known that Iôn has been changed from Ivôn, or rather Iwôn, by the elision of the digamma.

In this chaotic state, one tribe, or small confederacy of tribes, among the Latin people began to assert its pre-eminence. We see them dimly looming through a cloud of fable, daring, warlike, unscrupulous in their dealings with their neighbors, firm in their allegiance to each other. This tribe gradually increased in strength and proportions till, from being a mere band of robbers defending themselves within their rude fortifications, they grew in the traditions of their descendants, and of the other tribes whom in course of time they either subdued or absorbed, to be regarded as the founders of Rome. They did not accomplish their high destiny without trials and reverses. More powerful neighboring kingdoms looked on askance during the days of their rise, and found opportunity more than once to overthrow their city and all but subdue their state. Their former brethren, the Kelts, *i. e.* the Gauls, who had been beforehand of all the Aryan races in entering Europe, and now formed the most powerful people in this quarter of the globe, several times swept down upon them like a devastating storm. But after each reverse the infant colony arose with renewed Antæan vigor.

273. Thus in Italy, the development from the tribal to the national state was internal. No precocious maritime race awoke in many different centers the seeds of nationality; rather this nationality was a gradual growth from one root, the slow response to a central attractive force. The energy of Rome did not go out in sea adventure, or in the colonization of distant lands; but it was firmly bound to absorb the different people of her own peninsula, people of like blood with herself, but in every early stage of culture from an almost nomadic condition to one of considerable advancement in the arts of peace.

274. When from the Greeks and Romans we turn to the Kelts and Teutons, we must descend much lower in the records of history before we can get any clear glimpse at these. The Kelts, who were probably the first Aryans in Europe, seem gradually to have been forced farther and farther west by the incursions of other peoples. At one time, however, we have evidence that they extended eastward, at least as far as the Rhine, and over all that northern portion of Italy—now Lombardy and part of Sardinia—which to the Romans went by the name of Cisalpine Gaul. The long period of subjection to the Roman rule which Gaul experienced, obliterated in that country all traces of its early Keltic manners, and we are reduced f our information concerning these to the pages of Roman historians, or to the remains of Keltic laws and customs preserved in the western homes of the race. The last have only lately received a proper attention. The most primitive Irish code—the Brehon laws—has been searched for traces of the primitive Keltic life. From both our sources we gather that the Kelts were divided into tribes regarded as members of one family. These clans were ruled over by chiefs, whose offices were hereditary, or very early became so. They were thus but slightly advanced out of the most primitive conditions,—they cannot be described as a nation. Had they been so, extensive and warlike as they were, they would have been capable of subduing all the other infant nationalities of Aryan folk. As it was, as mere combinations of tribes under some powerful chieftain (Cæsar describes just such), they gave trouble to the Roman armies even under a Cæsar, and were in early days the most dreadful enemies of the Republic. Under Brennus, they besieged and took Rome, sacked the city, and were only induced to retire on the payment of a heavy ransom. A hundred years later, under another Brennus, they made their way into Thrace, ravaged the whole country, and from Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, obtained a settlement in Asia Minor in the district which from them received the name of Galatia. The occurrence of those two names Brennus shows us that this could hardly have been a mere personal name. It is undoubtedly the Celtic Brain, a king or chieftain, the same from which we get the mythic Bran,[*] and in all probability the Irish O'Brien. The recognition of the Celtic fighting capacity in the ancient world is illustrated by another circumstance, and this is more especially interesting to us of the modern world, whose army is so largely made up of Kelts from Ireland and Scotland (Highlanders). Hierôn I., the powerful tyrant of Syracuse, founded his despotism, as he afterward confessed, chiefly upon the 30,000 Gaulish mercenaries whom he kept in pay.

275. For the rest, we know little of the internal Keltic life and of the extent of its culture. Probably this differed considerably in different parts, in Gaul for instance, and in Ireland. The slight notices of Gaulish religion which Cæsar gives refer chiefly to its external belongings, to the hereditary sacerdotal class, who seem also to have been the bardic class; of its myths and of their real significance we know little more than what can be gathered by analogy of other nations. We may assert that their nature-worship approached most nearly to the Teutonic form among those of all the Aryan peoples.

276. Peculiarly interesting to us are such traces as can be gleaned of the Teutonic race. The first time that they show themselves upon the stage of History is in company with the Kelts, if indeed the Teutones, who, in company with the Cimbri, the Tigurini and the Ambrones were defeated by Marius (B. C. 101) were really Teutons.[*]

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[*] For the story of Bran's head, which spoke after it was cut off, and which is in its natural interpretation probably the sun, see Mr. M. Arnold's *Celtic Literature.*

[*] For historic doubts on this point, see Latham's *Germania*, Appendix.

The second of these four names is the same with the still extant Cymri (pronounced Cumri), the native name of the Welsh, who are, of course, Kelts ; so that if this be the first appearance of Germans, we find them in company with the Kelts. What branch of the German family (if any) the Teutones were is quite uncertain. Again, in the pages of Cæsar we meet with several names of tribes evidently of German origin. The Treviri, the Marcomanni (Mark men, men of the march or boundary), Allemanni (all-men, or men of the great or the mixed * nation), the Suevi (Suabians), the Cherusci—men of the sword, perhaps the same as *Saxons*, whose name has the same meaning.

277. It is not till after the death of Theodosius, at the end of the fourth century of our era that the Germans fill a conspicuous place on the historical canvas. By this time they had come to be divided into a number of different nations, similar in most of the elements of their civilization and barbarism, closely allied in languages, but politically unconnected, or even opposed. Most of these Teutonic peoples grew into mighty nations and deeply influenced the future of European history. It is therefore right that we pass them rapidly in review. 1. The Goths had been long settled in the region of the Lower Danube, chiefly in the country called Mœsia, where Ulfilas, a Gothic prince who had been converted to Christianity, returned to preach to his countrymen, became a bishop among them, and by his translation of the Bible into their tongue, the Mœso-Gothic, has left a perpetual memorial of the language. During the reign of Honorius, the son of Theodosius, a portion of this nation, the West- or Visi-goths, quitted their home and undertook under Alaric (All-king) their march into Italy, thrice besieged, and finally took Rome. Then turning aside, they founded a powerful kingdom in the south of Gaul and in Spain. A century later the East-Goths (Ostro-Goths), under the great Theodoric (People's-king), again invaded Italy and founded an Ostrogothic kingdom upon the ruins of the Western Empire. 2, 3, 4, 5. The Suevi, Alani, Burgundians, and Vandals crossed the Rhine in 405, and entered Roman territory never again to return to whence they came. The Burgundians (City-men) fixed their abode in east-central Gaul (Burgundy and Switzerland), where their kingdom lasted till it was subdued by the Franks ; but the other three passed on into Spain, and the Vandals (Wends)† from Spain into Africa, where they founded a kingdom. 6. The Franks (Freemen), having been for nearly a century settled between the Meuse and the Scheldt, began under Clovis (Chlodvig, Hludwig, Lewis,) (480 A.D.) their career of victory, from which they did not rest until the whole of Gaul owned the sway of Merovingian kings. 7. The Longobardi (Long-beards, or men of the long borde, long stretch of alluvial land), who, after the Ostrogoths had been driven out of Italy by the Emperor of the East, founded in defiance of his power a second Teutonic kingdom in that country, a kingdom which lasted till the days of Charlemagne. 8. And last, but we may safely say not least, the Saxons (Sword-men, from *seaxa*, a sword) who invaded Britain, and under the name of Angles founded the nation to which we belong, the longest lived of all those which rose upon the ruins of the Roman Empire.

278. The condition of the German people, even so late as the time when they began their invasion of the Roman territory, was far behind that of the majority of their Aryan fellows. It is likely that they were little more civilized than the Greeks and Romans were, in days when they lived together as one people. For the moment when we catch sight of these—the Greeks and Romans—in their new homes, we see them settled agriculturists, with no trace left of their wandering habits. It was not so with the Teutons: they knew agriculture certainly, they had known it before they separated from the other peoples of the European family (for the Greek and Latin words for plough reappear in Teutonic speech*), but they had not altogether bid adieu to their migratory life; we see them still flowing in their nebulous condition into the Roman lands. Even the Tartars of our day—the very picture of a nomadic people—practice some form of agriculture. They plant buckwheat, which, growing up in a few months, allows them to reap the fruits of their industry without tying them long to a particular spot. The Teutons were more stationary than the Tartars, but doubtless they too were constantly shifting their homes—choosing fresh homesteads, as TACITUS says they did, wherever any spot or grove or stream attracted them. The condition of society called the village community, which has been described in a former chapter, though long abandoned by the cultivated Greeks and Romans, was still suitable to the exigencies of *their* life ; but these exigencies imposed upon it some fresh conditions. Their situation, the situation of those who made their way into the western countries of Europe, was essentially that of conquerors ; for they must keep in subjection the original inhabitants, whether Romans or Celts ; and so all their social arrangements bent before the primary necessity of an effective war footing. Age and wisdom were of less value to the community than youthful vigor. The patriarchal chief, chosen for his reputation for wisdom and swaying by his mature counsels

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* Latham's *Germania*.

† And therefore possibly Slavs, Wend being a name applied by Teutons to Slavs.

* *e.g.* Old German, *aran*, to plough=*arare*, etc.

the free assemblies of the states, gives place with them to the leader, famous for his valor and fortunes in the field, by virtue of which he exacts a more implicit obedience than would be accorded in unwarlike times, until by degrees his office becomes hereditary; the partition of the conquered soil among the victors, and the holding of it upon conditions of military service, conditions which led so easily to the assertion of a principle of primogeniture, and thence, by slow but natural stages, to the conditions of tenure known as *feudal;* these are the marks of the early Teutonic society.

279. Such germs of literary life as they had were enshrined in the ballads, such as all nations possess in some form. The re-echoes of these have come down to us in the earliest known poems by men of Teutonic race, all of which are unfortunately of very recent date. All are distinguished by the principle of versifying which is essentially Teutonic; the trusting of the cadence, not to an exact measurement of syllables or quantities, but to the pauses or beats of the voice in repetition, the effect of these beats being hightened by the use of alliteration. Poems of this true Teutonic character are the elder (or Sœmund's) "Edda" in the Icelandic, our Saxon poem "Beowulf" and the "Bard's Tale," and one or two Low German ballads, the most celebrated of which, though one of the latest, is the "Nibelungen lied." These poems repeat the old mythic legends which had for centuries been handed down from father to son, and display the mythology and religion of our German ancestors, such as in a former chapter we endeavored to sketch them out. Slight as they are, they are of inestimable value, in that they help us to read the mind of heathen Germany, and to weigh the significance of the last great revolution in Europe's history, a revolution wherein we through our ancestors have taken and through ourselves are still taking part, and in which we have therefore so close an interest.

But having carried the reader down to this point, our task comes to an end. Even for Europe; the youngest born as it were in the world's history, when we have passed the epoch of Teutonic invasion, the star of history *sera rubens* has definitely risen. Nations from this time forward emerge more and more into light, and little or nothing falls to the part of pre-historic study.

NOTES AND AUTHORITIES.

CHAPTERS I. AND II.

Christy and Lartet, *Horæ Aquitanicæ;* Davis and Thurnam, *Crania Britannica;* Dawkins, *Cave Hunting;* Evans, *Stone Implements of Great Britain;* Geikie, *The Great Ice Age;* Lyell, *Antiquity of Man;* Lubbock, *Pre-historic Times;* Tylor, *Early History of Mankind.*

Tylor, *Primitive Culture;* Wilson (O.), *Pre-historic Man.*

Mortillet, *Origine de la Navigation et de la Pêche;* Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres.*

Keller, *Pfahlbauten* (translated by J. E. Lee).

And numerous articles in the Archæological journals of England, France, and Germany.

Par. 11. The question concerning the history of Palæolithic man which presses for the most immediate solution, is that which has just been touched upon here; whether the variety of animal remains with which his remains are found associated, do really point to an immensely lengthened period of his existence, in this primitive state. We have said that his bones are found associated with those of the mammoth (*Elephas primigenius*), with the woolly rhinoceros, and with other animals whose existence seems to imply a cold temperate, or almost frigid, climate; at another place, or a little lower in the same river bed (the higher gravel beds are the oldest), we may find the bones of the hippopotamus, an animal which in these days is never found far away from the tropics. The conclusion seems obvious: man must have lived through the epoch of change—enormously long though it was—from a cold to an almost tropical climate. Some writers have freely accepted this view, and even gone beyond it to argue the possibility of man having lived through one of the great climatic revolutions which produced an Ice Age. (See the arguments on this head in Mr. Geikie's *Ice Age*). And in a private letter, written from the West Indies, Kingsley says that he sees reason for thinking that man existed in the Miocene Era (see *Life of Kingsley*).

On the other hand, these rather startling theories have not yet received their *imprimatur* from the highest scientific authorities. There are many ways in which they clash with the story which the stone-age remains seem to tell of man's primitive life. For instance, the civilization of the caves is to all appearance in advance of the drift-beds; and yet, as we have seen (par. 12) the cave men must have existed during the earlier part of the stone-age, that of the mammoth. Here we see evidences of a decided improvement, an advance; whereas between the drift remains associated with the mammoth and those associated with the hippopotamus, are seen few or none.

Par. 42. The view put forward in this chapter concerning the races of the neolithic men in Europe, is that which seems to the writer most consistent with *all* the known facts concerning the distribution of pre-historic man. As was said in the Preface, the students in different branches of pre-historic inquiry have not begun yet to collate sufficiently the results of their researches, and their opinions sometimes clash. We have to reconcile the ethnologist with the student of comparative philology. Most of the former are agreed that the earliest inhabitants of this quarter of the globe were most allied in character to the Lapps and Finns; and were consequently of what we have distinguished (Ch. V.) as the yellow-skinned family. But they are far from agreed that the bronze-using men were not of the same race; and some (Keller, for instance) are violently opposed to the notion that the substitution of metal for stone was a sudden transition, and due to foreign importation. In some instances, there is evidence that the change was gradual.

But the evidence on the other side is stronger. The human remains found with the bronze weapons are generally clearly distinguishable (in formation of skull, etc.), from those associated with the implements of stone. The funeral rites of the bronze-age men were different from those of the stone-age men; for while the former buried their dead, the latter seem generally to have burnt theirs (see Grimm, *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen*). Now, we have strong reason for believing that the Aryan races (see Chs. IV., V.) practised this sort of interment; and we have further reason for thinking that the use of metals was known to them before their entry into Europe (see PICTET, *Les Origines indo-européennes*, and GRIMM, *Geschichte der deut. Sprache*). Moreover, these Aryans must have come into Europe at some time, and when they did come they must have produced an entire revolution in the life of its inhabitants. No time seems so appropriate for their appearance as that which closes the age of stone.

This theory does not preclude the possibility of, in many places, a side by side existence of stone users and bronze users, or even a gradual extension of the art of metallurgy; and these conditions would be especially likely to arise in such secluded spots as the lake-dwellings. Therefore, Dr. KELLER's arguments are not impeached by the theory that the Aryans were the introducers of bronze into Europe.

CHAPTERS III. AND IV.

MÜLLER, *Lectures on the Science of Language ;* Id., *Sanskrit Literature;* PEILE, *Introduction to Greek and Latin Etymology;* WILSON, *Introduction to the Rig Veda Sanhita.*

PICTET, *Les Origines Indo-Européennes.*

BOPP, *Vergleichende Grammatik.*

GRIMM, *Geschichte der Deut. Sprache ;* KÜHN, *Zeitsch. für Verg. Sprachforschung ;* POTT, *Etymologische Forschungen.*

Par. 52. Although what is said here concerning the superior importance of consonantal sounds over those of vowels holds universally, and must continue to do so from the characters of the two sorts of sounds, yet the relative position which vowels and consonants hold varies greatly in different classes of languages.

In Aryan languages, the essential root is made up of vowels and consonants, and the variations upon the root idea are *generally* expressed by additions to the root and not by internal changes in it. In this way, as we saw, all grammatical inflexions are made: homo, hom-inis, am-o, am-abam But in Semitic languages, the root consists of the consonants only, and the inflections are produced by internal changes, changes of the vowels which belong to a consonant. For example, in Arabic the three consonants *k-t-l* (*katl*) represent the abstract notion of the act of killing. From them we get *kátil*, one who kills ; *kitl* (pl. *aktal*), an enemy; *katala*, he slew; *kutila*, he was slain. From *z r-b* (*zarb*), the act of striking; *zarbun*, a striking (in concrete sense); *zarábun*, a striker; *zaraba*, he struck; *zuriba*, he was struck. Compare these with occido, occidi, occisor, and we see that in the Aryan tongues the radical remains almost unchanged, and the inflections are made ***ab extra***, but in the Semitic language the inflections are made by changes of vowel sound within the framework of the root consonants.

The usual grammatical root in Arabic is composed of three consonants as in the examples given above. Most of the Semitic languages are in too fully formed a state to allow us to see how these roots, which are of course at the least dissyllabic, grew up out of single sounds ; but a comparison with some languages of the Semitic family (*e.g.*, Egyptian) which are still near to their early radical state, show us that they must have done so.

Par. 55. The Coptic language, which is the nearest we can get to the tongue of the ancient Egyptians, is extremely interesting in that it displays the processes of grammar formation, as has just been said, in a more intelligible shape than we find in the higher Semitic tongues.

Par. 77. It must not be forgotten that the ethnology of a people is not necessarily the same as its language. When we speak of a family of language including the tongues of a certain number of races, we do not imply that they were wholly of the same ethnological family. This caution is especially necessary as regards the earliest great pre historic nations who seem to have been what are called Cushites—anything but pure Semites (see Ch. V.)—but whose languages may properly be ranged in the Semitic family. The Egyptian, for instance, was more nearly monosyllabic than any other Semitic tongue (Ch. XIII); yet such inflections as it has show an evident relationship with Hebrew and other Semitic tongues (see Appendix to BUNSEN's *Egypt's Place in Universal History.*)

CHAPTER V.

BUNSEN's *Egypt's Place, etc.* (ed. DR. BIRCH); LEGGE, *Chinese Classics, with Introduction, etc. ;* LENORMANT, *Manual of the Ancient History of the East* (trs.); PICKERING, *Races of Man ;* RAWLINSON, *Herodotus, with Notes;* Id., *Five Great Monarchies, etc.*

MARIETTE BEY, *Abrégé de l'Hist. d'Égypte;* MAURY, *Le Livre et l'Homme ;* ROUGE (Vte. de), *Examen de l'Ouvrage de M. Bunsen.*

BRUGSCH, *Recueils de Monuments Égyptiens ;* Id., *Histoire d'Égpyte;* Id., *Matêriaux pour servir; etc. ;* LEPSIUS, *Chronclogie der Ægypten.*

Par. 94. The word Turanian is untenable as an ethnological term. It can be used—though with a somewhat loose signification—to distinguish those languages which are in the agglutinative stage. But the reader must be careful not to suppose that it comprises a class of nearly allied peoples, as the Aryan and Semitic families of language, upon the whole, do. The only race which includes the Turanian peoples of Europe and Asia includes also those who speak monosyllabic languages: this is the yellow race, and is of course a division of the widest possible kind. It is to be observed that while the yellow race is spoken of as extending down all the islands of the Australasian group, it does not include Australia itself, whose inhabitants belong to the Australian division of the black race (par. 93). These Australian negroes who differ notably from those of Africa are found also inhabitants of Madagascar. The reader may consult an interesting paper by Professor Huxley (*Proc. of Prehist. Asso.*) for some further views concerning the extension of the Negritic family; though all these views have not been adopted in the foregoing chapters.

Concerning the relationship of the Egyptians to the negroes a variety of opinions are held. There can be no question that their type of face forbids us to doubt that there was some relationship between them: while the representation of negroes upon the ancient monuments of Egypt shows that from the remotest historical period there was a marked distinction between the peoples, and that from that early time till now the negroes have not changed in the smallest particular of ethnical character. The Egyptians and the primitive Chaldæans are considered to have been essentially the same people, the Cushites—or as some call them Hamites—a race which perhaps anciently spread from Susiana across Arabia and the Red Sea to Abyssinia and Egypt.

The term Hamitic is altogether misleading, and had better be unused in ethnical classifications. The real meaning, if we follow the intention of its use in the Bible, is to distinguish from the purer Semites (Hebrews, Moabites, etc.), a number of races, such as the Canaanites generally, who spoke Semitic languages, but were very probably of impure blood, very likely of Semitic and Turanian intermixture. If the word Hamitic be used to include the rest of the inhabitants of the world who were not Semitic or Aryan, then, though it will not be very useful, no objection can be taken to its employment. But in that case we shall be obliged, forming our classification by the known rather than the unknown, to include the Canaanites (who spoke Semitic languages) in the Semitic family; and this will be in direct contradiction to the use of Hamitic in the Bible narrative.

CHAPTERS VI. AND VII.

Maine, *Ancient Law*; Id., *Village Communities*; Id., *Early Institutions*; Nasse, *Agricultural Community* (translated by Ouvry).

Coulanges, *La Citè Antique*, Laveleye, *La Propriété et ses Formes Primitives*; Pictet, *Les Origines Indo-Europénnes.*

Grimm, *Deutsche Rechts-Alterhümer;* Maurer *Geschichte der Dorf-Verfassung.*

In the account here given of the two most important social forms, the patriarchal family and the village community, the endeavor has been rather to give such a picture of them as may exhibit their chief peculiarities in a sufficiently clear and striking manner, than to enter into a minute examination of the various remains from which the picture has been constructed. It must not be supposed, however, that the representations here given can be completely verified from existing information. They are rather to be looked upon as typical of what these forms may have been in their earliest stage and under favorable circumstances. We only meet with traces of them when undergoing decay. Although the writer fully recognizes the importance of the researches of McLellan and others concerning the earlier conditions of society, no attempt has been made to give an account of the results which have been arrived at in this field of inquiry. Two reasons may be assigned for this omission. Firstly, the intrinsic difficulties of treating the subject in a manner suitable to the "general reader" are, it is conceived, a sufficient excuse for the omission. Secondly, the results at present attained are so vague that the mere statement of them would be valueless without entering into great detail. All that can as yet fairly be regarded as established, is either that the Ayran and Semitic races have at one time possessed social customs and practices similar to those which are found in the most barbarous peoples; or that they have at some time in their history so far amalgamated with, or been influenced by other races that had emerged from this state, as to absorb into their traditions and customs traces of a social condition of a much lower and more primitive kind than that in which we first find them. If we try to form any conception of what the earlier state may have been, we at once see that the results at present attained are almost purely negative. All that can be predicated is that at one time a large proportion of the human race did *not* possess the notions of the family and the marriage tie which were entertained by people in the patriarchal state; that they did not trace blood relationship in the same way. What particular customs immediately preceded or led to the patriarchal family, whether this latter is to be considered as the original social type, and the lower forms are to be regarded as derived from it, or *vice versa*—to these questions no satisfactory answer can at present be given.

Each step indeed in social change is to be looked upon, to a great extent, as simply a phenomenon to be noted, the causes for which it is impossible to determine accurately. This is especially the case with the village commuity. The extent of its distribution would incline one to the belief, that it is a natural or necessary result of a certain stage of social development; while the elaborate and artificial nature of its construction points to the probability of some common origin from which its development might be traced. The greatest difficulty, however, lies in trying to assign to this institution its due effect on civilization: for it is frequently found in close combination with institutions to which its spirit seem most strongly opposed. Thus while we find it flourishing among the Germanic tribes; we also discover among them a tendency to the custom of primogeniture much more marked than is discoverable among other Ayran races. Yet this custom scarcely seems to find a place in the pure village comunity beyond the limits of each individual household. At the same time the patriarchal power was certainly less among the Germans than among the early Romans, and probably also less than among the Slavs.

CHAPTERS VIII.—XI.

Bunsen *God in History* (trs.); Id., *Egypt's Place, etc.;* Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations;* Müller Op. cit.; Id., *Lectures on Sc. of Religion;* Id., *Chips from a German Workshop;* Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People;* Id., *Russian-Folk-tales;* Rawlinson Op. cit.

Bournouf, *Commentaire sur le Yaçna;* Rouge (Vte. de), *Études sur le Rituel des Égypt.*

Busching, *Nibelungen Lied;* Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie;* Id., *Ueber das Verbr. der Leichen;* Id., *Heldenbuch;* Kühn, *Sagen, Gebräuche u. Mährchen;* Id., in *Zeitsch f. v. Sp.* and *Z f. deut. Alt.;* Lepsius, *Todtenbuch;* Preller, *Griechische Mythologie;* Simrock, *Handbuch der d. Myth;* Welcker, *Griechische Götterlehre.*

Edda den eldra og Snorra.

Par. 163. I take the liberty of transcribing a passage from Mr. Max Müller's Lecture on the Science of Religion.

"One of the oldest names of the deity, among the Semitic nations was El. It meant strong. It occurs in the Babylonian inscriptions as Ilu, God, and in the very name of Bab-il, the gate or temple of Il. In Hebrew, it occurs both in its general sense, as strong, or hero, and as a name of God. We have it in *Beth-el*, the house of God, and in many other names. If used with the articles as ha-El, the Strong One, or the God, it always is meant in the Old Testament for Jehovah, the true God. El, however, always retained its appellative power, and we find it applied therefore, in parts of the Old Testament, to the God of the Gentiles also.

"The same El was worshiped at Byblus, by the Phœnicians, and he was called there the Son of Heaven and Earth. His father was the son of Eliun, the most high god, who had been killed by wild animals. The son of Eliun, who succeeded him, was dethroned, and at last slain by his own son *El*, whom Philo identifies with the Greek Kronos, and represents as the presiding deity of the planet Saturn. In the Himyaritic inscriptions, too, the name of El has been discovered.

"With the name of El, Philo connected the name of Elohîm, the plural of Eloah. In the battle between *El* and his father, the allies of El, he says, were called Eloeim, as those who were with Kronos were called Kronioi. This is, no doubt, a very tempting etymology of *Eloah;* but as the best Semitic scholars, and particularly Prof. Fleischer, have declared against it, we shall have, however reluctantly, to surrender it.

"Eloah is the same word as the Arabic Ilâh, God. In the singular, *Eloah* is used synonymously with El; in the plural it may mean gods in general, or false gods; but it becomes in the Old Testament the recognized name for the true God, plural in form, but singular in meaning. In Arabic Ilâh without the article means a god in general; with the article Al-Ilâh, or Allâh, becomes the name of the God of Abraham and Moses."

Nature Worship.—The part which the phenomena of nature play in training the thoughts of uncultivated men toward religion, and poetry, and hero-worship, and legendary lore, has been made the subject of warm controversy. And it may not be altogether amiss if we bestow a little thought upon the question, and upon the character of evidence by which this nature-worship is thought to be established.

That it is in no sense a degradation of our estimate of man to suppose that his thoughts were led upward from the contemplation of the objects of sense which lay around to the contemplation of a Higher Being beyond the region of sensible things, will become, it is to be hoped, clear upon a little reflection, and upon a candid examination of what has been said in par. 142. But still it may fairly be asked, Did this process of deifying the powers of nature take place, why should not the human mind have come independently by the direct revelation of God's voice speaking in the hearts of men to a notion of a God ruler of the world, and then by a natural process of decay, proceed thence to a polytheism, a pantheon of beings who were supposed to rule over the different phenomena of nature, just as the different members of a cabinet hold sway over the various branches of national government.

This was, until comparatively recent years, the received opinion concerning mythology, and it is one which tacitly keeps its place in the writings of many scholars, especially of those who have been brought up almost exclusively upon the study of classical languages and classical religions: for it is only after a wide study, and comparison of many different religions in many different stages, that the conviction of the opposite truth forces itself upon one It is obvious that for the purpose of a scientific knowledge of the formation of religious systems, we must not observe them in their fullest development, but rather turn to such of their brother-religions as have remained in a more stunted condition Nor, again, should we deal with an extremely imaginative people, like the Greeks; for with them changes from any primitive form will be much more rapid and more complete than the changes in some more meagre systems. The Teutonic mythologies are for this purpose more expressive than those of Greece; and partly on this account, partly because they are less familiar to the reader, we have drawn largely upon them for illustration in our chapters upon Aryan religion and Folk-tales.

The most useful of all, however, is the religion of the Vedas, in so far as the Vedas give us an insight into the earliest faith of the people of India. Here we may often detect the etymology of a name which would be inexplicable if we only knew it in Greek or Latin and Norse. We have seen how this is the case in respect of the word Dyâus; and how the etymology of this word clearly shows, what from themselves we should never discover, that Zeus and Jupiter and Tyr are names which had originally the same meaning as a natural phenomenon. We say *originally;* because the Sanskrit is found by numberless examples (whereof we give one, *duhitar*) to show an origin for many words whose origin is lost in other Aryan languages, and therefore to stand nearest to the primitive tongue of the Aryans. In this lies the whole force of the argument. If the old Aryans once used the same word for "heaven" and for "god," it is impossible to believe that they had the power of separating at will the two ideas which we receive from these two words; for an examination of formal logic shows us that notions do not become completely distinguishable until they receive individual names. The inference is obvious that the gods of our Aryan ancestors were nature-gods in the strictest sense.

It is equally true, however, that such diversities tend to fall into certain forms, and accommodate themselves to ideals which we may believe pre-existed in the human mind It is thus that we have noticed the sun-gods and the heaven-gods fulfilling their separate functions, and answering to certain defined needs in the human heart.

Par. 177. *Persephonê and Baldur.*—The true *tragedy* of the death of summer is in the Norse religion portrayed in the myth of Baldur, the sun-god, which in respect of its force and intention fully answers to the Persephonê myth. It has often been a subject of surprise that Baldur's bale, Baldur's death, was not celebrated at a time of year appropriate to mourning for the loss of the sun-god, but at the summer solstice when Baldur attains his fullest might and brightest splendor. Why choose such a day as that to think of his mournful bedimming in the wintry months? It seems to show a strange, gloomy, and forecasting nature on the part of our Norse ancestors to be always reflecting that in the midst of life —in the midst of our brightest, fullest life— we are in death.

I imagine that the custom of celebrating Baldur's-bale in this way arose not entirely from the desire to preach this melancholy sermon; though in part no doubt this desire was the cause of it. It arose also from a dramatic instinct inducing men for the sake of a strong contrast to surround the sun-god with all the images of summer at the time when we are thinking of his death. It gives a dramatic intensity to the moment; and thus it corresponds exactly with the picture of Persephonê playing in the meadows in springtime surrounded by all the attributes of spring, just as Hades rises from the earth to bear her forever from the light of day.

Par. 183. Thorr's journey to the house of giant Utgardloki (out world fire—fire of the under-world of Ch. x., and Ch. xi,) is not told in the elder Edda, but appears at some length in the Edda of Snorro (Daemisögur 44 —48). There can be little question of the antiquity of the tale, closely connected as it is with the labors of Hercules as well as with all the most important elements in the Norse mythology. But it may very easily be that it has undergone some modifications before appearing in its present form; and we should be naturally inclined to signalize as modern additions those parts of the story which have an allegorical rather than a truly mythical character. Allegory is a thing altogether distinct from real myth, and when it springs up shows that the mythical character of the story is falling into oblivion. The former is a form of self-conscious fancy, while the latter is the child of genuine belief. For instance—as an illustration of the difference between allegory and mythology—I should be inclined to signalize the appearance of the beings Logi (fire) and Elli (old age) as a fanciful, an invented element in the story. Logi and Elli are not important enough to be genuine deities of Fire and Age. In fact, the former element has already received its personification in the person of Loki. Yet the incidents with which they are associated may well have formed an integral character of the older legend; and in the case of Elli I feel pretty sure must have done so.

What I imagine to have been the real case is this. Thorr's journey to Utgardloki is a story closely parallel to the myth of the Death of Baldur, and tells once more the story of the sun-god descending to the under-world. This fact is clearly shown by the name of the giant, who is nothing else than a personification of the funeral fire, the fire which surrounds the abode of souls (par. 202, 232). All the powers with whom Thorr strives are personifications in some way of death—all, or almost all. He tugs as he thinks at a cat and cannot lift it from the ground; but the cat is Jormundgandr, the great mid-earth serpent, in part the personification of the sea, but also (by reason of this) the personification of the devouring hell "rapax Orcus" (compare Cerberus, the Sârameyas, and notice the middle-age change of Orcus to Ogre). He (or, in the story as we now have it, Loki) contends with a personification of the death-fire, not with a mere allegorical representation of fire in its common aspect. And again, he contends not with Elli, old age, but with Hel, the goddess of the underworld.

This is the original form into which I read back the mythical journey to Utgardloki. It is easy to see how the story got changed. Loki is made to accompany Thorr instead of to fight against him; the later mythologies not being able to understand how Loki could sometimes be a god and dwell in Asgard, sometimes be a giant of Jotunheim. With this change the others could easily creep in. Logi is invented to fight with Loki; and Elli in place of Hel appears in obedience to a desire for allegory in the place of true myth.

Par. 195. *Thanatos.*—Thanatos and Hypnos belong again to the region of allegory rather than pure mythology. For in pure mythology the place of the first is taken by Hades. In Vedic mythology their part is played by the two Sâramayas; one probably chiefly a divinity of death, the other of sleep, and the two being brothers, as of course death and sleep are.

It has been suggested that among a group of figures sculptured upon the drum of a column brought from the Artemesium (Temple of Diana) at Ephesus, one is a representation of Thanatos, Death. The figure is that of a boy, as young and comely as Love, but of a somewhat passive expression, and with a sword girt upon his thigh, which Eros never wears. His right hand is raised as though he were beckoning; and with him stand Dêmêtêr and Hermes, both divinities connected with the rites of the dead. Save in this instance—if it be an instance—Thanatos is unknown to Greek art. Hypnos, when he appears, wears a fair womanish face with closed eyes, scarcely distinguishable from the artistic representation of the Gorgon. As the moon, this last is in some sense a being of sleep and death.

Par. 208. Myths and the rules of their interpretation have been made of late years the subject of controversy almost as keen as that which has raged round that primary question concerning the existence of *nature-worship*, which we have discussed above. In this (XIth) and the previous chapters, the writers have endeavored to keep before the reader only those features in a myth which are essential toward the information we are seeking. For instance, the number of myths which can in any system be traced to the phenomena of the sun is a matter of the highest importance, as showing the influence which a certain set of phenomena had upon the national mind; but of much less significance is the question of the exact origin of the different features in these legendary tales. If any given tale be found to originate *solely* in a confusion of language, a mistaken, misinterpreted epithet, then it has almost no interest for us as an interpreter of the popular thought and feeling; unless, indeed, the shape which the story takes should reproduce (as it probably will) some one of the universal forms which seem to stand ready in the human mind for the molding of its legends.

With regard to the particular question of sun (and other nature) myths and their occurrence, the question which stands between rival disputants is something of this sort: "All myths, that is, all primitive legends," says one party which may be regarded as the Philological school, "are found, if we examine closely enough into the meaning of the proper names which occur in them, to represent originally some natural phenomenon, which is in nine cases out of ten (at least for southern nations) a story of some part of the sun's daily course, some one of his innumerable aspects." "Is it conceivable," say their opponents (we may call these the Ethnologists) "that man could ever have been in such a condition that all his attention was turned upon the workings of nature or upon the heavenly bodies? Far more probable is it, that these stories arose from a variety of natural causes, real traditions of some hero, reminiscences of historical events transformed in the mist of exaggeration, or the legacy of days when men had strange and almost inconceivable ideas about the world they lived in, when they thought animals spoke and had histories like men, that men could and frequently did become trees, and trees men, etc., etc. Indeed, so strange and senseless are the notions of primitive men, that it is wasted labor to try and interpret them." This is a rough statement of the two heads of argument. The second, so far as merely negative, must fall before positive proof, as that the nature-myth hidden in an immense number of stories can be by philology satisfactorily unraveled. There is, however, also positive proof on the other side, when many stories, which as nature-myths interpreted on philological principles should only have existed among the people of a particuliar linguistic family, are found among other races who have no real relation whatever to the first.

Both these sets of facts can be adduced, and to reconcile them in every case would no doubt be hard. On the whole, however, it will perhaps be found that, as has just been said, certain molds for the construction of stories seem to exist already in the human mind, obeying some natural craving, and into these, as into a Procrustean bed, the myth more or less easily must fit. These primitive forms do not, however, preclude the undoubted existence—strange as such a phenomenon may appear—of an especial mythopœic age connected with man's observations of the phenomena of nature—an age in which natural religions gained their foundation, and when the doings of the external world had a much deeper effect upon man's imagination than in later times they have ever had.

CHAPTERS XII. AND XIII.

Mahaffy, *Prolegomena to History;* **Rawlinson**, *Five Monarchies;* Tylor, *Early History of Mankind.*

Lenormant, *Essai sur la Propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien.*

None of the Semitic alphabets can be considered as quite complete; as a complete alphabet requires a subdivision of sounds into their smallest divisions, and an appropriate sign for each of these. But none of the Semitic alphabets in their original forms seem to have possessed these qualifications. They never get nearer to the expression of vowel sounds than by letters which may be considered half vowels. Each of their consonants (in Phenician, Hebrew, Arabic) carried a vowel sound with it, and was therefore a syllabic sign and not a true letter.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gibbon, with notes by Milman, etc.; Latham, *Germania of Tacitus;* Id., *Nationalities of Europe;* Curtius, *Griech Gesch.;* Mommsen, *Die unterital. Dialekten;* Id., *Röm. Gesch.;* Von Maurer, Op. cit.

Par. 272. It will be observed that (following Mommsen) the Etruscans are here spoken of as belonging to the Italic family. This is liable to grave doubts; but the question is at present too unsettled to admit of satisfactory discussion in this place.

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⁂ Reference is made to the Paragraphs.

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Beacon Lights of Science

THE ORIGIN OF NATIONS

IN TWO PARTS

ON EARLY CIVILIZATIONS
ON ETHNIC AFFINITIES, ETC.

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PART I.—ON EARLY CIVILIZATIONS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

IT is commonly assumed at the present day that civilization is a plant of slow and gradual growth, which developed itself by degrees in the course of ages, and which belongs consequently to a comparatively late period of the world's history. The "primeval savage" is a familiar idea; and the so-called "science" of the day is never tired of presenting before us the primitive race of man as only a little removed from the brutes, devoid of knowledge, devoid of art, devoid of language, a creature in few respects elevated above, and in many sunk below, the anthropoid apes, from whom it is held that he derived his descent by way of evolution. Occasionally, indeed, a confession is made—parenthetically and by the way—that there is no proof of this supposed priority of savagery to any form of civilization; and it is admitted to be questionable which of the two preceded the other. But this confession, hurriedly uttered, and hastily slurred over in most cases, makes little impression on the public mind, and the belief is general that in some way or other science has proved that the first men who inhabited the earth were savages, and that there was no civilization till a comparatively recent period.

But the question is one which is really quite an open one; it is one on which natural science is quite incompetent to pronounce a judgment, and on which historical research has not hitherto decided in either way. Natural science, of course, if it assumes the doctrine of evolution and applies that doctrine to man, must give the precedence to savagery, which is manifestly more congenial than civilization to the anthropoid ape. But if the doctrine of evolution is recognized as a mere hypothesis, one out of many theories as to the mode in which things that are have been brought into the state in which they are, and a theory which lacks altogether any confirmation from fact, then science has to confess that she can give no decision on the point in question, but must leave it to the judgment of those who are familiar with historic facts.

Now, historic facts show that either of two movements is possible. Man can and does often, perhaps most usually, pass from the savage into the civilized condition. We have numerous instances of this transition, which we can follow step by step, and put (as it were) under a metaphysical microscope. We see the Greek pass from the simple, semi-savage state described by Homer to the condition of high civilization placed before us by Thucydides and Xenophon. We see the Romans gradually exchange the robber life of the eighth century B.C. for the splendor of the Augustan age, or the paler but purer radiance of the court of the Antonines. In later times we observe the Arab hordes, issuing from the desert unkempt and almost naked, with no literature but the confused jumble known as the Koran, no arts but those of forging iron and weaving a coarse cloth; and we trace their progress from this rude condition to the glories of the Baghdad caliphate and the magnificence of Granada. All over Western Europe we see the barbarous races which overran and crushed the Roman empire settling down into a less wild and savage life, adopting the arts as well as the religion of the conquered, and gradually emulating or surpassing the civilization which at their first coming they destroyed. In our own time, and before our eyes, a civilizing process is going on in Russia and in Turkey; serfdom disappears; nomadic tribes become settled; the arts, the habits, even the dress, of neighboring nations, are in course of adoption; and the Muscovite and Turkic hordes are becoming scarce distinguishable from other Europeans.

But, while this is the more ordinary process, or at any rate the one which most catches the eye when it roves at large over the historic field, there are not wanting indications that the process is occasionally reversed. Herodotus tells us of the Geloni, a Greek people, who, having been expelled from the cities on the northern coast of the Euxine, had retired into the interior and there lived in wooden huts, and spoke a language "half Greek, half Scythian." By the time of Mela this people had become completely barbarous, and used the skins of those slain by them in battle as coverings for themselves and their horses. A gradual degradation of the Greco-Bactrian people is apparent in the series of their coins, which is extant, and which has been carefully edited by the late Professor H. H. Wilson and by Major Cunningham. We trace a certain degeneration in the Jews of the post-Babylonian period, if we compare them with their compatriots from the accession of David to the captivity of Zedekiah. The modern Copts are very degraded descendants of the ancient Egyptians, and the Roumans of Wallachia have fallen away very considerably from the level of the Dacian colonists of Trajan. In America, both North and South, the modern descendants of the Spanish conquerors are poor representatives of the Castilian gentlemen who, under Cortez and Pizarro, made themselves masters of the Mexican and Peruvian kingdoms, and introduced into the new world the time-honored civilization of the old.

Civilization, as is evident from these and various other instances, is liable to decay, to wane, to deteriorate, to proceed from bad to worse, and in course of time to sink to so low a level that the question occurs, Is it civilization any longer? But still, perhaps, a doubt may be entertained whether the relapse can be complete—whether, that is to say, any people which has once participated in a high civilization can ever under any circumstances be reduced to absolute savagery. In most of the cases that have been quoted, while a certain deterioration has taken place, the end has not been actual savagery or barbarism, but rather a low and degraded form of civilization, retaining traces of something higher, and considerably raised above the condition of the absolute savage. Are there any cases, it may be asked, where the degradation has proceeded beyond this, where a civilized race has lapsed into complete and absolute barbarism?

Now, it is exceedingly difficult—it is almost, if not quite, impossible—to *trace* such cases. So long as contact with civilization remains, the degeneration will not be extreme. Savagery can only be reached where there is a complete separation from civilized mankind, and at the same time such a condition of the physical circumstances as demands the concentration of all mental power on efforts to support life. But in such cases there is, of course, no record. The race, tribe, nation has passed beyond the ken of its civilized neighbors, and has no time to spare for recording its own history. It loses all knowledge of the past, all power of noting events; and if, in after time, it is so bold as to venture an account of its "Origines," the narrative is evolved from the inner consciousness—is pure fancy, and has no claim to be regarded as even built on any historical foundation. Complete and continuous historical evidence, therefore, of such a degeneration as we are now speaking of is not to be looked for; and we must be content to accept as sufficient proof of what is so difficult to be proved evidence of a lower kind. Now, Comparative Philology does present to us cases where there is reason to presume an original participation in a high civilization, though the present condition of the race is almost the lowest conceivable.

An instance of this kind is furnished by the very curious race still existing in Ceylon, and known as the "Weddas." The best comparative philologists pronounce the language of the Weddas to be a debased descendant of the most elaborate and earliest known form of Aryan speech—the Sanskrit; and the Weddas are on this ground believed to be degenerate descendants of the Sanskritic Aryans who conquered India. If this be indeed so, it is difficult to conceive of a degeneration which could be more complete. The Sanskritic Aryans must, by their language and literature, have been, at the time of their conquest, in a fairly advanced stage of civilization. The Weddas are savages of a type than which it is scarcely possible to conceive anything more debased. Their language is limited to some few hundred vocables; they cannot count beyond two or three; they have, of course, no idea of letters; they have domesticated no animal but the dog; they have no arts beyond the power of making bows and arrows, and constructing huts of a very rude kind; they are said to have no idea of God, and scarcely any memory. They with difficulty obtain a subsistence by means of the bow, and are continually dwindling, and threaten to become extinct. In height they rarely exceed five feet, and are thus degenerate both physically and intellectually.

Thus, on the whole, there would seem to be grounds for believing, broadly, that savagery and civilization, the two opposite poles of our social condition, are states between which men oscillate freely, passing from either to the other with almost equal ease, according to the external circumstances wherewith they are surrounded. If the circumstances become ameliorated, if life becomes less of a struggle, if leisure be obtained, civilization (as a general rule) grows up; if these conditions are reversed, if the struggle for existence tends to occupy the whole attention of each man, civilization disappears, the community becomes barbarized, and the savage condition is reached.

What then does history say as to the priority of the one state or the other? History no doubt shows abundant instances of improvement, of an advance from a comparatively low condition to a higher one, of civilization developing itself out of a savage or a semi-savage state, and gradually progressing until it arrives at a sort of *quasi*-perfection. But what does the earliest history say as to the earliest condition of mankind? Does it accord with the bulk of those who write the accounts, now so common, of "prehistoric man?" Does it make the "primeval man" a savage, or something very remote from a savage? Thus it seems that, so far as the voice of history speaks at all, it is in favor of a primitive race of men, not indeed equipped with all the arts and appliances of our modern civilization, but substantially civilized, possessing language, thought, intelligence, conscious of a Divine Being, quick to form the conception of tools, and to frame them as it needed them, early developing many of the useful and elegant arts, and only sinking by degrees, and under peculiar circumstances, into the savage condition.

In proof of this we shall allege, first and foremost, that sacred record which is, even humanly speaking, one of the most valuable fragments of antiquity that has come down to us—the opening section of Genesis, chapters 1 to 5. In this we find our first parents represented much as Milton has drawn them:

> "Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,
> Godlike erect, with naked honour clad
> In naked majesty, seemed lords of all;
> And worthy seemed; for in their looks divine
> The image of their glorious Maker shone,
> Truth, wisdom, sanctitude, severe and pure;
> Severe, but in true filial freedom placed;
> Whence true authority in men."

No savages are this simple pair, but clever, intelligent, quick to invent, able to sew themselves coats on the first perception of the need of them (Gen. 3:7), able during their innocence to enjoy high converse with God and with each other, able to suggest to their children the two chief modes of life by which subsistence is readily procured in simple times, the pastoral and the agricultural. No gradual working onward, with toil and pain, from the life of the hunter to that of the shepherd, and from the life of the shepherd to that of the cultivator, is set before us—the two sons first born to the first man are respectively "a tiller of the ground" and "a keeper of sheep" (Gen. 4:2). Again, the primeval race does not find a shelter in hollow trees or in caverns, neither does it burrow under ground, like some tribes of Africans. The eldest son of the first man "builded a city" (Gen 4:17)—not of course a Nineveh or a Babylon, but still (עִיר) a city—a collection of habitations, permanent and fixed, fitted together by human skill, a sufficient protection against extremes of heat and cold, or against storms and rainy weather. Later, not earlier than this, the tent is invented (Gen. 4:20), and then, while the first man is still alive, instrumental music comes into being; the harp and flute are framed by skilful hands (Gen. 4:21), and the pastoral life is enlivened by the charms of melody. Copper and iron are smelted at the same period (Gen. 4:22), and a race of artificers in metal grows up, which produces tools and weapons of war, perhaps also works of artistic beauty.

Such is the account given in one of the earliest historical records that has come down to us—a record whose historical value is not diminished by the fact that, according to the general belief of the Jewish and Christian worlds, it is inspired. We proceed to consider whether this record is in accordance, or not, with such other historical evidence as exists upon the point in question.

Now, it will scarcely be denied that the mythical traditions of almost all nations place at the beginning of human history a time of happiness and perfection, a "golden age," which has no features of savagery or barbarism, but many of civilization and refinement. In the Zendavesta, Yimakhshaeta (Jemshid), the first Aryan king, after reigning for a time in the original

Aryanem vaejo, removes with his subjects to a secluded spot, where both he and they enjoy uninterrupted happiness. In this place "was neither overbearing nor meanspiritedness, neither stupidity nor violence, neither poverty nor deceit, neither puniness nor deformity, neither huge teeth, nor bodies beyond the usual measure." The inhabitants suffered no defilement from the evil spirit. They dwelt amid odoriferous trees and golden pillars; their cattle were the largest, best, and most beautiful on the earth; they were themselves a tall and beautiful race; their food was ambrosial, and never failed them. The Chinese speak of a "first heaven," an age of innocence, when "the whole creation enjoyed a state of happiness; when everything was beautiful, everything was good; all beings were perfect in their kind." Mexican tradition tells of the "golden age of Tezenco;" and Peruvian history commences with two "Children of the Sun," who establish a civilized community on the borders of Lake Titicaca. The elegant imagination of the Greeks described the first age as follows:

"The immortal gods, that tread the courts of heaven,
First made a golden race of mortal men.
Like gods they lived, with happy careless souls,
From toil and pain exempt; nor on them crept
Wretched old age, but all their life was passed
In feasting, and their limbs no changes knew.
Nought evil came them nigh; and, when they died,
'Twas but as if they were o'ercome by sleep.
All good things were their portion: the fat soil
Bare them its fruit spontaneous, fruit ungrudged
And plentiful; they at their own sweet will
Pursued in peace the tasks that seemed them good,
Laden with blessings, rich in flocks, and dear
To the great gods." *Hesiod.*

Such is the voice which reaches us on all sides from that dim and twilight land, where the mythical and historical seem to meet and blend together inseparably. Can we go at all beyond this? Can we say that history proper tells us anything upon the subject, or leans at all to one side of the question rather than the other?

It is plain that there are very few nations which even profess to have a history that goes back to the beginning of all things. Of the few which make such a profession, some, like the Chinese and the Hindoos, appear upon inquiry to do so without any valid ground, their real histories commencing not very long before the Christian era. Others may perhaps have more reason for the claims which they urge. Egypt and Babylonia have monuments to show which antedate probably all others upon the earth's surface. If real history is to have anything to say with regard to the problem before us, it is to Egypt and Babylonia that we must look for light upon this vexed question.

Now, in Egypt, it is notorious that there is no indication of any early period of savagery or barbarism. All the authorities agree that, however far we go back, we find in Egypt no rude or uncivilized time out of which civilization is developed. Menes, the first king, changes the course of the Nile, makes a great reservoir, and builds the temple of Phthah at Memphis. Athothis, or Tosorthmus, his son and successor, is the builder of the Memphite palace, and a physician, who wrote books on anatomy. The Pyramid period falls very early in Egyptian history, but "the scenes depicted in the tombs of this epoch show that the Egyptians had already the same habits and arts as in after-times; and the hieroglyphics in the Great Pyramid prove that writing had been long in use. We see no primitive mode of life in Egypt; no barbarous customs; not even the habit, so slowly abandoned by all people, of wearing arms when not on military service, nor any archaic art. . . . In the tombs of the Pyramid period are represented the same fowling and fishing scenes as occur later; the rearing of cattle and wild animals of the desert; the scribes using the same kind of reed for writing on the papyrus an inventory of the estate, which was to be presented to the owner; the same boats, though rigged with a double mast instead of the single one of later times; the same mode of preparing for the entertainment of guests; the same introduction of music and dancing; the same trades, as glass-blowers, cabinet-makers, and others: as well as similar agricultural scenes, implements, and granaries."

In Babylonia there is more indication of early rudeness. The bricks of the most ancient buildings are coarsely made; the vases found in them are clumsy and irregular in shape; and implements in flint and stone are not uncommon. But on the other hand there are not wanting signs of an advanced state of certain arts, even in the very earliest times, which denote a high degree of civilization, and contrast most curiously with the indications of rudeness here spoken of. Among the objects recovered are the cylinder-seals of two monarchs who are among the most ancient of the series; and on these seals, which are of hard stone, very difficult to engrave, we have, in the first place, a primitive form of cuneiform writing; and secondly, elaborate representations of men wearing elegant flounced or fringed robes, and with crowns on their heads; and in one case we have a representation of an elegant chair or throne, the hind legs of which are modelled after the leg of an animal. Mechanical and artistic skill had thus, it is evident, reached a very surprising degree of excellence; the engraving of hard stones, probably with steel and emery, was practised; and writing was in constant and familiar use, at almost the very remotest period to which the Babylonian records carry us back.

A question of considerable interest presents itself with respect to these earliest forms of civilization — the most remote whereto history carries us back —viz., What is their probable date? Can we fix, definitely, or within certain limits, the chronology of Egypt and Babylon, or must such matters be left in the shadowy vagueness in which writers on "prehistoric man" love to indulge when they deal with the "Origines" of the human race? We propose to examine this question in the next and following chapters; and, if we are not mistaken, we shall be able, without very much difficulty, to dispel an illusion, fostered by some great names, that the present state of our historical knowledge requires an enormous expansion of the ordinarily accepted chronology —an expansion (as some suppose) of 4000 into 10,000, 15,000, or even 20,000 years. *Some* expansion of what has been called "the authorized chronology"—though it is not authorized—may be necessary; but such enlargements as have been proposed are, it is believed, excessive, there being no sufficient evidence to justify them, and the general results of historical inquiry up to the present time being such as to render them highly improbable.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF CIVILIZATION IN EGYPT.

In September, 1874, Professor Owen, speaking at the International Congress of Orientalists in London, declared that the space of "7000 years was but a brief period to be allotted to the earliest, the oldest civilized and governed community," that of Egypt. In September, 1875, Sir John Hawkshaw, in his address to the British Association, at Bristol, spoke, with more moderation, of the art of building in stone, as "having reached the greatest perfection in Egypt" (in the erection of the great pyramid) "5000 years ago." It is manifest that these statements are conflicting. The one would place the commencement of Egyptian civilization about B.C. 5000; the other 1500 years later. Even the latter estimate is, according to some writers, extravagant, being (as they think) as much as a thousand years in excess of the true date.

Curious as such contradictions seem, and widely at variance with ordinary chronological notions as is the idea of an Egypt with a continuous history reaching back *at the least* 7000 years, yet it must be confessed that the scientific men who make such statements upon platforms can quote in support of their views historians of eminence. A great diversity of opinion does in fact exist among those who have devoted their main time and attention to the language and antiquities of Egypt, on the point of the real historical chronology of the country; and there are Egyptologists who maintain views not very different from those of Professor Owen. That there are others who advocate a very moderate Egyptian chronology is no less true; and it would be as well perhaps if scientific men, when they touch the point, would mention the diversity of views existing with respect to it. They may, however, not always be aware of the fact, since their historical reading must be limited, and they may thus unconsciously mislead the public. We hold it very important that the fact should be known; and we propose therefore, in the present chapter, to place before our readers, first of all, a statement of the extent of the variation which exists in the views of first-rate Egyptologists on the subject of the Antiquity of Civilization in Egypt. We shall then endeavor to explain the grounds upon which the different writers base their views, and so to unfold the causes of the variation. Finally, we shall try to come to some conclusion upon the question, to which of the views probability, upon the whole, most inclines.

I. A general consent on the part of almost all authors attaches the commencement of civilization in Egypt to the name of a certain M'na, Mên, or Menes, who is believed to have been the first king. The Greek writers and the Egyptian monuments agree in assigning to Menes this position, and consequently we may regard the inquiry upon which we are entering as equivalent to another, viz., "At what time did King Menes ascend the Egyptian throne?" Now the earliest date which we find assigned by modern authors to this event is the year B.C. 5004. This is the date preferred by M. Mariette, "Director of the Service of Conservation of the Antiquities of Egypt," and founder, arranger, curator, and expositor of the Museum of Antiquities at Cairo. It has been adopted in his "Manual of Ancient Oriental History," by M. Mariette's most distinguished follower, M. François Lenormant, and is now generally taught in the schools of France, where M. Lenormant's work has been accepted as an educational handbook. The "7000 years" of Professor Owen is, we presume, produced by adding the date A.D. 1875 to B.C. 5004, and expressing the sum total by a round number.

Dr. Brugsch, Director of the Museum of Antiquities at Berlin, and the author of a valuable "History of Egypt," placed in 1859 the accession of Menes in the year B.C. 4455, five centuries and a half later than the time assigned to it by MM. Lenormant and Mariette. He has since (in 1875) corrected his date to B.C. 4400.

Dr. Lepsius, in his "Chronologie der Egypter," published in 1849, gave the date of Menes as B.C. 3892, while Baron Bunsen originally fixed his accession to the year B.C. 3623. Subsequent researches and calculations induced the latter writer to modify his earlier views, and finally he gave, in the last volume of his "Egypt," as the first of Menes the year B.C. 3059.

Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, head of the Numismatic Department in the British Museum, and a good hieroglyphic scholar, in his article on "Chronology," written for the "Dictionary of the Bible" in 1860, gave the date of B.C. 2717 as that to which his calculations led him, at the same time admitting the great uncertainty in which the whole subject of early Egyptian chronology was involved, and desiring that his numbers should be considered as merely approximate.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson, who, on the whole, must be regarded as the greatest of English Egyptologers, declared, in the year 1862, that he agreed in the main with Mr. R. Stuart Poole, but, slightly modifying some of his numbers, produced as the approximate date of the accession of Menes, the year B.C. 2691.

These views all claim to be the results of original research, and have been put forward by persons (more or less) acquainted with the Egyptian monuments, and (more or less) competent to translate and expound the hieroglyphical inscriptions. Before proceeding to explain how it comes to be possible that such different views can be taken, it will, perhaps, help the reader to appreciate the diversity if we tabulate the views themselves, and express numerically their differences :

Date for Accession of Menes.

	B.C.	Later than Mariette.	Later than Brugsch.	Later than Lepsius.	Later than Bunsen.	Later than Stuart Poole.
Mariette and Lenormant	5004	—	—	—	—	—
Brugsch..............	4400	604	—	—	—	—
Lepsius....	3892	1111	508	—	—	—
Bunsen (early view) ...	3623	1381	777	260	—	—
Bunsen (later view) ...	3059	1945	1341	833	—	—
Stuart Poole	2717	2287	1683	1175	342	—
G. Wilkinson	2691	2313	1719	1201	368	26

II. We have now to show how it has happened that these various writers, having all of them the same data, have been able to come to such very different conclusions—conclusions which, as will be seen, differ in the extremest case by a period of *above two thousand three hundred years!*

1. Now the first cause of such a great diversity is the fact that the Egyptians themselves were without the chronological idea. Not only had they no era, but it was not their habit to enter into computations of time, or to trouble themselves with anything beyond the consideration of the number of years that the existing "divinity" had sat upon the Egyptian throne. In some few cases, where another divinity, incarnate Apis, was believed to have been present with them, they went so far, in noting his arrival and departure, as to mention in one connection the regnal years of two kings ; and from these notices—known as those of the Apis *Stelæ*—we sometimes obtain important results ; but otherwise chronology is upon the Egyptian monuments almost non-existent. This is the unanimous confession of the Egyptologers. "The evidence of the monuments" in respect of the chronology, says Mr. R. Stuart Poole, "is neither full nor explicit." "Chronology," says Baron Bunsen, "cannot be elicited from them." "The greatest obstacle," says M. Mariette, "to the establishment of a regular Egyptian chronology is the circumstance that the Egyptians themselves *never had any chronology at all.*"

2. In default of any general monumental scheme of Egyptian chronology, all attempts to construct such a scheme must have been abandoned had not a work been written by an Egyptian priest under the Ptolemies (ab. B.C. 280–250), of which certain abstracts have come down to us. Manetho, a priest of Sebennytus, composed in Greek, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, a history of Egypt which he professed to have taken from the archives preserved in the Egyptian temples. This work is lost, but abstracts of it have reached us in the writings of Eusebius and Syncellus, and a few quotations in those of Josephus, by means of which a good idea may be formed of its general character. It divided Egyptian history into three periods, which it called respectively the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, and the New Empire. To the first of these it assigned eleven dynasties ; to the second, six dynasties ; to the third, fourteen dynasties ; in all, thirty-one dynasties. It assigned to each dynasty a certain number of years, and (without perhaps distinctly stating that it was so) produced the impression that the dynasties were consecutive, and formed a single continuous series. Had this been the case, the time which they had occupied would have been, according to Manetho's numbers, from 5040 to 5358 years, and the commencement of the Old Empire would have fallen between B.C. 5372 and B.C. 5678.

Lists of kings, accompanied by regnal years, but unaccompanied by events, or accompanied only by very improbable events, as that one of them was carried off by a hippopotamus, and that under another the Nile flowed with honey for eleven days, are not generally treated with much tenderness by modern historical critics, who are apt to consign the Assyrian and Median lists of Ctesias, the Sicyonian, Argive, Athenian, and early Macedonian lists of Eusebius, the Corinthian list of Diodorus, and the Alban list of Livy to the historical waste-paper basket. Manetho has been made an excep tion to the general rule, on account of the fact that his lists accord to a great extent with those on the Egyptian monuments, and appear beyond any reasonable doubt to have been drawn from them. His kings are thus admitted on all hands to be—for the most part, at any rate—real personages, veritable men who held the royal dignity at some time or other in some part of Egypt. The question which alone divides historical critics, and which produces the existing diversity of opinion with respect to the duration of Egyptian civilization, is simply this: Were the dynasties of Manetho continuous, or were any of them contemporary? If the latter, what deduction are we to make from his numbers on account of contemporaneousness?

One writer—and one only—has denied that any two of Manetho's thirty-one dynasties were contemporary. "There were undoubtedly," says M. Mariette, "dynasties in Egypt which reigned simultaneously; but *Manetho has rejected them*, and has admitted none but those reckoned legitimate; *the secondary dynasties are no longer in his lists.*" And again, "There is superabundant monumental proof collected by Egyptologers to show that *all the royal races* enumerated by the priest of Sebennytus (Manetho) *occupied the throne one after the other.*"

All other Egyptologers are of a different opinion. All believe that Manetho has not wholly eliminated from his list contemporary dynasties, but has, on the contrary, included them occasionally. The differences between the various chronological schemes which we have already exhibited arise mainly from diversity of view as to the extent to which contemporary dynasties are admitted. M. Lenormant, in most respects the *alter ego* of M. Mariette, here, in this essential matter, deserts his master, and maintains that Manetho's eleventh dynasty was contemporary with his ninth and tenth, and his fourteenth dynasty contemporary with his thirteenth Dr. Brugsch makes the ninth and tenth dynasties contemporary with the eighth and eleventh; the fourteenth with the thirteenth; the seventeenth with the fifteenth, sixteenth, and part of the eighteenth; and the twenty-fifth with the end of the twenty-fourth and the beginning of the twenty-sixth. Baron Bunsen advances a step beyond Dr. Brugsch; he places the second, fifth, ninth, tenth, fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth in the list of collateral dynasties, regarding them as parallel to the third, the sixth, the eighth, and the fifteenth. Finally, the English Egyptologers, Sir G. Wilkinson and Mr. R. Stuart Poole, carry out the principle of contemporaneousness still further than Baron Bunsen. With them, the third dynasty is contemporary with the first; the second with the fourth and fifth; the ninth, tenth, and eleventh with the sixth; the twelfth and thirteenth (at Thebes), the fourteenth (at Xoïs); and the three Shepherd dynasties, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, with the seventh and eighth (at Memphis).

Besides this main cause of difference in the chronological schemes, there is a second arising from the uncertainty of Manetho's numbers, which are variously reported by Eusebius and Africanus. Eusebius gives the ninth dynasty 100 years, Africanus 409 years. Eusebius makes the three Shepherd dynasties reign respectively, 250, 190, and 108 years; Africanus, 284, 518, and 151 years, the sum of the differences in this latter case being 410 years. There is no reconciling these differences, and historians choose, as they please, the longer or the shorter estimates.

III. We come now to the final question, Which view of Egyptian chronology is, on the whole, to be preferred? Are we, with M. Mariette and Professor Owen, to regard civilization as having commenced in Egypt above 5000 years before the birth of our Saviour; or are we, with Poole and Wilkinson, to shorten the term by at least twenty-three centuries, and place its commencement not before B.C. 2700? Or, finally, ought we to pursue, here as elsewhere, the *juste milieu*, and give the preference on that account to the date of Lepsius, or to the earlier view of Bunsen? It might have been hoped that the monuments, studied carefully and without prejudice, would have given a decided answer to this question; but at present they appear not to have done so. While on the one hand M. Mariette stoutly asserts that they show none of Manetho's dynasties to have been contemporary, all other Egyptologers declare that they prove contemporaneity in several instances. Mr. R. Stuart Poole asserts positively that "kings who unquestionably belong to different dynasties are shown by the monuments to be contemporary." Sir G. Wilkinson descends to particulars. "Useskef," he says, "of the second dynasty, is found together with Soris, or Shuré, and Menkera, of the fourth dynasty, and with Osirkef and Shafré of the fifth; while some of these again occur with Shufu and others of the fourth and fifth dynasties." And again, "The ovals of the first four kings of the fifth dynasty have been found with those of the fourth dynasty;" and "other monuments prove that the eleventh dynasty reigned in the Thebaid at the same time" (as the sixth dynasty at Memphis); and "that the kings of the ninth were contemporaries of the eleventh, or earliest Theban dynasty, is proved by the fact of Muntopt II. being mentioned on a stela together with the first Amun-m-he; and an Enentef, one of his predecessors, has been found with the third king of this eleventh dynasty, Muntopt I." It is marvellous that M. Mariette, writing several years after the publication of these statements, should, instead of controverting them, wholly ignore them and pass them by, as he does when he unblushingly declares, "Never have any of the savants who have set themselves to reduce Manetho s numbers succeeded in producing a single monument, from which it results that two dynasties given by him as successive were in fact contemporary."

For ourselves we cannot doubt that the contemporaneity asserted, more or less, by all the Egyptologers except M. Mariette, is an established fact; but the extent to which it pervades Manetho's lists is, we admit, a matter of much uncertainty. Hitherto we have seen no disproof of the views taken by Mr. Stuart Poole and Sir G. Wilkinson, according to which — Manetho's dynastic numbers being accepted — the date of Menes is brought down to about B.C. 2700. But we do not regard this date as in any sense established. There may have been more contemporaneity than even Mr. Poole and Sir G. Wilkinson suspect; and Manetho's dynastic numbers we regard as wholly uncertain. They are frequently wrong where we can test them, and they are evidently arrived at (as a general rule) by a mere addition of the number of the regnal years assigned to the several kings. But as association was largely practised in Egypt, such a mode of reckoning the years of a dynasty would be certain to produce a result greatly in excess of the truth. And further, we very much doubt whether Manetho, with the best intentions, had any materials for reconstructing the chronology of the Old or Middle Empires. The Shepherd conquest of Egypt threw everything into confusion, produced a complete shipwreck of Egyptian literature and civilization. The length of the Shepherd domination was unknown when Egypt, under the eighteenth dynasty, recovered itself, and was variously estimated at 260, 350, 811, and 953 years. In realty, Egyptian chronology only begins with the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, and even then is far from exact, the best critics varying in their dates for this event by nearly 200 years. We should be inclined to place it about B.C 1500, or a little earlier. If the Shepherd period lasted about two centuries and a half, which is the view of Canon Cook, the Old Empire would have come to an end about B.C. 1750. That there was such an empire is, we think, clearly established; and we have no doubt that the pyramids and various tombs now existing belonged to it. But its duration can only be *guessed*. We should be inclined, on the whole, to allow it from 500 to 700 years. The establishment of a settled monarchy in Egypt, and with it of civilization, would then fall between B.C. 2450 and B.C. 2250.

This view appears to us to be more in accordance than any other with the general facts of oriental history and chronology. Its compatibility with the chronology of the Bible will be evident, if it be borne in mind that, *according to the Septuagint version*, the date of the deluge was certainly anterior to B.C. 3000.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ANTIQUITY OF CIVILIZATION AT BABYLON.

THE advocates of an extreme antiquity for the commencement of civilization and of settled monarchy in Egypt have sometimes endeavored to bolster up their cause by alleging an equal or even a greater antiquity for the kingdom and civilization of the Babylonians. It was evident to them that the world at large would not be persuaded that a single country stood in an entirely exceptional position; and that, while elsewhere the dawn of history could nowhere be dated much before B.C. 2000, in Egypt existing records carried us back a thousand, two thousand, or even three thousand years earlier. Accordingly the effort was made to find at least one other country which might keep Egypt company; and none seemed capable of being turned to such good account as Chaldea or Babylonia. Scripture spoke of a "kingdom" as set up in Babylon at a remoter period than its first notice of a kingdom in Egypt. Very curious and remarkable ruins of vast size and apparently great age were known to exist in the region; and, above all, it was certain that the Babylonians themselves, when they first came into contact with the Greeks, laid claim to an antiquity as great or greater than that which was claimed for themselves by the Egyptians. A good case, it was thought, could be made out of these data; and the early origin of civilization and settled government in Mesopotamia, resting on its own grounds of proof, would, it was concluded with reason, tend strongly to support the theory of an extreme antiquity for the same things in Egypt.

The best representative of the school of writers to whom we allude is the late Baron Bunsen. This learned scholar, but overbold speculator, having laid it down in the earlier part of his great work upon Egypt, that the commencement of monarchy there was about B.C. 3600, when he came to speak of Babylon, boldly asserted that a Chaldæan kingdom was established there not much later than B.C. 4000, and even hinted at the earlier existence in the country of a Turanian monarchy, for the foundation of which the latest date that could be reasonably assigned was B.C. 7000! In another place the "Chaldæan era" in Babylon was definitely fixed to the year B.C. 3784, as if trustworthy materials existed for a complete and exact chronology at this early period!

It is difficult to understand on what

grounds of proof this date of B.C. 3784 was supposed to rest. Some authorities spoke of a Chaldæan dynasty as having reigned at Babylon for two hundred and twenty-five years anterior to a date which probably corresponded to about B.C. 2286. These numbers, if viewed as historical, produce for the foundation of the Chaldæan monarchy, not B.C. 3784, but B.C. 2511—nearly 1300 years later. A skilful manipulation of the authorities from whom we obtain Berosus' numbers might raise this date by about two hundred and thirty years; but whence the other thousand are to be obtained it is very difficult to understand. We *suppose* they come from the dynasty of eighty-six kings, generally regarded as mythical, whose joint reigns covered, according to Berosus, the space of 34,080 years, though how they are got out of this number, or why this dynasty should be accounted historical, surpasses our powers of conjecture. As for the still earlier Turanian dynasty, to which we are invited to assign the date of B.C. 8000, or B.C. 7000 at the latest, we fail to see on what scrap of historical evidence it is based. Apparently, it rests wholly upon two arbitrary assumptions: one, that the Deluge happened exactly ten thousand years before the Christian era; and another, that the generations between Noah and Nimrod represent—each of them—periods of a thousand years.

Putting aside these wild and baseless speculations, let us now inquire what history, worthy of the name, actually says with regard to the antiquity of civilization and settled government in Babylon.

The classical accounts, as it has been often shown, fixed the era of the foundation of Babylon at B.C. 2230, or a very little earlier. Berosus, by a sudden change from exaggerated to unexaggerated numbers, implied a belief that real human history had its commencement at Babylon, at a date which may have been as late as B.C. 2286, and cannot well have been earlier than B.C. 2458. The Septuagint numbers indicate, for the establishment of Nimrod's kingdom, some such date as B.C. 2567. The Hebrew numbers lower this date by about 225 years. All these accounts *agree* in assigning the foundation of the Babylonian monarchy to the third millennium before the Christian era—B.C. 3000—2000; and all but one place it in the latter half of that millennium B.C. 2500—2000. The extreme limits of difference in the several accounts do not much exceed three centuries, the highest date being B.C. 2567, and the lowest B.C. 2230, or 337 years later.

A notice in the annals of Asshur-bani-pal, the son of Esarhaddon (about B.C. 651), tells of the invasion of Babylonia by an Elamitic king 1635 years earlier, and appears to imply the existence in that country of a settled government and of great cities at the time of the invasion, or about B.C. 2286.

The general conclusions to be drawn from the entire series of Babylonian and Assyrian remains recently exhumed in Mesopotamia are the following. Babylon was conquered by the Assyrians in or about the year B.C. 1300, and from that time until the revolt of Nabopolassar (about B.C. 610), was a secondary power, sometimes subject to Assyria, sometimes in revolt, but never dominant over any wide extent of country. Her greatness was in times anterior and in times subsequent to this period. With the subsequent period, that of the later Babylonian empire B.C. 610—538, we have in this place nothing to do. Our business is with the earlier one. Babylon, before the Assyrian conquest of B.C. 1300, had been for a long time a very great power. Recent research has recovered the names of at least fifty-five monarchs who bore sway in the country anterior to B.C. 1300. Of these fifty-five names twenty are thought to belong to a single dynasty—the dynasty which ruled immediately before the Assyrian conquest, and to which Berosus, who called it Arabian, assigned the duration of 245 years. It commenced with a king named Khammurabi, who dug canals, built palaces and temples, and left numerous memorials which remain to the present day. A bilingual inscription, which he set up in Babylonia, exists in the museum of the Louvre, and has been translated by M. Ménant and Mr. Fox Talbot. Khammurabi probably ascended the throne about B.C. 1545, and was succeeded by his son, Samshu-iluna, some twenty or thirty years later. His immediate predecessor was an Elamite monarch, Kudur-Mabuk, who has been sometimes identified with the Chedor-Laomer (Kudur-Lagamar) of Scripture; but who was probably a different personage. This king, who, together with his son Rim-agu, or Ri-agu, exercised supremacy over the greater part of southern Mesopotamia for the space of about thirty years, must have reigned from about B.C. 1575 to 1545. Previously to the conquest of Babylonia by Kudur-Mabuk, the country is thought to have been divided up among a number of petty kingdoms, which were frequently at war with one another, as those of Agadi (or Accad), of Karrak, Erech, Ur, and Larsa. The monarchs of this period have Semitic names. It is difficult to form any estimate of the length of time which their reign covered. The number and succession of the names hitherto obtained would seem to indicate a period of from 250 to 300 years; but there is no certainty that the list of names is in any case complete, and future discoveries may require the period to be enlarged considerably. It is quite possible that the 458 years assigned by Berosus to the dynasty immediately preceding the Arabs may represent the combined Semitic and Elamitic periods, in which case we should have to place the commencement of the Semitic period a little before B.C. 2000.

We have not, however, reached as yet the earliest date to which the Babylonian remains carry us. The Semitic is preceded by a Turanian period, during which there is the same division of the country among several distinct kingdoms which we have noted as obtaining under the Semites. The seats of empire are now Babylon, Ur, Eridu, and Zerghul, the influence of Babylon and Ur preponderating. A space of about a century and a half is required by the list of names which have been recovered; but again it is to be noted that this space is merely a minimum, and that fresh discoveries may at any time require us to enlarge it. There is, however, no reason to suppose that the enlargement required will be very great, or that we need allow for the Turanian period indicated by the monuments a longer duration of time than that which Berosus gave to his first and second historical dynasties. This space is unfortunately doubtful, being according to one estimate 282, according to another 482, or even 492 years. If we accept the largest of these numbers, we bring the commencement of the Babylonian kingdom to about B.C. 2500, or a little later; if we take the smallest, we reduce the date by 210 years.

This is the conclusion which seems to follow from a combination of the monumental history with the scheme of Berosus. From the monuments *alone* we should not be obliged to carry back the *origines* of Babylon further than about B.C. 2025.

It remains to consider briefly the character of the civilization which appears to have existed in Babylonia at this period (B.C. 2300–1300). The remains discovered belong to the entire space, to the early or Turanian time (B.C. 2300–2000) no less than to the Semitic period (B.C. 2000–1575), the Elamitic (B.C. 1575–1545), and the Arabian (B.C. 1545–1300). It is a civilization which was at no time very advanced. The buildings were of brick, partly sun-dried, partly baked; the great mass of the structure was usually of the former, the external casing of the latter material. Sometimes buildings were composed entirely of unbaked bricks, in which case it was usual to interpose, at intervals of four or five feet, a layer of reed-matting, which protected the crude brick from the weather, and retarded disintegration. The chief edifices were temples. In these the pyramidical form was, as a general rule, affected; but, instead of the slope being completed, the temple rose in a number of upright stages, which were not fewer than three, and may occasionally have amounted to seven. External ornamentation was by buttresses, by half columns, by shallow stepped recesses, and sometimes by a patterning of terra-cotta cones. In the most elaborate façade which is left, we are told that "nothing can be more plain, more rude, or in fact more unsightly, than the decoration employed upon this front; but it is this very aspect, this very ugliness, which vouches for the originality of the style." The column is used; but it is without cornice, capital, base, or diminution of shaft, "in groups of seven *half* columns repeated seven times—*the rudest perhaps which were ever reared*, but built of moulded semicircular bricks, and securely bonded to the wall." The arch occurs, but only in doorways of no great width, and scarcely as a decorative feature. It is, however, believed that the great chambers, which were sometimes above thirty feet wide, were vaulted either with brick or with a mass of gypsum-plaster. Altogether, the architectural efforts of the early Babylonian people must be pronounced in the highest degree rude and primitive. The heavy massiveness of the walls, the coarseness of the material, the absence of ornamentation or its mean character, tell of a time when art was in its infancy, when ideas of beauty were undeveloped, and utility was all in all. So far as architecture goes, the Babylonians of B.C. 2300—2000 were not in a more advanced condition than the Mexicans before the Spanish invasion.

Another indication of extreme rudeness and *incipient* civilization is to be found in the implements of the period, which are entirely either of stone or bronze. No iron implement has been found, though some may have existed, since iron occurs among the materials of personal ornaments. The weapons of the Babylonians, their spear-heads and arrow-heads, were of bronze; their tools and implements, such as hammers, hatchets, adzes, knives, sickles, nails, were either of bronze or stone. The workmanship of the stone implements is somewhat more advanced than that of those very primitive ones which have been found in the drift; but it is in no degree more skilled than that of the ordinary stone celts of Western and Northern Europe, which, until the examination of the drift and cave remains, were regarded as the most ancient products of human art in our quarter of the globe. The bronze implements have been cast in clay moulds, and are not ill-shaped. They are generally, no doubt, of later date than the stone ones; but their position in the remains appears to indicate that the two materials were, during a long term of years, in use together.

In pottery the early Babylonians exhibit some considerable skill and ingenuity.

Clay was a material with which they must have been familiar from their original settlement in the country, and which, from the time when they first fashioned it into bricks, they must have perceived to be adapted also for other purposes. In their earliest fictile art there is neither elegance of form nor excellence of material. The clay used is of a coarse kind; it is mixed with chopped straw to give it cohesion; and it is roughly moulded by the hand into the required lamp or drinking vessel. At a later time they learned, or invented, the employment of the potter's wheel; they sought out and procured a finer clay, and they modelled vases, lamps, jugs, and amphoræ of a form and taste not much inferior to the ordinary workmanship of the Greeks. They also constructed clay coffins, remarkable for their size, and pipes for drains, exhibiting a considerable knowledge of mechanical principles; but it is not certain that these works were of an earlier date than B.C. 1500.

Writing was known to the Babylonians from almost the earliest times of which any traces remain to us; but the writing was of a very rude and primitive kind. The letters show strong signs of having recently emerged out of hieroglyphics; they are coarsely and irregularly formed, and the sentences are of the simplest possible construction. The inscriptions preserved in no case much exceed half a dozen lines, and are of a formal and stereotyped character. The civilization indicated by the writings is thus one of a primitive and undeveloped type.

In two or three respects only can it be said that the Babylonians of the first period (B.C. 2300—2000) exhibit more than a rudimentary acquaintance with the arts and appliances which go to make up what moderns understand by civilized life. Among these are especially the engraving of hard gems, and the manufacture of delicate textile fabrics. Hard stones, well cut, bearing upon them representations of human forms fairly rendered, belong to almost the very earliest period whereto the Babylonian monuments reach; and the figures upon these stones are clothed in dresses which are as elaborate as those of Nebuchadnezzar's age. It would seem that the art of working gems, of cutting them into shape with a wheel or disk, and then engraving them with an iron implement dipped in emery powder, must have been a very early discovery of the Babylonian people. They must also, at a very remote date, have been able to weave linen, muslin, or silk, of a fine texture, and to construct dresses of these materials scarcely less elaborate than those worn in their palmiest days by the Egyptians and Assyrians. Altogether, what strikes us most with respect to the early civilization of the Babylonians is its *unevenness*. Instead of that general diffusion over all the various departments of art and manufacture whereto we are accustomed, there was the most marked difference of degree, at one and the same time, with respect to different branches. Dress was elaborate, ornaments were tastefully wrought, seal-engraving was carried to a high pitch of perfection, furniture was in some cases artistic, while architecture stood at a low level, pottery was rude and inelegant, and stone was still the ordinary material for tools and implements. The general result indicates the combination of much natural intelligence with a somewhat brief term of experience, which has precluded the application of the natural gifts equally in all directions. The predominant aim has been rather to gratify the desires of the great and powerful than to ameliorate the condition of the working classes. Even the former object has been but partially accomplished, as if there had scarcely been time for thought to employ itself on more than a limited number of subjects. The civilization reached is, on the whole, inferior to that of the early Egyptians. It seems to be, in its main features, independent of Egypt. Whether it is a little earlier or a little later can scarcely be determined; but, on the whole, we are inclined to assign to Egypt the palm of antiquity.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE DATE AND CHARACTER OF PHŒNICIAN CIVILIZATION.

One of the earliest Oriental civilizations was that of Phœnicia. Philo of Byblos, a Syro-Phœnician Greek, who wrote in the early part of the second century after Christ, and professed to present his countrymen with a translation of an old Phœnician history composed by a native priest, called Sanchoniathon, claimed for Phœnicia a precedence over every other known nation in respect of science, art, and civilization generally. According to him, Thoth (Taautus), the Egyptian god of learning, whom the Greeks identified with Mercury, was a Phœnician, who had instructed the Egyptians in theology. Osiris had come from Egypt to Phœnicia, and having there studied and been initiated into the native mysteries, had carried back to his own countrymen the knowledge of letters, and invented the threefold system of Egyptian writing. Kronos, a Phœnician king, had introduced civilization into Greece, and established Athené there as queen of Attica. This same monarch was the progenitor of the Jewish nation through his only son, Jeoud. Civilization in all its branches had originated in Phœnicia. Here masonry, agriculture, fishing, navigation, astronomy, music, metallurgy had been discovered and first practised. From Phœnicia the stream of knowledge had flowed out to other countries, which had all derived from this source their art and science, their writing and literature, their religion and theosophy.

The claims of Philo of Byblus, or Sanchoniathon, whichever was the real author of the work in question, which is largely quoted by Eusebius, most certainly exceed the truth. As Mr. Kenrick well observes, "If it be safe to pronounce in any case on priority of knowledge and civilization, it is in awarding to Egypt precedence over Phœnicia." But still, though Phœnician authors might exaggerate the antiquity and early civilization of their country, they must undoubtedly have had a basis of truth to rest upon. It would have been ridiculous to claim priority over all other races and nations, unless in general repute their antiquity was regarded as considerable. We can entertain no reasonable doubt that they were *among* the nations whose origin went back the furthest, and who might thus be considered entitled to compete for the palm of antiquity without putting forth a wholly absurd pretension.

And the conclusion which we should thus draw from the claim set up in the work ascribed to Sanchoniathon is borne out by various other considerations. In the earliest Greek literature—the Homeric poems—whose date we cannot bring ourselves to place later than about B.C. 1000, the Phœnicians are already regarded as among the great nations of the earth, and the most advanced in art and civilization. "It is to this people," says Mr. Gladstone, "that we must look as the established merchants, hardiest navigators, and furthest explorers of those days. To them alone, as a body, in the whole Homeric world of flesh and blood, does Homer give the distinctive epithet of 'ship-renowned.' He accords it, indeed, to the airy Phæacians; but in all probability that element of their character is borrowed from the Phœnicians; and, if so, the reason of the derivation can only be that the Phœnicians were for that age the type of a nautical people. To them only does he assign the epithets which belong to the knavery of trade, *polypaipaloi* and *troktai*. When we hear of their ships in Egypt or in Greece, the circumstance is mentioned as if their coming was in the usual course of their commercial operations." The Mediterranean of Homer's time, and of the still earlier age which he strives to depict, is, in fact, a "Phœnician lake." The Phœnicians have settlements in various parts of it, and trade with all the countries whose shores it washes. No other nation interferes with them, or even seeks to share in their profits. They are the established carriers between land and land, and supply to each the foreign commodities that it requires.

This early nautical skill and addiction to commerce is celebrated by the historians no less than by the poets. Herodotus, who places the Trojan War about B.C. 1250, represents the Phœnicians as trading with Argos several generations earlier, and as then offering for sale on the shores of the Peloponnese the wares of Egypt and Assyria. At a date at least as remote he regards the Phœnicians as slave-dealers who kidnapped defenceless persons in the countries to which they had access, and sold them to the dwellers in other Mediterranean regions.

The Jewish historians assign to Sidon a very remote antiquity, and attest the great maritime knowledge and naval skill of the Phœnicians at the time when their own people first developed a tendency to commercial speculation. This, however, was not till about B.C. 1000, a date long subsequent to the times of which Homer and Herodotus bear witness.

Besides their pre-eminency in nautical matters the Phœnicians were also in those early ages proficients in various elegant and ornamental arts. In Phœnicia were produced, according to Homer, the noblest works of metallic skill, and the choicest specimens of embroidery. The prize assigned by Achilles for the foot-race at the funeral of Patrocles was

"A bowl of solid silver, deftly wrought,
That held six measures, and in beauty far
Surpassed whatever else the world could boast;
Since men of Sidon, skilled in glyptic art,
Had made it, and Phœnician mariners
Had brought it with them over the dark sea."

The choicest gift that Menelaus could offer to Telemachus when he took his departure from his Court is described as follows:

"Of all the chattels that my house contains,
The noblest and most beautiful, a bowl
Wrought deftly, all of silver, but with lips
Gold-sprinkled, by Hephæstus shaped and framed,
Which Phædimus once gave me, Sidon's king."

When Hecuba was anxious to conciliate Athené by a costly and precious offering, she went to her wardrobe, and selected from the many vestments there in store, which were all of them

"The cunning work of Sidon's well-skilled dames,"

one of special and extraordinary beauty,

"Fairest of all
In its rich broidery, and amplest too;
Which blazed as 'twere a star, and lowest lay
Of all the garments."

Of a very similar character were the artistic works which Hiram, the Phœnician artificer, lent by the King of Tyre to Solomon, constructed at Jerusalem for the ornamentation of the Temple. Hiram was "skilful to work in gold, and in silver, in brass, in iron, in stone, and in timber, in purple, in blue, and in fine linen (white?), and in crimson; also to grave any manner of graving." He cast for Solomon, "in the plain of Jordan, in the clay ground between

Succoth and Zarthan,'' the two great bronze pillars, called Jachin and Boaz, each of them twenty-seven feet high, and with capitals five and a half feet high, which stood before the Temple on either side of the porch, adorned with pomegranates, and "nets of checker work and wreaths of chain work," real marvels of glyptic skill! He made, moreover, a "molten sea," or great bronze laver, supported on twelve oxen, of the same material, together with ten movable lavers, that went on wheels, and were ornamented with lions, oxen, and cherubim. The lesser vessels and implements used in the service, "the pots, the shovels, and the basons," are likewise expressly said to have been his work. We may reasonably conclude that he had also the general superintendence of the internal decoration of the Temple, the carving of cedar and fir and olive, and the covering of the carved work with gold, as well as the incrustation of the wood-work in places with marbles and precious stones. Whether we are to attribute to him, or to others his compatriots, the entire series of Solomon's works--the house of the forest of Lebanon, with its "four rows of cedar pillars and cedar beams upon the pillars,'' the throne of judgment, carved in ivory and overlaid with the purest gold, guarded by lions upon its six steps, and the "porch for the throne where he might judge''—is, perhaps, doubtful; but the predominant judgment of the best critics appears to be that in all these and other works of the time we have, if not Phœnician workmanship, at any rate Phœnician influence. The general preference of wood to stone for building, and especially of cedar; the ornamentation by pomegranates and gourds and palms and lilies, Syrian products; the use of isolated pillars, etc., all point to Phœnicia, rather than to Egypt or Assyria, as the country which furnished the great Jewish monarch with his models, and supplied the "motives" or ideas of his various works and constructions.

The exact character and degree of excellency of the architecture and glyptic or plastic art which the Phœnicians practised is, to some extent, open to question. The works of art still in existence, which can be ascribed with even a fair degree of probability to the Phœnicians, are scanty in the extreme; and even if they were more numerous, we should still be scarcely justified in drawing any positive conclusions from data that are so uncertain. A few rock tombs of doubtful antiquity, and a single sarcophagus of an Egyptian type, constitute pretty nearly all the remains that the country itself has hitherto furnished; and upon these it is evidently not safe to build any definite theory. If we might accept confidently the view of Mr. Layard, that the entire series of embossed and engraved vessels which he discovered at Nimrud are "the work of Phœnician artists, brought expressly from Tyre, or carried away among the captives when their cities were taken by the Assyrians," we should have perhaps sufficient grounds for forming a judgment. The dishes, plates, bowls, and cups in question are in excellent taste, elegant in shape, delicately and chastely ornamented with fanciful designs representing conventional forms, or sometimes men and animals, and skilfully embossed by a process which is still employed by modern silversmiths. Their positive attribution to Phœnicia would justify the highest estimate that has ever yet been formed of Phœnician artistic power and skill in metallurgy. But it must not be forgotten or concealed that it is conjecture only which assigns them to Phœnicia, and that there is perhaps equal reason for regarding them as the work of native Assyrian artists.

Besides navigation, architecture, metallurgy, and embroidery, the Phœnicians excelled also at a very early date in the manufacture of glass, in dyeing, and perhaps in music. The Romans of imperial times believed that the honor of actually inventing glass belonged to the Phœnician city of Sidon; and though in this they were probably mistaken, since glass was known in Egypt as early as the Pyramid period, yet there can be no doubt that the Sidonians produced glass at a remote date, and were proficients in its manufacture. "They knew the effect of an addition of manganese to the grit of sand and soda in making the glass clearer. They used the blowpipe, the lathe, and the graver, and cast mirrors of glass. They must also have been acquainted with the art of imitating precious stones, and coloring glass by means of metallic oxides. The 'pillar of emerald,' which Herodotus speaks of (ii. 44) in the Temple of Hercules at Tyre, 'shining brightly in the night,' can hardly have been anything else than a hollow cylinder of green glass, in which, as at Gades, a lamp burned perpetually." What was the amount of excellence whereto they attained is uncertain; but the fame of the Sidonian glass in early times would seem to imply that they surpassed the artists of both Assyria and Egypt.

The art of dyeing textile fabrics with the juice of the *Murex trunculus* and *Buccinum lapillus* is notoriously one which the Phœnicians carried to a high pitch of perfection; and "Tyrian purple" was everywhere regarded as the most beautiful of all known hues. Various tints were produced by different modes of manipulating the dye, which, according to the process used, made the fabric whereto it was applied scarlet, bright crimson, purple, or even blue. The "crimson and purple and blue,'' in which Hiram was skilful to work (2 Chron. 2:14), were probably all produced by the native dyers from the shellfish in question. So peculiarly Phœnician was the manufacture considered, that the ordinary color resulting from the dye received the name of *phœnix* or *phœnikeos* (Lat. *puniceus*), *i.e.*, "the Phœnician color." Metallic and vegetable agents were, no doubt, also employed; but the use of the shellfish predominated, and alone conferred on the Phœnician dyers their great reputation.

The Phœnicians of Sidon were declared by their native historian to have invented music. As the invention belongs to antediluvian times (Gen. 4 : 21), this claim must of course be disallowed; but the musical taste of the people is sufficiently indicated by the fact that they gave their name to instruments, which the Greeks received from them and retained in use for centuries. A particular kind of lyre or cithern was known, at least as early as the time of Herodotus, by the name of *phœnix*. It was usually inclosed by the two horns of an oryx, or large antelope, which were probably joined near their upper ends by a transverse bar of wood, from which the strings were carried to the bottom. Another instrument was known as the *lyro-phœnix* or *lyro-phœnikion*, which differed probably from the *phœnix* by having at its base the shell of a tortoise, or some other hollow contrivance, intended to act as a sounding-board. It is not unlikely that the scientific cultivation of music among the Jews, which belongs especially to the time of David and Solomon, was a result of the close and friendly intercourse which then existed between the court of Jerusalem and that of Tyre.

But the great glory of the Phœnicians, and the plainest mark of their early civilization, is their invention of alphabetic writing. Other nations—notably the Egyptians and Babylonians—had anticipated them in the invention of a method whereby articulate sounds were represented to the eye by forms and figures. But the systems which these nations introduced and employed were not alphabetic; they were cumbrous and complicated, unapt for ordinary or extensive use, and such as to require for their mastery a special and almost professional training. Both employed a large number of *ideographs*, or signs of ideas; both used numerous *determinatives;* both had a redundancy of signs for one and the same sound; both employed certain signs sometimes in one, sometimes in another manner. In one respect the Babylonian and Egyptian methods differed, and the latter approached to the verge of being an alphabetic system. The Babylonian characters did not represent the elementary sounds of human articulation, but stood for complete syllables, for a consonant with a vowel, either before or after, or for the combination of two consonants with a vowel between them; the Egyptians proceeded beyond this; they went so far as to decompose the syllable, and possessed signs which were "letters" in the exact modern sense. But they never wrote with these signs exclusively. Their system was from first to last a jumble, in which symbolic and determinative signs were mixed up with phonetic ones, and in which the phonetic ones were of two classes, alphabetic and syllabic, in which, moroever, the ideographic signs might take an accidental phonetic value at the commencement of certain words, and the alphabetic and syllabic characters might also be employed ideographically. It was left for the Phœnicians to seize on the one feature of Egyptian writing, which was capable of universal application to disentangle it from the confused jumble of heterogeneous principles with which it was bound up, and to form a system of writing in which there should be no intermixture of any other method. To do this was to take a step in advance greater than any which had been previously taken; it was, as has been well said, "to consummate the union of the written and spoken word, to emancipate once for all the spirit of man from the swaddling-clothes of primitive symbolism, and to allow it at length to have its full and free development, by giving it an instrument worthy of it, perfect in respect of clearness, of elasticity, and of convenience for use."

The complicated and cumbrous systems of the Babylonians and Egyptians could never have become general or have been of any great service to mankind. The method adopted by the Phœnicians rapidly proved its excellence by showing itself fruitful and overspreading the earth. It is one of the chief marks of genius to see to the roots of things, to discern the one in the many, and to grasp the *simple* principle, which is alone of universal applicability. This mark of genius the Phœnician showed. The form of writing which, according to a universal tradition, was invented by them, possessed the quality of simplicity in perfection, and was no sooner discovered than it began to spread. Adopted readily by the neighboring nations, it was soon carried far and wide over the Asiatic continent, and under slightly modified forms is found to have been in use from the shores of the Indian Ocean to those of the Euxine, and from the Ægean to the remotest parts of Hindostan. Nor was it content with these conquests. It crossed the sea which separates Asia from Europe, was carried to Crete, to Thera, to Greece, to Sicily, to Italy, and to Spain. It also made a lodgment on the African seaboard, and ere many centuries were gone by, prevailed from the borders of Egypt to the Atlantic Ocean. Accepted by the two greatest peoples of antiquity—the Greeks and Romans—it passed from them to the nations of Northern Europe, and has thus become the system of almost the whole civilized world.

Such then was the character of Phœnician civilization. With regard to its date, we are not aware that in modern times any very remote antiquity has been claimed for it. The writers who exalt beyond all reasonable measure the antiquity of Egypt are content with a very moderate estimate for that of the Phœnicians. No traces of the Phœnician cities are found in the early Egyptian monuments, which give in great detail the geography of Syria, and it is thought likely that the people itself did not settle on the coast of the Mediterranean, or even reach Syria, until about B.C 2400 or 2300. A native tradition, reported by Herodotus, assigned the building of the great Temple of Hercules (Melkarth) at Tyre, which was probably coeval with the city, to about B.C. 2750, or from three to four centuries earlier. But it is urged that this estimate was one based on generations, and that therefore it is not to be depended on. It should also be noted that authorities of considerable weight contradict the statement made to Herodotus. Josephus, for instance, says that Tyre was founded two hundred and forty years only before the building of Solomon's Temple, which would make the date of the settlement (according to the commonly received chronology) B.C. 1252. Again, Justin, or rather Trogus Pompeius, whom he copied, lays it down that the year of the foundation was that which immediately preceded the year of the capture of Troy, which he probably placed about B.C. 1200. Tyre, however, was certainly built before the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan under Joshua, since it is spoken of as a well-known place in the important work which bears Joshua's name—the "Domesday Book," as it has been called, of the Hebrew nation. That entrance can scarcely be dated later than B.C. 1400, so that Tyre must certainly have existed in the fifteenth century before our era. As Sidon was, according to all accounts, considerably more ancient than Tyre, we must allow at least another century for the period of Sidonian preponderance — an estimate which will make the old Phœnician capital date from at least B.C. 1550—1500.

We do not think there are any sufficient grounds for throwing back the *origines* of the Phœnicians, or, at any rate, of Phœnician civilization, to a time anterior to this. All the necessities of the case are met by such a date as B.C. 1550. The Phœnician civilization represented by Homer *must* have existed prior to B.C. 1000, and is imagined by the poet to have been, as he represents it, two or three centuries earlier. The Jewish records do not exhibit the civilization in detail until the eleventh century B.C. : nor does the use of the phrase "Great Zidon," in Joshua, if we regard civilization as implied in it, carry back the flourishing condition of the nation much beyond B.C. 1400. The monuments of Egypt furnish, we believe, no evidence of Phœnician art or commerce anterior to the eighteenth dynasty—B.C. 1500—1300. We are inclined to believe that the original emigration of the Phœnicians from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean may have taken place as far back as B.C. 1800, or even earlier ; but we see no indication of their having become a commercial, or a manufacturing, or a literary people, until at least three centuries later. To sum up, we agree with the conclusion to which Mr. Kenrick came in 1855 : "The commencement of the period of Phœnician commercial activity cannot be historically fixed ; it *may* ascend to the *sixteenth or seventeenth* century B.C. ; it may be several centuries earlier." But we incline, on the whole, to prefer the latest date which he mentions, and are disposed to regard the sixteenth century B.C. as that which saw the first appearance of the Phœnicians as a civilized and civilizing nation.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE CIVILIZATIONS OF ASIA MINOR—PHRYGIA, LYDIA, LYCIA, THE TROAS.

Among the nations which claimed to have existed from the remotest times, and which even ventured to dispute the palm of antiquity with Egypt, it is somewhat surprising to find the small and not very distinguished state of Phrygia. Phrygia was an inland tract, occupying the central portion of Asia Minor, which is an elevated plateau, bounded north and south by mountain-chains, and intersected here and there by rocky ridges. From what date the Phrygian people had really been settled in this region is exceedingly uncertain. They had congeners in Thrace, and were believed by some to have immigrated from Europe into Asia within historical memory. But it is doubtful, on the whole, whether this migration has any solid grounds to rest upon ; and quite certain that, if a fact, it must be one belonging to very remote times, long anterior to the dawn of history. The interior of Asia Minor is known as Phrygia to Homer, and no hint is given by him of its inhabitants being newly come into the region. Priam had in his youth helped them when they were attacked by the Amazons, and speaks of them as if they were then (about B.C. 1300) the most powerful people of the Peninsula. Their own traditions appear to have made them *autochthones*, or aboriginals ; and it would seem that they believed the repeopling of the earth after the flood to have begun in their country. Of course no great stress can be laid on such a tradition ; but it is incompatible with any knowledge on their part of being recent immigrants into their territory.

The civilization of the Phrygians was not of a high order. They were better known in the remoter times for their warlike qualities than for any progress which they had made in the useful or ornamental arts. Homer celebrates their martial ardor, and the skill with which they managed their chariots, but says nothing of their occupations in peace. Other writers note their proficiency in boxing. As time went on, however, they developed a civilization, the impulse toward which may have been given from without, but which had features that were peculiar. They sculptured rock-tombs unlike any found elsewhere, and adorned them with an elegant patterning, accompanied by inscriptions. They invented a musical style of a stirring and martial character, which was adopted as one of their main styles by the Greeks. They applied themselves, if we may believe Diodorus, to nautical matters, and for the space of twenty-five years held the command of the Mediterranean Sea. One of their tribes distinguished itself in metallurgy, and from their wonderful skill acquired the reputation of being magicians. In connection with their music they composed odes and hymns, which they used in their religious services, and which must have had considerable merit, if they really " stimulated the development of lyric and elegiac composition" among the Greeks of Asia.

It will scarcely be argued at the present day that Phrygian civilization began at a very early date. We cannot really trace the nation further back than about B.C. 1300, for their name is absent from the Bible, and from the early cuneiform and hieroglyphical inscriptions. Homer is the most ancient authority of their existence ; and Homer, as above remarked, represents them as a warlike, but scarcely as a civilized people. Their written characters are evidently derived from the Phœnician, and were probably communicated to them at the time of their naval supremacy, or about B.C. 900—875. Their rock-sculptures are most likely later than this. The kind Midas, whose tomb and inscription still remain at Doganlu, near the ancient Cotyæum, is probably the monarch of the name whom Eusebius made a contemporary of Hezekiah (B.C. 726—697). He is, perhaps, the same with the Midas whom Herodotus mentions as the first foreigner to send offerings to Delphi ; and he possibly may be the *Mita* whom Sargon speaks of as one of his West-Asian antagonists. It is not clear that a Phrygian *monarchy* had existed very long before this. In the Homeric times no king is mentioned ; and the traditional Gordias, the founder of the kingdom, if he be a real personage, may have been the father of this Midas, and have ascended the throne about B.C. 750. The most flourishing period of Phrygia must be placed between B.C. 750 and B.C. 565. For centuries anterior to B.C. 750 it had been an important military power— probably the chief power of Asia Minor ; but we have no evidence of its condition at this period, and cannot say whether it was civilized or barbarous.

The history of Lydia is carried back by ancient writers very considerably beyond that of Phrygia. According to Herodotus, the country had been ruled by three dynasties in succession before its conquest by Cyrus (B.C. 554)—the first of them sprung from a certain Lydus, son of Atys : the next descended from the Grecian Hercules, and known as Heracleids ; the third descended from Gyges, son of Dascylus, and known as Mermnads. To the Mermnad dynasty he assigned 170 years ; to the Heracleids 505 years ; to the dynasty which preceded the Heracleids he could assign no definite duration—their origin was lost in the mists of antiquity, falling into the remote period when history melts into fable and legend. A settled monarchy had thus, according to the belief of Herodotus, existed in Lydia from a date at least as early as B.C. 1400 ; for we can scarcely allow to his first dynasty a less period than two centuries. The views of Herodotus are borne out to a certain extent by notices in other writers. Diodorus said that the Lydians had held the command of the Mediterranean for ninety-two years—from B.C. 1182 to B.C. 1090. Xanthus, the Lydian, who wrote the history of his native country in Greek during the lifetime of Herodotus, appears by his fragments to have recognized the three dynasties of that writer, and to have claimed for the Lydian kingdom at least as high an antiquity. Homer does not throw much light on the subject. He does not use the name of "Lydians" at all ; but it is generally agreed that the Mêones, whom he brings from Mount Tmolus to the assistance of Priam, represent the Lydian people.

It has commonly been allowed that Herodotus's third, or Mermnad, dynasty is historical. Gyges, its first monarch, was contemporary with the Greek poet Archilochus, who mentioned him in his writings. He sent magnificent offerings to Delphi, which were seen by Herodotus, and which the priests called " Gygian." Recently his name has been found in the inscriptions of the contemporary Assyrian monarch, Sardanapalus, who says that Gyges sent him presents, and accepted for a time the position of an Assyrian tributary. There is thus no shadow of doubt that a powerful and civilized monarchy was established on the west coast of Asia Minor at least as early as the beginning of the seventh century.

With regard to the second, or Heracleid, dynasty, there is more doubt. That a family distinct from that of the Mermnads ruled in Lydia before the accession of Gyges may be pronounced certain; and the continuous list of six kings, preserved by Nicolas of Damascus and taken by him most probably from Xanthus, seems to deserve acceptance as historical. But beyond this all is uncertain. We do not know what authority the Lydian informants of Herodotus had for their statement that the second dynasty contained twenty-two kings in a direct line, whose reigns conjointly made up the number of 505 years. The statement itself is exceedingly improbable; and it seems on the whole unlikely that the Lydians of the fifth century B.C. were in possession of authentic records and of an exact chronology reaching back between 700 and 800 years. Their estimate can scarcely have been anything better than a rough guess at the time that the (so-called) Heracleid dynasty had lasted. It may easily have been something worse. It may have been an attempt to support by an apparent synchronism the idea of a connection between the royal houses of Assyria and Lydia, dating from the thirteenth century B.C., which some of the Lydians seem clearly to have asserted. But this supposed connection is probably a pure fiction, the offspring of national vanity, without any foundation in fact. If the chronology was really invented to bolster up this figment, it does not deserve a moment's consideration, but may be consigned at once to oblivion.

As for the first Herodotean dynasty, its non-historical character has been almost universally admitted. The kings assigned to it are clearly mythical personages, belonging, not to the nation's history, but to its Pantheon. Manes is the *heros eponymus* of the Mêones, or Mæones; Atys and Cotys are gods; Lydus and Asies are again eponymous heroes; Meles is an ideal founder of the capital. History begins at the earliest with the Heracleids; but scarcely with Agron, who is not more real than Brute the Trojan, or than Hengist and Horsa, sons of Witgils, and great-grandsons of Odin. We cannot *trace* the Heracleids further back than about B.C. 850; the dynasty *may* have commenced some centuries earlier, but we really *know* nothing of Lydia before the ninth century.

From this time, however, if not even earlier, the Lydians appear to have been civilized. The wealth which Gyges boasted descended to him from the Heracleid kings, who doubtless washed the sands of Pactolus, and worked the mines of Tmolus for many generations. Commercial activity must have commenced and have made much progress under their sway, if, as seems tolerably certain, the invention of coined money was made by the Lydians during the time of their sovereignty. This invention implies a high degree of mercantile intelligence, and can scarcely have been made until commercial transactions with foreign nations had become both numerous and intricate. Herodotus tells us that the Lydians, as far as he knew, were the first to engage in retail trade as a profession; and among the nations of Western Asia they were noted for industry, for mental activity, and for a readiness to hold intercourse with foreign countries. They were skilled in music, and originated a style of their own, which the Greeks regarded as soft and effeminate. They claimed to have invented a variety of games at a very remote period. They were shipbuilders, and did not shrink from the perils of long voyages. In glyptic art their early coins show them to have made some progress, for the animal forms upon these coins have considerable merit. They were well acquainted with the art of squaring and polishing hard stone and marble. If the rock-sculptures existing in their country are to be ascribed to them, we must give them credit for some grandeur of conception, as well as for a power of executing such works under difficulties.

A grandeur of conception is also evidenced by the most remarkable of all the Lydian works which are still extant. The barrow or tumulus is a somewhat rude and common construction, requiring no great mechanical skill, and possessing little impressiveness, unless it is of vast size. The Lydians having adopted this simple form, which appears also in the neighboring Troad, for the tombs of their kings, gave dignity and majesty to their works by the scale on which they constructed them. The largest of them all, the famous "tomb of Alyattes," Herodotus compares with the monuments of Egypt and Babylon. It was a conical mound, above a thousand feet in diameter, emplaced upon a basement of hewn stone, and crowned with five *stelæ*, or pillars, bearing inscriptions. It covered more space than the great Pyramid, but can scarcely have had so great an elevation. In its centre it contained a sepulchral chamber, eleven feet long, eight broad, and seven high, formed of large blocks of white marble highly polished. It stood on the summit of a range of limestone hills which skirts the valley of the Hermus on the north, and is still "a conspicuous object on all sides."

Herodotus speaks as if this tumulus had in his day stood alone. It is scarcely possible, however, that this was really so. The monument stands now in the midst of a necropolis of similar tombs, all of which are seemingly of at least equal antiquity. Modern travellers have counted more than sixty of these tumuli; and among them are three or four but little inferior in size to the "tomb of Alyattes." These are, in all probability, the tombs of other (previous) Lydian kings, whose works Alyattes determined to outdo when he raised his great sepulchre. The size and number of the tumuli render this Lydian necropolis a most impressive sight. "It is impossible," says Mr. Hamilton, a traveller rarely moved to admiration, "to look upon this collection of gigantic mounds, three of which are distinguished by their superior size, without being struck with the power and enterprise of the people by whom they were erected, and without admiring the energies of the nation who endeavored to preserve the memories of their kings and ancestors by means of such rude and lasting monuments."

Lydian civilization belongs, then (so far as appears), to the three centuries commencing B.C. 850, and terminating B.C. 550. Like Phrygian civilization, it was (apparently) of home growth, only very slightly affected by the influence of Egypt, or of Assyria, or even of Phœnicia. The chief mark which is left behind was the invention of coined money, whereby it gave an impetus to trade and commerce that can scarcely be too highly appreciated. In other respects it was not a civilization of a high order. It did not affect literature, or science, or even art, otherwise than slightly. It probably, however, had some refining and softening influence on social intercourse and manners. Though the character of the Lydians for luxury and effeminacy belongs especially to later times, to the period when they had become subjects of the Persian or Macedonian monarchy, yet we may trace, under the independent kingdom, the germs of this soft temper. Anacreon, who lived at the time of the Persian conquest, and can scarcely have lived long enough to note a change of character produced by subjection, pointedly remarked upon it. It was alluded to by Sappho, his earlier contemporary. Herodotus, in his story of Gyges, in his account of Lydian manners during the reign of Alyattes, and in his description of the court of Crœsus, implies it. Lydia must have played an important part in polishing and humanizing the Greeks, to whom they were for a century and a half the main representatives of Asiatic civilization.

In the south-western corner of Asia Minor we have traces of a third civilization, which, though somewhat later than the two that we have been considering, is so united to them by locality, and so near to them in respect of time, as to render its conjunction with them in this review of early civilizations natural, if not necessary. Lycia extended along the southern coast of the peninsula from long. 28° 40′ to 30° 40′, comprising the fertile valleys of the Calbis and Xanthus, together with a large quantity of picturesque mountain country. It was inhabited by various warlike tribes, who maintained their independence down to the time when Cyrus, having conquered Crœsus (B.C. 554), commanded his general, Harpagus, to complete the subjugation of Asia Minor. Harpagus reduced the Lycians after encountering a desperate resistance, and apparently received as his reward the satrapy, or rather sub-satrapy, of Lycia, which continued to be held by his descendants for eighty or a hundred years as a hereditary fief. During this period we find a style of architecture and of glyptic art existing in the country, which is very surprising. The Lycians either carve themselves sepulchral chambers out of the solid rock, or build themselves tombs of large masses of squared stone, in each case fashioning their sepulchres after the form of either a temple or a house, and adorning them with bas-reliefs, which approach nearly to the excellence of the best Greek art. These early Lycian sculptures furnish a most curious problem. They are so Greek in character as to suggest strongly the idea of Greek influence. But they are accompanied by Lycian inscriptions, and they belong apparently to a time when Persia, and not Greece, was mistress of the territory. The question arises, Did art make the leap from the sculptures of Assyria to those of Lycia *in Asia*, without the help of the Greeks? and was Greece indebted to Lycia for the great bulk of those high qualities which are usually regarded as exclusively characterizing the artistic productions of Hella? If so, the Lycians deserve to stand on a pedestal among the Asiatic nations, and to be regarded as constituting a most important link in the long series whereby the torch of knowledge has been handed on from age to age, and the gains made in early times by primitive Asiatic races have become the heritage of Europe and the common possession of modern civilized nations.

Nor are the Lycian sculptures important only as indicating the high artistic excellence to which the nation had attained. They showed in the details of dress and furniture an advanced state of upholstery and of textile industry, which we should certainly not have expected to find among a people so little known and so seldom mentioned by ancient writers. We must conclude from the reliefs assigned to the middle of the sixth century B.C. that the Lycians were already, at the time of the Persian conquest, on a par with any other Asiatic nation, in the comforts and luxuries of life, while they excelled all other Asiatics in artistic merit and genius.

It is in accordance with the general idea which we thus obtain of Lycian civilization, to find that the position of women in Lycia was much higher than that usually assigned to the weaker sex by the Orientals. Citizenship and nobility were transmitted in Lycia by the female line; and men, in tracing their genealogies, gave the list of their female, and not of their male ancestors. Moreover, the Lycian sculptors freely exhibited the forms of women in their bas-reliefs, representing them as unveiled before men, and as present with them at banquets. Herodotus, in close agreement with the monuments, notes this fact of the Caunians, who are proved by the inscriptions of their country to have been a mere branch of the Lycian people.

The three civilizations of which we have hitherto treated in this chapter belong most probably to the space between B.C. 850 and B.C. 450. If they ascend any higher, it is impossible, for want of records, to trace them. We may, however, gather from Homer, and from certain modern researches, that in the north-western corner of the Peninsula a civilization of a somewhat low type was established on the banks of the Scamander some four or five centuries earlier. Whether Dr. Schliemann's discoveries are to be regarded as having brought to light the veritable city whereof Homer sang or no, at any rate they prove the existence of metallurgic and ceramic skill, and of a certain amount of ingenuity and taste in ornament at a very remote date, prior to the introduction of letters, and while flint and stone instruments were still employed to a large extent, in the district where Troy must have stood—the broad plain bounded by hills, which is watered by the two streams of the Scamander and the Simoïs. If not the actual relics of the city of Priam, they indicate probably what the relics of that city would be if we were to find them, and what the character of its civilization was. We cannot agree with Dr. Schilemann that his discoveries reveal "a *great* civilization and a *great* taste for art." What we find is a knowledge of metallurgy sufficient to produce cups, vases, ornaments, and implements, some of which are cast, some wrought by the hammer, some brought into their actual shape by a fusing together of their pieces; an acquaintance with the method of hardening copper by uniting it with an alloy of tin; a power of producing terra-cotta jars of a good quality, and as much as two feet in height; a tolerable taste in personal ornament, especially shown in female head-dresses, in bracelets, and in ear-rings; a fair skill in masonry; and a very moderate power of imitating animal forms. On the other hand, we note in the entire series of remains a general clumsiness of shape, and a style of ornamentation which is rude, coarse, and *childish*. In no remains of antiquity have we seen less elegance than in the thirty-two pages of "whorls" with which Dr. Schilemann's work closes. The patterning, where it is imitative at all, imitates animals as children do—with dots for heads, and lines for ears, body, tail, and legs; where it is merely conventional, it is clumsy, irregular, and without beauty. The vases, cups, etc., are somewhat better. Occasionally the shapes are moderately good, but the great mass are either grotesque or clumsy. In the ornaments alone is there any approach to artistic excellence, and even these fail to justify the raptures into which they throw the discoverer.

It is not unlikely that a civilization of the character revealed to us by Dr. Schliemann's researches at Hissar-lik was spread widely over Asia Minor in times anterior to the Lydian, Phyrgian, and Lycian developments. There are various remains of very primitive art in the country, which are still unclassified, and which may belong to this early period. It is a marked characteristic of the art that it is of native growth, not the result of Babylonian, or Assyrian, or Egyptian, or Phœnician influence. It is, in fact, Aryan art, and the civilization which it accompanies and indicates is Aryan civilization. That civilization is characterized by imagination and progressiveness in religion, by a tendency toward freedom in politics, by an elevated estimate of woman, by a general activity and industry, and by a high appreciation of art, a constant inventiveness, and a straining after ideal perfection. It was only in European communities that these tendencies fully worked themselves out; but their germs may be seen in these early Asiatic efforts, when the Aryan race, in its infancy, was trying its powers.

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE CIVILIZATIONS OF CENTRAL ASIA—ASSYRIA, MEDIA AND PERSIA, INDIA.

WHILE the Aryan civilizations, described in the last chapter, were developing themselves peacefully side by side, in the extreme west of the Asiatic continent, the region which juts out toward Europe, and is known by the name of Asia Minor, the more central portion of the Continent—the Mesopotamian Plain, the great Iranic Plateau, and the Peninsula of Hindostan—was the scene of a struggle, not always peaceful, between three other types of human progress and advancement, which in those parts contended for the mastery. Two of these were, like the West-Asian civilizations, Aryan, while one, the Assyrian, was of an entirely different character. It is this last to which we propose to give the foremost place in the present chapter, not that we should assign it a priority of beginning over the other two, but inasmuch as it reached earliest its full development, and so belongs, on the whole, to a more remote period in the world's history.

The Assyrian empire is regarded by some writers as having commenced above 2000 years B.C. Ctesias declared that a thousand years before the Trojan War a great chief, Ninus, had founded Nineveh, had established his dominion from the shores of the Ægean to the sources of the Upper Oxus, and had left his throne to his descendants, who held it through thirty generations for above thirteen centuries. The date of Ctesias for the Trojan War was probably about B.C. 1200—1190; so that he must have meant to place the commencement of the Assyrian power about B.C. 2200. This view was long followed by writers on ancient history, by whom the authority of Ctesias, who passed seventeen years at the Court of Susa and had access to the Persian archives, was regarded as paramount. There have been, however, at all times historians to whom the Assyrian chronology of Ctesias has seemed extravagant and unreal, who have thought little of his authority, and have lowered his date for the establishment of the Assyrian empire by nine hundred or a thousand years. Statements in Herodotus and in Berosus could be adduced in favor of the more moderate computation; and it accorded better than that of Ctesias with the scattered notices contained in the Hebrew Scriptures. Thus, the shorter chronology has at all times held its ground against the longer one; and having approved itself to such writers as Volney, Heeren, B. G. Niebuhr, and Brandis, has in the present century been the view most generally accepted by historical critics.

The question, however, might have remained an open one for all time, either side of it being arguable, and the balance of probability appearing to different minds to incline differently, had not the discovery and decipherment of the cuneiform records come in to determine it. By their aid the connected histories of Assyria andBabylonia can now be traced back continuously, and with a chronology that, if not exact, is at least approximate, to the middle of the fifteenth century B.C. It is now made clear that, so far from there having been at this date a vast Assyrian empire, which for seven hundred and fifty years had ruled over all Asia, from the Mediterranean and Ægean to the banks of the Oxus and the Indus, Assyria was really, in B.C. 1500—1400, a weak state, confined within narrow boundaries, and only just emerging from Babylonian tutelage, its earlier rulers having been called *patesi*, or "viceroys," and its monarchs at this period having only just begun to assume the grander and more dignified title of "kings of countries." The Assyrian *empire* does not commence till a century and a half later, B.C. 1300, when Tiglathi-Nin (perhaps the Ninus of the Greeks) took Babylon, and established the predominance of Assyria over Lower as well as Upper Mesopotamia. We cannot date much earlier than this the commencement of that peculiar form of Semitic civilization which is associated with the idea of Assyria, partly from the accounts of ancient writers, but mainly from the recovered treasures of art and literature which line the walls and load the shelves of our museums.

The civilization of the Assyrians was material rather than spiritual. Its main triumphs were in architecture, in glyptic and plastic art, in metallurgy, gem-cutting, and manufactures, not in philosophy, or literature, or science, properly so called. According to some, its architecture went to the extent of producing edifices of a magnificence scarcely exceeded by the grandest buildings of any age or country—edifices four or five stories in height, of varied outline, richly adorned from base to summit, and commandingly placed on lofty platforms of a solid and massive character. The restorations of Mr. Fergusson, adopted by Mr. Layard, present to the eye Assyrian façades whose grandeur is undeniable, while, if the style and luxuriance of their ornamentation are somewhat barbaric, yet the entire effect is beyond question splendid, striking, admirable. If these representations are truthful, if they really reproduce the ancient edifices, or even convey a correct impression of their general character, we must pronounce the Assyrian architecture to have attained results which the best architects of the present day could not easily outdo. Even if we hesitate to accept as ascertained fact conclusions which are in reality the ingenious conjectures of a fertile imagination, we must still allow that the actual remains sufficiently indicate a grandeur of conception and plan, an appreciation of the fine effect of massiveness, and a variety and richness in ornament, which go far to show that the Assyrians were really great as builders, though it may be impossible, with such data as we possess, to restore or reconstruct their edifices.

If the remains of Assyrian architecture are such as to preclude an *exact* estimate of the merit to which the Assyrians are entitled as builders, with respect to their glyptic art it is quite otherwise. Here the remains are ample, and, indeed, superabundant. The museums of London, Paris, and Berlin contain the spoils of the great Mesopotamian cities in such profusion that no one acquainted with them can lack the means of forming a decided opinion upon the artistic power of the people. Even such as are without the leisure or the opportunity of visiting these rich depositories and seeing the sculptures for themselves may form a very tolerable judgment of them from the excellent works which have been published on the subject, as especially those of Mr. Layard and M. Botta. The author of the present work has also done his best to assist the public in forming correct views by placing before them the main features of Assyrian art in a condensed form in his "Monarchy of Assyria." Mr. Vaux, in his "Nineveh and Persepolis," and various writers in the "Dictionary of the Bible" and the "Bible Educator," have worked in the same direction ; and the result is a very wide acquaintance with the products of Assyrian artists, if not a very exact critical appreciation of their merits.

It may perhaps be allowed to the present writer to insert here, instead of a new criticism, the estimate which he formed of Assyrian glyptic art fifteen years ago, when fresh from a five years' study of the subject. "In the Assyrian sculpture it is the actual," he said, "the historically true, which the artist strives to represent. Unless in the case of a few mythic figures connected with the religion of the country, there is nothing in the Assyrian bas-reliefs which is not imitated from nature. The imitation is always laborious, and often most accurate and exact. The laws of representation, as we understand them, are sometimes departed from ; but it is always to impress the spectator with ideas in accordance with truth. Thus the colossal bulls and lions have five legs, but in order that they may be seen from every point of view with four ; the ladders are placed *edgeways* against the walls of besieged towns, but it is to show that they are ladders, and not mere poles ; walls of cities are made disproportionately small, but it is done, like Raphael's boat, to bring them within the picture, which would otherwise be a less complete representation of the actual fact. The careful finish, the minute detail, the elaboration of every hair in a beard, and every stitch in the embroidery of a dress, reminds us of the Dutch school of painting, and illustrates strongly the spirit of faithfulness and honesty which pervades the sculptures and gives them so great a portion of their value. In conception, in grace, in freedom and correctness of outline, they fall undoubtedly far behind the inimitable productions of the Greeks ; but they have a grandeur, a dignity, a boldness, a strength and an appearance of life which render them even intrinsically valuable as works of art ; and, considering the time at which they were produced, must excite our surprise and admiration. Art, so far as we know, had existed previously only in the stiff and lifeless conventionalism of the Egyptians. It belonged to Assyria to confine the conventional to religion, and to apply art to the vivid representations of the highest scenes of human life. War in all its forms—the march, the battle, the pursuit, the siege of towns, the passage of rivers and marshes, the submission and treatment of captives—and the "mimic war" of hunting, the chase of the lion, the stag, the antelope, the wild bull, and the wild ass—are the chief subjects treated by the Assyrian sculptors ; and in these the conventional is discarded ; fresh scenes, new groupings, bold and strange attitudes perpetually appear ; and in the animal representations especially there is a continual advance, the latest being the most spirited, the most varied, and the most true to nature, though perhaps lacking somewhat of the majesty and grandeur of the earlier. With no attempt to idealize or go beyond nature, there is a growing power of depicting things as they are—an increased grace and delicacy of execution, showing that Assyrian art was progressive, not stationary, and giving a promise of still higher excellence, had circumstances permitted its development."

To their merit as sculptors and architects, the Assyrians added an excellent taste in the modelling of vases, jars, and drinking-cups, a clever and refined metallurgy, involving methods which, till revealed by their remains, were unknown to the moderns, a delicacy in the carving of ivory and mother-of-pearl, a skill in gem-engraving, glass-blowing and coloring, brick-enamelling, furniture-making, and robe-embroidering, which place them beyond question among the most advanced and elegant of Oriental peoples, and show that, from a material point of view, their civilization did not fall very greatly behind that of the Greeks. Combined with this progress in luxury and refinement, and this high perfection of the principal arts that embellish and beautify life, their sculptures and their records reveal much which revolts and disgusts—savage punishments, brutalizing war customs, a debasing religion, a cruel treatment of prisoners, a contempt for women, a puerile and degrading superstitiousness—teaching the lesson, which the present age would do well to lay seriously to heart, that material progress, skill in manufactures and in arts, even refined taste and real artistic excellence, are no sure indications of that civilization which is alone of real value, the civilization of the heart, a condition involving not merely polished manners, but gentleness, tenderness, self-restraint, purity, elevation of mind and soul, devotion of the thoughts and life to better things than comfort or luxury, or the cultivation of the æsthetic faculties.

Iranic civilization, or that of the Medes, the Persians, and (perhaps we should add) the Bactrians, is supposed by some moderns to have originated as early as B.C. 3784. Others assign to it the comparatively moderate date of B.C. 2600—2500. The writer, however, who is most conversant with the early Iranic writings, and most competent to judge of their real age, Dr. Martin Haug, does not think it necessary to postulate for his favorites, the Iranians, nearly so great an antiquity. Haug suggests the fifteenth century B.C. as that of the most primitive Iranic compositions, which form the chief, if not the sole, evidence of an Iranic cultivation prior to B.C. 700.

The question is one rather of linguistic criticism than of historic testimony. The historic statements that have come down to us on the subject of the age of Zoroaster, with whose name the origin of Iranic cultivation is by general consent regarded as intimately connected, are so absolutely conflicting that they must be pronounced valueless. Eudoxus and Aristotle said that Zoroaster lived 6000 years before the death of Plato, or B.C. 6348. Hermippus placed him 5000 years before the Trojan War, or B.C. 6184. Berosus declared of him that he reigned at Babylon toward the beginning of the twenty-third century before our era, having ascended the throne, according to his chronological views, about B.C. 2286. Xanthus Lydus, the contemporary of Herodotus, and the *first* Greek writer who treats of the subject, made him live six hundred years only before the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, or B.C. 1080. The later Greeks and Romans declared that he was contemporary with Darius Hystaspis, thus making his date about B.C. 520—485. Between the earliest and the latest of the dates assigned by these authorities, the difference (it will be seen) is one of nearly *six thousand years!*

Modern criticism doubts whether Zoroaster ever lived at all, and regards his name as designating a period rather than a person. The period intended is that of the composition of the earliest portions of the Zend-avesta. To these portions, which are poems, and in the original bear the name of Gâthas, Haug (as we have already stated) assigns as the most probable date about B.C. 1500. We see no reason for doubting the soundness of this expert's judgment, and we incline, therefore, to regard Iranic civilization as having commenced somewhat earlier than Assyrian.

Of this primitive civilization, whereof the seat seems to have been Bactria, rather than Media or Persia, we possess no actual remains, no tangible or material evidences. The only existing proofs of it are the Zendic writings; and the only notion of it which we can gain is that derivable from a careful study of these writings, or rather of their most ancient portions. From these we gather that the primitive Iranians were a settled people, possessing cities of some size, that they were devoted to agriculture, and fairly advanced in the arts most necessary for human life. They had domesticated certain animals, as the horse, the cow, and the dog. They knew how to extract an exhilarating liquor from the Soma or Homa plant, the acid Asclepias or *Sarcostema viminalis*. They lived peaceably together, and recognized the supremacy of law. They had formed the conception of poetry, and while some could frame, the generality could appreciate the beauty of metrical compositions. Above all, they had a religion, which was surprisingly pure and elevated, consisting mainly in the worship of a single supreme God, an all-wise, all-bounteous Spirit, Ahuramazda.

The cultivation thus begun about B.C. 1500 in the far-off and little-known Bactria, received a fresh impulse toward the middle of the ninth century B.C., when the Iranians first came into contact with the Assyrians. Migratory movements had by this time brought the Medes into the district which thenceforth bore their name, and having thus become neighbors of the Assyrians, whose civilization was already advanced, they could not but gain something from their novel experience. Among the chief gains made was probably that of writing. The wedge was adopted as the element out of which letters should be composed, and an alphabet was formed far less cumbrous than the Assyrian syllabarium, whereby it became easy to express articulate sounds by written symbols, and so to give permanency to the transient and fleeting phenomena of ordinary spoken language.

Further advances were made between the end of the seventh and the middle of the fifth century B.C., about which time Iranian cultivation reached its greatest development. The Medes first (B.C. 630) and the Persians afterward (B.C. 560), attained to the leading position among the Oriental nations, and, inheriting the power, entered also into possession of the accumulated knowledge and civilization of the earlier masters of Asia. They did not, however, simply continue the past, or reproduce what they found existing. In the remains of Median and Persian times found at Hamadan (Ecbatana), Behistun, Istakr (Persepolis), Nakhsh-i-Rustam, and Murghab (Pasargadæ), we have evidences of Iranian art and architecture, which are most remarkable, and which give the Medo-Persic people a very important position in the history of æsthetic culture. While adopting one or two leading features of building and ornamentation from their Semitic predecessors, the Iranic races in the main gave a vent to their own native genius and fancy, and the consequence was that they introduced into the world a wholly new architecture, a style of high relief not previously attempted, and a method of decoration altogether their own, excellently well adapted to the character of their climate and country.

The Iranic architecture was characterized, in the first place, by simplicity and regularity of design, and in the second by the profuse employment of the column. The buildings have for the most part a symmetry and exactness resembling that of Greek temples. They were emplaced on terraces formed of vast blocks of hewn stone, and were approached by staircases of striking and unusual design. Double porticoes of eight, twelve, or sixteen columns gave entrance into pillared halls, where the columns were sixteen, thirty-six, or (in one instance) as many as one hundred in number. Originally the pillars may have been mere wooden posts, such as are commonly used in the domestic architecture of most nations where wood is plentiful. These, when wealth flowed in, it became the practice to overspread with thin sheets of the precious metals. But after a while the Iranic architects, having to erect palaces in districts where wood was scarce, conceived the idea of substituting shafts of stone for the original wooden posts, and carried out their notion so successfully that at last they were able to poise in air pillars sixty-four feet high, having beautifully slender shafts, rich bases, and capitals of an elegant, but perhaps somewhat too elaborate composition. The halls constructed on these supports extended over so vast an area that moderns have found no existing constructions with which they could compare them but the most ambitious of European cathedrals. Speaking of the Chehl Minar, or Great Hall of Xerxes, at Persepolis, Mr. Fergusson says : " We have no cathedral in England that at all comes near it in dimensions ; nor, indeed, in France or Germany is there one that covers so much ground. Cologne comes nearest to it ; . . . but in linear horizontal dimensions the *only* edifice of the middle ages that comes up to it is Milan Cathedral, which covers 107,800 feet, and (taken all in all) is perhaps the building that resembles it most, both in style and the general character of the effect it must have produced on the spectator."

For the ornamentation of their buildings, externally, and to some extent internally, the Iranians, imitating their Semitic predecessors, employed sculpture. They did not, however, follow slavishly the pattern set them, but in important respects improved upon their models. They adopted generally a style of much higher relief than that which had prevailed in Assyrian times, sometimes almost disengaging their figures from the background, sometimes carving them both in front and at the side, so that they did not fall far short of being statues. They gave to their human heads great dignity, and imparted to some animal forms a life and vigor never greatly surpassed. In variety and grace, however, they cannot be said to have equalled the Assyrians ; and it is in their architecture rather than in their glyptic art, that they give evidence of real originality and genius.

Their internal decoration of palaces was especially admirable. " Such edifices as the Chehl Minar at Persepolis, and its duplicate at Susa—where long vistas of columns met the eye on every side, and the great central cluster was supported by lighter detached groups, combining similarity of form with some variety of ornament ; where richly-colored drapings contrasted with the cool gray stone of the building, and a golden roof overhung a pavement of many hues ;" where a throne of gold under a canopy of purple stood on an elevated platform at one end, backed by " hangings of white and green and blue, fastened with cords of white and purple to silver rings," attached to the " pillars of marble ;" where carpets of dazzling brightness lay here and there upon the patterned floor, and through the interstices of the hangings were seen the bright blue sky and the verdant prairies and distant mountains of Khuzistan or Farsistan—must have been among the fairest creations with which human art ever embellished the earth, and beyond a doubt compared favorably with any edifices which, up to the time of their construction, had been erected in any country or by any people. It was in these glorious buildings that Iranian architecture culminated ; and there is reason to believe that from them the Grecian architects gained those ideas, which, fructifying in their artistic minds, led on to the best triumphs of Hellenic constructive art, the magnificent temples of Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus, and of Minerva (Athené) on the Acropolis of Athens.

Of Iranian literary cultivation not much is known. There are no portions of the Zendavesta which can be positively assigned to the space between B.C. 900 and B.C. 330. The inscriptions of this period are dry documents, and as compositions have little merit ; but lapidary literature is rarely of an attractive kind. We are told that the Persians of the Achæmenian times (B.C. 5603—30) had among them historians and poets ; but the productions of these early authors have perished, and we have no account of them that is to be depended on. Perhaps it is, on the whole, most probable that in the great work of Firdausi we have, in the main, a reproduction of the legends with which the antique poets occupied themselves, and so may gather from his pages a general idea of the style and spirit of the early Persian poetry.

In manners and general habits of life the Iranians did not differ greatly from the Assyrians. Their original religion was indeed of a high type, but it became corrupted as time went on, and ultimately sank into a mere debasing and sensualistic nature-worship. Their war customs were less brutal than those of their predecessors, but their system of punishment was almost equally savage ; they had the same low estimate of women ; they were cruel and treacherous, voluptuous, luxurious, given to drunkenness. Western Asia was perhaps better governed under their sway than it had ever been previously ; but there was still much in their governmental system that was imperfect, and that fell short even of what is possible under a despotism. Their civilization may be pronounced to have been, on the whole, more advanced than that of the Assyrians , it had a moral aspect ; it was less merely material ; but the highest qualities of real civilization were absent from it, and it cannot be said to have laid the world at large under many obligations.

Indic civilization is supposed to have commenced about the same time with Iranic. There are so many points of resemblance between the ancient hymns of the Rig-Veda and the Gâthas, allowed to form the most ancient portions of the Avesta, that it is almost impossible for persons familiar with both to assign them to periods very far apart. The ancestors of the Medes and Persians on the one hand, and of the Hindoos upon the other, appear to have left their primitive abode about the same time, and to have embodied their earliest religious thoughts soon after they separated in poems of the same character. Thus, there is a general agreement among literary critics as to the near connection in date of the two literatures. With regard, however, to the actual period, great diversity of opinion prevails, the same variety of views obtaining in respect of the earliest Vedas as we have already shown to exist with respect to the Gâthas of the Zendavesta. But here again the chief "expert"—the writer who has the largest acquaintance with the whole range of the Indian compositions, and with the general history of language—has expressed himself, in moderate terms, as favorable to a date which is, comparatively speaking, late. Professor Max Müller, in his "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," lays it down that there are four periods of Vedic composition — the Chandas period, Mantra period, Brahmana period, and Sutra period ; and after an elaborate and exhaustive discussion, of which it is impossible not to admire the candor and the learning, comes to the conclusion that the approximate date of each may be laid down as follows :

Chandas period . .	1200 to 1000 B.C.
Mantra period . .	1000 to 800 B.C.
Brahmana period . .	800 to 600 B.C.
Sutra period . .	600 to 200 B.C.

Thus according to the highest living authority, the commencement of Vedic literature, and so of Indian civilization, need not be placed farther back than the beginning of the twelfth century B.C.

The civilization which the writings of the Chandas period reveal is one of great simplicity. Cities seem not to be mentioned ; there is no organized political life ; no war worthy of the name ; nothing but plundering expeditions. Tribes exist under their heads, who are at once kings, priests, judges, and poets, and to whom the rest render obedience. Religion is a worship by hymns, and with simple offerings, as of honey, but scarcely yet with regular sacrifice. There is a power of metaphysical speculation which may perhaps surprise us, but which seems congenital to the Oriental mind ; and there is evidence of progress in some of the mechanical arts beyond what might have been expected. Ships are familiar objects to the writers of the poems ; chariots are in common use ; the horse and cow are domesticated, and are sheltered in stables ; armor is worn, and is sometimes of gold ; shields are carried in battle ; an intoxicating drink is brewed ; dice have been invented, and gambling is not uncommon.

As time goes on, this extreme simplicity disappears. There are advances of various kinds. Cities are built and magnificent palaces constructed ; trades become numerous ; luxury creeps in. The priests, having come to be a separate class, introduce an elaborate ceremonial. Music is cultivated ; writing is invented or learned. But, after all, the material progress made is not very great. Indian civilization is, in the main, intellectual, not material. Careless of life and action, of history, politics, artistic excellence, trade, commerce, manufacture, the Indians concentrate their attention on the highest branches of metaphysics, ponder on themselves and their future, on the nature of the Divine essence, on their own relation to it, and the prospects involved in that relationship. They discuss and they solve the most difficult questions of metaphysical science ; they elaborate grammar, the science of language, which is the reflected image of thought ; they altogether occupy themselves with the inward, not with the outward—with the eternal world of mind and rest, not with the transitory and illusory world of outward seeming and incessant changefulness. Hence the triumphs of their civilization are abstract and difficult to appreciate. They lie outside the ordinary interests of mankind, and are, moreover, shrouded in a language known to few, and from which there are but few translations. It is said, however, by those whose acquaintance with the early Indian literature is the widest, that there is scarcely a problem in the sciences of ontology, psychology, metaphysics, logic, or grammar, which the Indian sages have not sounded as deeply, and discussed as elaborately, as the Greeks.

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE ETRUSCANS.

AMONG early civilizations, one of the most remarkable is that of the Etruscans. At a time when the Romans and the Latins generally were in a condition but little advanced beyond that of savages, when Rome itself was a collection of mud huts, surrounded by a palisade, the Etruscan nation—spread over the greater part of Northern Italy—was in possession of fine cities, handsome buildings, richly ornamented tombs, elegant dresses, music, painting, sculpture, and most of the useful arts, and even many of the refinements of life. "Rome," it has been well said, "before her intercourse with Greece, was indebted to Etruria for whatever tended to elevate and humanize her, for her chief lessons in arts and science, for many of her political and most of her religious and social institutions, for the conveniences and enjoyments of peace, and the tactics and appliances of war—for almost everything, in short, that tended to exalt her as a nation, save her stern virtues, her thirst of conquest, and her indomitable courage, which were peculiarly her own." The Romans themselves, notwithstanding their intense national vanity, acknowledged this debt to some extent, and admitted that they derived from the Etruscans their augury, their religious ritual, their robes and other insignia of office, their games and shows, their earliest architecture, their calendar, their weights and measures, their land-surveying, and various other elements of their civilization. But there is reason to believe that their acknowledgments fell short of their obligations, and that Etruria was really the source of the *whole* early civilization of Rome, until the time came when—during the second Samnite war (B.C. 323-303)—she was brought into contact with the luxury and refinement of the Greeks.

It is difficult to fix exactly the date at which Etruscan civilization commenced. Some of the most distinguished of modern historical critics have maintained that the great power, and with it the artistic eminence and social progress of this people, is to be carried back to a period anterior to B.C. 1000, and that, consequently, their civilization is to be regarded as parallel with that of the Phœnicians, of the Assyrians, of the early Iranians, and of the early or Vedic Indians. A theory has even been started recently which would require us to enlarge this date considerably, and to regard the Etruscans as already one of the most powerful of European nations in the century between B.C. 1400 and B.C. 1300. But, on the whole, it seems to be most probable that the people did not greatly distinguish itself or come prominently into notice among the nations of the earth before the sixth, or at furthest the seventh, century B.C. There is no mention of the Etruscans in Homer. The earliest Greek writers in whose works the name occurs are Hesiod and Pindar among the poets, and among the prose writers, Hecatæus, Hellanicus, and Herodotus. In Hesiod (about B.C. 750) the use of the term is vague, designating the inhabitants of the Italic peninsula generally rather than any particular nation. It is not until about B.C. 550 that the Greeks become familiar with the real Etruscan people, who at that time hold, and had held for perhaps a century, a species of maritime supremacy in the Western Mediterranean, where they had become celebrated for their naval skill and their piratical habits. With the conclusions which we thus derive from Greek literature agree fairly the Roman traditions, which place the great development of Etruscan power in the second and third centuries of the city, or about B.C. 620-500.

The general character of Etruscan civilization has been already indicated; but the reader will probably expect a more detailed account of it. The standard works which describe it fully are not very accessible; nor do our museums enable us to form a very exact notion of its nature. Beyond a copious display of what are called, somewhat loosely, "Etruscan vases," they contain little that bears upon the subject. The main monuments indicative of its character are in fact irremovable. They consist of massive walls, gateways, sewers, subterraneous tombs, rock-sculptures, and mural paintings inseparable from the stone-work which they decorate. They exist mainly on the sites of the ancient cities of Etruria, or in the cemeteries of the Etruscan people, and have, in comparatively few instances, been torn from their natural resting-places to adorn the museums of Europe.

Etruscan architecture is remarkable for its massiveness. The chief remains of it are found in the walls and gates of cities, in sewers, bridges, vaults, and tombs. Etruscan town walls are of extraordinary strength and grandeur. They are of two kinds. In the more northern parts of the country, where the rock is difficult to be hewn, being limestone, hard sandstone, or travertine, they are composed of huge blocks, tending to be rectangular, but of various sizes and irregular arrangement, with small pieces often inserted into the interstices of the larger blocks. This is the case at Volaterræ, at Populonia, at Rusellæ, and elsewhere. The blocks of stone in this style of building are often eight or ten feet in length by three, four, and even five feet high. In the more southern districts, where the common material is *tufo*, a volcanic rock very easily worked, the masonry is of squared stone, and is very regular, but not particularly massive. Two styles are used. Sometimes the courses are similar, the blocks all exposing one of their long sides to the view; sometimes the wall is built in alternate courses, in the style which has been called *emplecton*, the ends of the stones being exposed in one course, and the sides in the other. The blocks in this masonry have commonly a length of nearly four feet, with a height and width of two.

Etruscan walls are occasionally flanked by towers, which are of square construction, and project externally to a distance of twelve or fifteen feet. The walls are sometimes, even at the present time, forty feet high. In thickness they vary greatly. Where they are built throughout of solid stone their width is commonly not more than six or seven feet ; but in cases where the solid masonry is confined to an internal and an external facing, the intervening space being stuffed with rubbish, the width is sometimes as much as sixteen or seventeen feet. The circumference is not, commonly, great, but in one instance has been calculated to exceed four miles.

In the earlier times Etruscan gateways were mere square openings in walls, guarded on either side by a stone doorpost, and covered in at top by a flat stone or wooden lintel ; but after a while the use of the arch was introduced, and the gateway became an imposing feature. The arch was carried to a height of above twenty feet ; the voussoirs and keystone were massive ; an external moulding, in some instances, added dignity and richness, while an ornamentation by means of human heads in bold relief introduced an element of interest or mystery. At the same time, for greater security, gateways were doubled. A short passage, of a very solid construction, led from a first archway to a second, where a second gate impeded the entrance of assailants ; and a *cataracta* or portcullis could be lowered immediately behind the first gate, so that their retreat was cut off, and they were made prisoners. Interesting specimens of gateways thus guarded remain at Volaterræ, in the Porta all' Arco, and the Porta di Diana, which have been well described by Inghirami.

The remains of sewers are found on the sites of almost all Etruscan towns ; but the most perfect specimen of Etruscan skill in this respect is the Cloaca Maxima at Rome, which is still in an excellent state of preservation. This is a culvert formed by a triple arch of the most massive character, the inner diameter of the innermost arch being fourteen feet, and the outer diameter of the outermost arch thirty-two feet. It was carried from the site of the old Forum to the Tiber, in a slightly circuitous course, a distance of about seven hundred yards, and may be ascended by a boat when the Tiber is low, the distance from the level of the water to the crown of the inner arch being at that time about six feet.

It is doubtful whether Etruscan bridges were ever arched. Most probably they consisted of simple piers of stone, carried up a certain height from either side of the stream to be crossed, and then united by planks stretched from pier to pier, and by others connecting the piers with roadways upon either bank. A specimen, believed to contain Etruscan work, still exists at Vulci, where three projecting buttresses of red tufo, much weather-worn, are imbedded in masonry of a different age and material, and united by arches of Roman construction. It is thought that these buttresses, or piers, originally stood alone, and sustained a horizontal, and perhaps movable frame of woodwork, like that which is known to have existed for many ages at Rome, in the case of the Pons Sublicius.

Etruscan vaults are of two kinds. The more curious, and probably the most ancient, are *false* arches, formed of horizontal courses of stone, each a little overlapping the other, and carried on until the aperture at the top could be closed by a single superincumbent slab. Such is the construction of the Regulini-Galassi vault at Cervetri, the ancient Cære, which is twenty yards in length, though less than five feet in breadth, and only a little above six feet high. But it is far more common to find in Etruria vaults perfectly arched in the ordinary way with voussoirs, or wedge-shaped stones. These are neatly fitted to each other, and are generally uncemented. The blocks composing them vary from seven or even eight feet in length to two or three feet, and from a width of ten inches to a foot and a half.

It is probable that these vaults were in most instances intended for tombs ; but the more ordinary tombs of the Etruscans were chambers, hewn out of the rock, often of a considerable size, so as almost to resemble houses, and sometimes with external façades of a highly ornamental character. The "temple-tombs" at Norchia are especially remarkable. A wall of rock is hewn into a representation of two temples —Doric in general character, but with peculiar features. Each rose up into a pediment, which was richly adorned with sculpture, while below, on the entablatures, were *guttæ* and triglyphs. The entablatures were each of them supported by at least six square pillars, detached from the rocky face behind them ; and this rocky face was—at least in one instance—decorated with a splendid bas-relief (representing a procession of strange figures decidedly archaic and Etruscan), the effect of which was heightened by a delicate coloring, still to be traced upon the background, and, in places, upon the figures. The interiors of the Norchia temple-tombs are mean ; but elsewhere the sepulchral chamber had often considerable magnificence. In some the plan of a house was closely followed. A flight of descending steps gave entrance into a vestibule, on either side of which were chambers (*triclinia*); beyond, a doorway led into the principal chamber, or *atrium*, out of which opened further *triclinia*. The ceilings were carved into an imitation of beams and rafters crossing each other; arm-chairs, with footstools attached, stood against the walls, from which weapons or other articles were suspended. In other cases the tomb consisted mainly of a single large chamber, which was ornamented with paintings or with inscriptions. The "tomb of the Tarquins," at Cervetri, is thirty-five feet square, and supported by two massive pillars in the middle; that of the Cæcinæ, at Volaterræ, is circular, supported by a single pillar, and with a diameter of forty feet. The paintings in the tombs most commonly represent banqueting scenes; but encounters with wild beasts and other hunting scenes, representations of fabulous animals or of games and sports, and scenes from the mythology, are not uncommon. The colors are in some instances faded, but in others as vivid as when first laid on. Occasionally, but very rarely, sculpture takes takes the place of painting, and reliefs, representing men and horses, and wild beasts in combat or devouring their prey, cover the walls of the sepulchral chambers, extending from the floor to the ceiling, and giving great richness to the apartments.

The æsthetic art of the Etruscans comprises statuary, painting, engraving, modelling in clay, and casting and chiselling in bronze. Except in the case of recumbent figures on tombs, their statuary is not often "in the round." Some ten or a dozen erect figures, in stone or marble, mostly mutilated, have been found, which, with more or less of probability, may be pronounced Etruscan. They have seldom much merit. Some are exceedingly quaint and archaic in character, as the lady figured by Mr. Dennis in his first volume; others have not much to distinguish them from Roman work. Recumbent figures on sarcophagi are common. They are in general stiff, and have a conventional air; all lean on their left elbow, and have the right arm stretched along the body; the right hand commonly holds a goblet. The execution is for the most part somewhat coarse, and there is evidence of a want of artistic feeling in the fact that originally the figures were wholly covered with paint. On the other hand we are told that in some cases the heads are in excellent taste, the faces being "full of character," and the features occasionally "Grecian."

The bas-reliefs are of a higher order than the statues. They are almost always vigorous, and though sometimes quaint and even grotesque in portions, are never wanting in life, spirit, and action. The subjects represented seem to be most commonly Greek; but there is no close imitation of Greek models, and the beauty and grace which characterize the production of the Hellenic artists are never reached. The reliefs, moreover, like the statues, appear to have been disfigured by a coarse, unnatural, and inharmonious coloring, which must have greatly detracted from their merit as works of high art.

Etruscan paintings are said to fall into four classes. Those of the earliest period present Egyptian and Babylonian analogies. They are wholly religious, deities or mythological emblems being the only subjects represented. The drawing is stiff and rigid; the drapery adheres closely to the form; the figures are in bad proportion, limbs and bodies being unduly elongated; and the artist seldom ventures to represent his figures otherwise than in profile. Quaint and strange animals, chimæras, sphinxes, gorgons, griffins, centaurs, belong especially to this stage; four-winged deities are common; the flowers and foliage are of unnatural shapes, and the coloring is strange and unpleasant. In the second period, "Etruscan art stepped out of the conventionalities which confined it, and assumed a more energetic character—more like the Greek than the Egyptian, yet still rigid, hard, and dry, rather akin to the Æginetic than the Attic school, displaying more force than beauty, more vigor than grace, better intention than ability of execution, an exaggerated, not a truthful representation of nature." This second period was followed by a third, in which the Etruscan artists became the servile imitators of the Greeks, whose works they copied, and whose entire manner they adopted, so that it is difficult to distinguish between the productions of the two peoples. Finally there was a period of decadence, in which drawing became careless, composition over-complex, attitudes affected, and ornament too much sought after Art "forgot her sublime and godilke simplicity, to trick herself out in meretricious embellishments." Purity and chasteness of design and delicacy of execution disappeared. The time of perfection was gone by, and Etruscan painting entered upon the period of corruption and decay.

Among the most curious and artistic of all the productions of Etruria are the bronzes. Those include a great variety of articles, such as couches, tripods, caskets, caldrons, shields, censers, helmets, cuirasses, daggers, spear-heads, arrow-heads, vases, ewers, and the like; but the most remarkable are the statues, the candelabra, and the engraved disks or mirrors. The bronze bust of an Etruscan lady, found in a tomb at Vulci, and figured by Dennis twice, is among the most curious specimens of their early art which has come down to us. It is not cast, but formed of thin plates of bronze hammered into shape, and finished with the chisel. The features are repulsive, the right arm is ill-modelled, and the bust is too small for the head; but the archaic and *native* character of the whole is most interesting, and the pedestal is exceedingly handsome. It is adorned with figures in three rows, the top and bottom rows containing processions of lions, while the intermediate one exhibits sphinxes, human figures, and bigæ. Altogether the work is one of the most characteristic that we possess It shows traces of Egyptian, and perhaps of Assyrian influence, but is manifestly a genuine native product, and must belong to an early period. The bronze statues of the later times are very different. Ordinarily they are cast in clay, and imitate Greek models, but have very little merit.

Ancient art has produced few things more elegant than Etruscan candelabra. The Athenians are said to have imported them in the time of Pericles, and the museums of Europe contain several of extraordinary beauty. The base is commonly a tripod, composed of three legs of animals, or of three human forms bent backward. The stem rises to a great height, and is twisted or fluted; sometimes it springs from one statuette, and is surmounted by another; frequently it is ornamented by figures of animals, which seem to be climbing up it. At the top there is a cup for a lamp, often decorated with figures of birds.

The engraved mirrors of Etruria are curious, but less interesting than the paintings on vases and tombs. They are either pear-shaped or circular, and contain, generally within a wreath of leaves, some scene from the Greek or the native mythology, or some representation of Etruscan life and manners. Occasionally the drawing has an elevation and perfection which leaves nothing to be desired; but more commonly the style is mediocre, being either rude and coarse, or affected and negligent; belonging either to the infancy of art, or to its decay and decrepitude.

In fictile art the Etruscans equalled, if they did not even excel, any other nation. Granting that a very large number of the vases discovered in the country, which are to be counted by hundreds, or even thousands, in all the great collections of Europe, were importations from Greece, or from the East, yet still there can be no reasonable doubt that many—the majority probably — were of native manufacture. Peculiarities of style attach to the vases of each locality; many have Etruscan inscriptions; where the inscription is Greek, it is often misspelt in such a way as to indicate that the artist was a foreigner. Add to this that many varieties of form are found in Etruria which do not exist elsewhere, and the conclusion is inevitable that, however large the importation, there was also a native manufacture; and that, in fact, wherever originated, the art of making and painting vases was carried to a higher pitch of development in Etruria than in any other locality. If, then, we regard the vessels found in the tombs as mainly, or, at any rate, as largely Etruscan, we cannot fail to admire the skill and taste of the people as exhibited in their production. The varieties are almost infinite, the forms always tasteful, sometimes exquisite, the patterns charming, the paintings spirited. If, as is probable, the most meritorious are pure Greek, still in the remainder there is enough of taste and skill to indicate a very high degree of artistic excellence, and to excite our surprise and admiration.

Besides their vases, the Etruscans modelled figures in clay, which have often considerable merit. One of Adonis, in the Museo Gregoriano, is greatly admired. Figures of gods—especially the Novensiles —are common. There are others of women, of children, and even of infants, all beautiful in their way, modelled with good taste and carefully finished. The animal heads, in which the *rhyta*, or drinking-cups ordinarily terminated, are also excellently rendered.

We are told that the Etruscans had considerable skill in music. The trumpet was generally regarded by the ancients as of their invention; and the vases often represent bands of trumpeters, fifers, and harpers, who play apparently in concert. The double-pipe is also common in the paintings; the tambourine, flute, and Pan's-pipe appear occasionally; and castanets are frequent. Dancing usually accompanied the music, and in this both sexes participated; but the dancers seem in all cases to have been professionals, whose services were hired, the employment being deemed a low one, in which those who wished to be thought respectable must not participate.

In physical comfort and luxury, in the elegance of their houses, the richness and variety of their dress, the magnificence of their personal ornaments, the beauty and taste of their furniture, the grandeur of their processions, the splendor of their banquets, the multitude of their sports and games, the Etruscans can scarcely have been surpassed by any contemporary, or, indeed, by any ancient nation. The paintings show us banqueting scenes, where figures, male and female, clothed in richly-embroidered garments, recline on elegant couches under flowered coverlets, feasting to the sound of lyres and pipes; a multitude of handsome slaves, magnificently apparelled, stand around, some waiting their master's orders, others replenishing the silver goblets from the wine-jars on a sideboard hard by; while a train of dancers, male and female, clad in gauzy robes, and wearing chaplets of myrtle, or rich jewels, entertain the feasters with their lively steps and graceful movements, some of them piping as they dance. Ancient authors tell us that the Etruscans indulged in banquets of this description twice a day. It was characteristic of the Etruscan manners that women took their place at the board by their husbands' side, and shared the banquet, unless it was one where the drinking was to be carried to excess.

In the higher elements of civilization, in religious ideas, in law and government, in morality, and again in science and literature, there is no reason to believe that the Etruscans ever made any great advance. Their religion was a low form of nature-worship combined with Shamanism, or a belief in the magical powers of their diviners (haruspices), and with a cult of the deceased spirits of each man's family. It was disgraced by gloomy rites, extreme superstition, and the iniquity of human sacrifice. The divinities worshipped were viewed as maleficent rather than beneficent, as objects of fear rather than of love. The priests, as their ministers, were regarded with an awful dread ; they " wielded the double-edged sword of secular and ecclesiastical authority," crushed all free thought, and imposed upon the people the tyranny of a minute and all-pervading ceremonialism. Even the strong belief in a future life, which was a leading feature of the religion, did little to elevate it ; for the Etruscan's thoughts upon the subject were divided between a dread of the malignant demons, who would delight in torturing his soul, and the hope of a paradise of mere sensual enjoyment.

In government, Etruria was a narrow oligarchy of a theocratic character. The Lucumones were at once the civil rulers, the landed proprietors, and the priests and augurs of the nation, alone acquainted with the will of heaven, and alone able, by appeasing angry gods, to avert disaster, and prevent national calamity. Under such a government class interests were of course solely considered ; and the condition of the bulk of the population was rude and depressed, not to say wretched. There was no separation of the various functions of governors. The same men made the laws, imposed the taxes, administered the state, decided causes, and commanded armies. In one respect only did the Etruscans show any germ of real political intelligence. At a time when the rest of Italy was divided up among a number of petty states, continually at war one with another, they formed a wide spreading confederacy, which, though perhaps rather religious than civil, yet succeeded in holding together the several communities, in preventing them from wasting each other's strength by internal struggles, and in uniting them under the pressure of external danger into a body possessing considerable strength and coherence. The federal idea, which in Greece scarcely bore any real fruit until after the time of Alexander, was appreciated in Italy many centuries earlier, and, though not confined to the Etruscans, was apparently recognized by them more distinctly, and at an earlier period, than by any other Italic nation.

But little can be said in favor of Etruscan morality. The men bore a reputation, not merely for self-indulgent and luxurious habits, but for actual gluttony ; and the women are said to have been almost universally profligate. We see by the representation in the tombs that dances of a licentious description were witnessed without a blush by assemblages comprising both sexes. Nor was this looseness of manners compensated for by softness of temper or gentleness of behavior toward others. The Etruscans were proverbially harsh in their treatment of their serf population, and often drove these wretched dependants into rebellion ; and the cruelties of which their pirates were guilty toward their unhappy captives are but too notorious.

What progress the Etruscans made in science and literature it is somewhat difficult to determine. They certainly possessed letters from a very early date, and seem to have derived them straight from Asia, not mediately through the Greeks. We hear of their having produced a native literature, comprising, besides religious and ritual books, histories, tragedies, and poems ; but the character of these works is unknown to us, and we can form no judgment of their merit. The drama, which the Romans derived from them was evidently of a rude and coarse character ; nor is it probable that their other literary efforts were much superior. Their engineering science was, it is clear, respectable. They constructed arches of a fair size, tunnelled through rocks, gave their buildings vaulted roofs, raised into place vast masses of stone, and thus were able to form edifices of a most solid and permanent character. But it is not certain that they possessed any other science worthy of the name. Such astronomical knowledge as they enjoyed was probably obtained from Asia, and was empirical rather than scientific. Their meteorology was vitiated by being accommodated to superstitious fancies. It is their art, not their science, which is their true glory, and which, almost alone, gives them their high place among the pioneers of civilization.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE BRITISH CELTS.

A CONSIDERABLE antiquity has been claimed by some writers for the civilization of the British Celts. The late Archdeacon Williams, a man of much acuteness and of considerable learning, maintained, in more than one of his works, that civilization had commenced in Britain as early as B.C. 1000, and that by the year B.C. 400—three centuries and a half before the first invasion of our island by the Romans—the progress made was such as to entitle the British race to a high position among the nations which then held possession of the earth. "Our memorials point,' he said, "to eras and instances in which the civil arts and sciences were cultivated to an extent that would not have degraded (disgraced?) the best ages of Greece and Rome." The Britons, he thought, possessed, before the Romans came, an extensive literature in prose and verse, a refined science of music, a knowledge of astronomy based on the use of telescopes, a great skill in mechanics, a good system of agriculture, considerable commerce, some acquaintance with metallurgy and medicine, a high moral teaching, an admirable code of laws, and a very fair appreciation of the science of politics. He based his conclusions mainly on the view that the Welsh poems called "The Triads" might be relied upon as giving an authentic account of the early history of the nation, derived from ancient tradition, and committed to writing at least as far back as the fourth century before our era. He summed up his conclusions on the entire subject, very confidently, in the following words: "Thus it appears that our British ancestors, instead of being a nation of barbarians and savages, as they are too commonly represented, were really an enlightened people [at the time of the Roman invasion], far advanced in civilization and intellectual improvement."

The main objection to this view, which naturally occurs to every one on first becoming acquainted with it, is the fact that it is wholly irreconcilable with the account given us of Britain by Cæsar, and confirmed by other writers, as especially Strabo, Diodorus, and Tacitus. Cæsar tells us that the natives in his time were not generally agriculturists, but lived on milk and meat, and clothed themselves with skins. They dyed their skin with a blue tint made from woad, to give them a more terrible appearance in battle; they wore their hair long, and shaved all their body except the head and the upper lip. They fought chiefly on horseback or from chariots, and attacked with howls and shouts, with which they expected to frighten the enemy. Each man had a single wife; but the members of a family, or of a village, held their wives in common. Their "towns" for the most part consisted of a space in the fastnesses of the woods, surrounded by a mound and trench, and calculated to afford them a retreat and protection from hostile invasion. They had no coined money, but made use, instead, of bronze or iron bars, of a certain fixed weight. They were divided into numerous petty tribes, often at war one with another, and entirely devoid of anything like unity or cohesion, even under the pressure of a foreign invasion. Their religion was apparently the same as that of the Gauls —a dark and gloomy superstition, involving subjection to a priest caste, the Druids, and requiring the continual sacrifice by fire of numerous human victims for the appeasing of the Divine anger. Cæsar is not aware that the Britons had a literature, or even letters; he assigns them no science, unless science is included in the religious knowledge, in which he regarded the British Druids as excelling those of Gaul. The only commerce of which he speaks as having come to his knowledge is an importation into Britain of bronze.

Diodorus and Strabo, who wrote in the reign of Augustus, confirm generally the statements of Cæsar, but add various particulars. Diodorus describes the ordinary dwelling-places of the Britons as mere temporary establishments, formed in the forests by inclosing a space with felled trees, within which were made huts of reeds and logs, and sheds for cattle, "not intended to last very long." Strabo says the Britons were complete strangers both to agriculture and to gardening, and notes further that they fell behind most pastoral nations, inasmuch as they were unacquainted with the manufacture of cheese. Diodorus differs from Strabo in representing the bulk of the British nation as agricultural, and says they "stored the corn, which they grew, in the stalk, in thatched houses," which is perhaps his way of describing ricks. Both Strabo and Diodorus represent the British trade as considerable. They speak of tin as largely exported by the Britons, who also made a profit by the export of slaves and dogs. They imported, according to Strabo, besides bronze, ivory bracelets, necklaces, and various small wares, including vessels of glass.

The unsubdued Britons, whom Tacitus describes, were, according to his accounts, "barbarians," more ferocious than the Gauls. They had the same religion as the Gauls, but were even deeper sunk in superstition. Their orgies took place in the depths of sacred groves, where the blood of human victims flowed freely from the altars, and the will of the gods was discovered from an inspection of the still palpitating entrails. The disunion that had rendered the rest of the nation an easy prey to Rome's disciplined bands continued, and it was seldom that any two states could be induced to make common cause against a foreign foe. The style of warfare in vogue was rude and primitive; the chief dependence was still placed on chariots; tactics were ignored; and every battle was an attempt to overwhelm the Romans by the mere preponderance of brute force. The arms of the Britons were contemptible; their swords were unduly long and had no points; the size of their shields was small: and they were without breastplates or other defensive armor. Altogether the picture drawn is that of a race who, if not actual savages, are at any rate not very far removed from the savage condition, and of whom it is quite absurd to say that "they were really an enlightened people, far advanced in civilization and intellectual improvement."

Archdeacon Williams endeavored to meet the argument drawn from the statements of Cæsar, and supported by the general *consensus* of the classical writers, by asserting that the really civilized Celts had retreated before Cæsar's time into the western parts of Britain, and that he consequently never came into contact with them, but only with some comparatively barbarous tribes, who had recently invaded the island from the Continent. But it is unfortunate for this theory that Cæsar himself distinctly states that the inhabitants of the part of Britain which he invaded were "the most civilized of all" (humanissimi), and that the tribes of the interior were ruder and more backward. It is also to be noted that his account is corroborated by the later Latin writers, who distinctly show that the Romans, as they advanced into the island, fell in with races less and less civilized, until they came in Scotland to tribes whom they had a right to call absolute "barbarians," the Ottadini, Horestii, and Mæatæ, who held the country north of the Tyne and Irthing.

Again, if, discarding the accounts of writers who (it may be argued) cared to know but little of a people in whom they felt no interest, we throw ourselves upon archæological facts, and inquire what they have to tell us with respect to the condition of the British Celts prior to the Roman invasion, we shall find additional reason to misdoubt the views of the enthusiastic Archdeacon, and to conclude that the ante-Roman civilization of Britain, if it deserves the name at all, was of a very low order. If we ask a temperate archæologist what ancient remains existing in our island may be reasonably assigned to the pre-Roman Celts, he will point in the first place to the class of megalithic monuments called "cromlechs," and say, "these are almost certainly pre-Roman;" next, he will point to a certain amount of pottery, chiefly sun-baked; and, thirdly, to various weapons, tools, and ornaments of stone, flint, spar, or bone, which he will say are probably to a large extent pre-Roman, though many, not distinguishable from the rest, may belong to Roman, or even to later times. Finally, he will point, but very doubtfully, to the great stones, arranged in a circular form and generally known as "Druids' circles," which occur in various parts of England, more especially in the west and in the north, beginning with a diameter of sixty feet, and with stones about the height of a man, and culminating in the gigantic monuments of Avebury and Stonehenge, where the area is 1400 feet, and the height of the largest stones twenty or twenty-one feet. These, he will say, are probably Celtic; but whether pre-Roman or not, he will scarcely venture to determine.

Now, if we allow all these remains, even the last, to be native Celtic—produced, *i.e.*, by the Celts themselves without foreign assistance—what amount of civilization do they imply? The cromlechs are sepulchral chambers of a very rude kind. They consist usually of four stones, three forming the walls of the chamber, while the fourth serves to roof it in, the remaining side being left open. There has been no shaping of the stones by art; they are as they have come out of the quarry, or as they have been found on the earth's surface. The size and weight of the stones are considerable, but still not such as to imply any very great mechanical skill in those who moved them and emplaced them as they are found. Each cromlech was originally covered by a mound or barrow, which may in some cases have attained a height of fifty feet. Erections of this character are indications of a civilization very much below that of the Lydians of the sixth century B.C., which (as we have seen) was not very advanced.

The pottery of the Celtic Britons is remarkably coarse and rude. The shapes have little elegance; the patterning is of the simplest kind, consisting of dots, parallel lines, crosses, and sometimes zigzags, which are scratched upon the surface, apparently with a pointed stick; handles, where they exist at all, are mere loops, intended probably to have cords passed through them by which the vessels might be suspended. Most of the vessels are merely sun-dried; though some, found commonly in the more southern parts of England, have been placed in a kiln and baked.

The weapons, tools, and ornaments found with the pottery above described, are for the most part either of stone or bronze. The stone tools and weapons are mostly merely chipped into shape; but occasionally specimens are met with which must have been formed by some machine like a lathe. The tools comprise axes, chisels, gimlets, and saws; the weapons are chiefly spear-heads and arrow-heads. These last are sometimes beautifully finished. The bronze implements are most commonly of the class which has been denominated "celts," from the Latin *celtis*, "a chisel." With these are found punches, gouges, and other similar tools, and also numerous spear-heads and arrow-heads, with an occasional dagger or sword. The swords greatly resemble the Roman, and it is a question whether they were not imported from the Continent. In a few instances traces of armor have been found, and in one the breast of a skeleton was covered with a corselet of thin gold, embossed with an ornamentation resembling nail-heads and lines.

Finally, with regard to the "Druids' circles," we may set aside the smaller ones, which are at least as rude as the cromlechs, and which appear to have been mere supports, designed to prevent the giving way of barrows or sepulchral mounds, and confining ourselves to the consideration of the larger, such as Stonehenge and Avebury, inquire, Is there anything in them which really implies *great* mechanical skill, or "a proficiency in the science of astronomy"? Now certainly they are in advance of the cromlechs. They "differ from other Celtic stone ornaments in the circumstance that the stones have been hewn and squared with tools, and that each of the upright stones had two tenons or projections on the top, which fitted into notches or hollows in the superincumbent slabs." The largest of the upright stones being twenty-one feet in height, and these sustaining imposts of many tons in weight, the architects must have possessed the power of raising such vast masses to the height at which they are found, and of manipulating them at that height, so as to insert the tenons into the mortices. As, moreover, the quality of the stones is in many cases such as is quite unknown in the neighborhood, there must have been possessed by the builders a power of conveying such masses by land—for water-carriage is out of the question—a very considerable distance, perhaps as much as thirty or forty miles. These are the indications that Stonehenge and Avebury give of mechanical knowledge and skill. We have to consider to what they amount.

Now the conveyance of large masses of stone in a tolerably level country to a distance from the place where they were quarried, implies no very great mechanical knowledge—it is simply a question of the application to the proposed end of a large amount of muscular force, animal or human. Both the Egyptians and the Assyrians conveyed their colossal figures for considerable distances by the simple expedient of placing them upon a wooden sledge, whereto they attached ropes, by means of which gangs of men dragged them to the point required. The weight of the Assyrian colossi is estimated at from forty to fifty tons, that of the Egyptian is often very much greater. The largest of the stones at Avebury and Stonehenge do not, it is probable, exceed half this weight.

With regard to the raising of large stones into place, the Egyptians, we know, elevated them by means of machines, which must have resembled our own cranes; but it is not necessary to suppose that mechanical appliances of this description were in use among the Celtic architects. More probably they employed inclined planes of earth or stone, up which the blocks were dragged, still on their sledges, and having in this way brought them to the required height, emplaced them by sheer muscular strength upon the uprights. The covering stones of cromlechs were doubtless raised into place by the same means, the mound being then continued above them, whereas at Stonehenge and Avebury after it had served its purpose it was cleared away.

It would seem, therefore, that even the greatest of the Celtic monuments imply no more than a moderate amount of mechanical ingenuity in the people who constructed them. How they can be supposed to indicate "proficiency in the science of astronomy" it is difficult to conceive. Circles of thirty stones indeed are found, in which a lively imagination may conjecture a reference to the lunar month. But on the whole it is only by a series of the most arbitrary and forced interpretations that either the numbers or the proportions can be argued to have an astronomical bearing. It is not unlikely that the circles were temples, and it is quite possible that in some of them the special object of worship may have been the sun; but beyond this we have really no data for determining the aim or intention of the structures in question.

On the whole, the conclusion seems forced upon us that the British Celts, though not absolute savages, had succeeded in developing only a very low type of civilization before the Roman conquest. They were not, perhaps, wholly ignorant of letters, but they made little use of them; they knew something, but not very much, of metallurgy, of mechanics, of agriculture, of the art of pottery; they had domesticated horses and horned cattle; they could weave; they could construct chariots; they had constructed a system of roads; but they were wretchedly lodged and clothed; their houses were of the meanest description; they wore war-paint and sought to frighten a disciplined enemy by their cries and shouts; their religion was a debased and gloomy superstition; their political organization was the weakest possible; their tombs, on which they bestowed great pains, were rude and clumsy; their temples, if the so-called "Druids' circles" are the remains of temples, were grotesque. We can see no sufficient reason for regarding the British Celts as more advanced than their kindred in Gaul, whom no writer, so far as we are aware claims to have been a civilized nation.

CHAPTER IX.

RESULTS OF THE INQUIRY.

The general result of the inquiry wherein we have been engaged, would seem to be that, so far as civilization can be traced back historically, there is one country, and one country only, where the critical judgment of the present day is still in suspense, and some difficulty exists in reconciling the conclusions of historical and archæological science with those moderate notions of the date whereto the past history of our race extends, which till lately were almost universally held, and which are still generally maintained in educational text-books. Exaggerated chronologies are common to a large number of nations; but critical examination has (at any rate in all cases but one) demonstrated their fallacy; and the many myriads of years postulated for their past civilization and history by the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hindoos, the Chinese, and others, have been shown to be pure fiction, utterly unworthy of belief, and not even requiring any very elaborate refutation. Cuneiform scholars confidently place the beginnings of Babylon about B.C. 2300, of Assyria, about B.C. 1500. The best Aryan scholars place the dawn of Iranic civilization about B.C. 1500, of India about B.C. 1200. Chinese investigators can find nothing solid or substantial in the past of the "Celestials" earlier than B.C. 781, or at the furthest B.C. 1154. For Phœnicia the date assigned by the latest English investigator is "the sixteenth or seventeenth century before Christ." The researches of Dr. Schliemann in the Troad give indications of the existence of a low type of civilization in that region, which may reach back to about B.C. 2000. In the rest of Asia Minor we have no certain knowledge of any civilization that has a greater antiquity than about B.C. 900. In Europe, the simple and incipient civilization delineated by Homer must have existed before his time, and may have commenced as early as the Trojan epoch, which is probably about B.C. 1300—1200. No other European civilization can compete with this, the Etruscan not reaching back further than about B.C. 650 or 700, and the Celtic, such as it was, being really subsequent to the occupation of England by the Romans. A *conseneus* of *savants* and scholars almost unparalleled limits the past history of civilized man to a date removed from our own time by less than 4400 years, *excepting in a single instance.* There remains one country, one civilization, with respect to which the learned are at variance, there being writers of high repute who place the dawn of Egyptian civilization about B.C. 2700, or only four centuries before that of Babylon, while there are others who postulate for it an antiquity exceeding this *by above two thousand four hundred years!*

It is well remarked by Professor Owen, in an able paper, "On the Antiquity of Egyptian Civilization," that "the value to be assigned to discrepant conclusions on a matter of scientific research, must rest on the evidence with which such conclusions may be severally supported." Most certainly no one would desire the decision to be made on any other grounds than these. The whole question is one of evidence, and to that point we shall presently proceed to address ourselves; but there is one preliminary consideration to which we think it right to call the attention of our readers.

The same amount of evidence is not sufficient to establish all conclusions. Very slight and weak testimony is enough for reasonable men, if the point to be established is intrinsically probable. Much higher and stronger testimony is necessary, if it is improbable. If it is very highly improbable, reasonable men will hesitate to accept the conclusion unless the evidence for it be well-nigh overwhelming.

Now, in the present case, the conclusion sought to be established by the advocates of the "long chronology" is, we venture to say, *very highly* improbable. It is no less than to suppose one section of mankind to have stood for above two thousand years on a totally different level from all other sections. It is to suppose settled government, law, order, high morality, art, science of a certain kind, to have existed for two thousand years in a single locality without spreading to other nations, without being imitated, without communicating itself · and this, not in a sequestered island, not in a remote corner of the earth, but in a veritable "highway of nations," in a land which has always been a passage territory between east and west, between north and south, which stands in the closest connection with the fairest portions of the eastern world, and (as has often been said) "belongs to Asia rather than to Africa." What was the rest of mankind doing while Egypt stood at this proud eminence? Why did they make no similar advance anywhere else? How came they, all of them, to rest content with their knives of flint and chert, their stone hammers and adzes, their ornaments of bone and shell, their huts of reeds and clay, or at best of sun-dried bricks? Did they know nothing of Egypt during these twenty or five-and-twenty centuries? or did they look on without envy at the happy country in their midst, and make no effort to be like her? To us nothing seems more unlikely, more inconceivable than two millenniums of high Egyptian civilization, including art, science, good government, a fair system of morality, and an elaborate social order, while all the rest of the world was sunk in darkness, had no history, no settled government, and only the first germs of art and manufacture.

What, then, is the evidence upon which we are asked to accept this conclusion? A vague idea is afloat that the long Egyptian chronology is borne out by the Egyptian monuments; and even Professor Owen speaks of the "expanded ideas of time," which he entertains as "deductions from lately-discovered inscriptions," as if the inscriptions were really the source from which the long chronology proceeds. But it cannot be too often repeated that this is not the fact. Nothing is more certain, nothing is more universally admitted by Egyptologers, than the absence from the monuments of any continuous chronology. For the latter portion of the history, the Apis *stelæ*, found by M. Mariette in the Serapeum, which give the age of each bull at his demise and the regnal year of the king or kings coincident with the bull's birth and death, furnish valuable chronological materials; but even these are incomplete, and for the earlier periods they fail entirely. All that the monuments supply for the time anterior to the eighteenth dynasty, consists of lists of kings, unaccompanied, for the most part, by chronological data, and all of them more or less imperfect. These lists, moreover, were in no case compiled earlier than the time of the eighteenth dynasty, and they are thus but very slight evidence, even of the existence of the more ancient monarchs named in them. Moreover, they differ one from another very considerably, both in the names and in the number of the monarchs whom they place on record, and it is only by an arbitrary preference of one of them to the rest, or by a still more arbitrary amalgamation, that a continuous list of the kings composing the dynasties can be made out. The monuments for the most part determine nothing as to the length of a king's reign; they show some of the kings to have reigned conjointly, but do not tell us to what extent this practice prevailed; and they leave wholly undetermined the question as to the extent to which kings of contemporary dynasties have been admitted into the lists.

The result, so far as the monuments are concerned, may best be stated in the words of Brugsch: "The difficulties in the way of determining the epochs of Egyptian history, instead of diminishing, increase from day to day. . . . Perhaps, if the Turin Papyrus had been preserved to our times intact, we should have been able to establish the ancient chronology of Egypt. But at the present day no living man is capable of overcoming the difficulties which prevent the reconstruction of the canon. We lack the elements necessary for completing the gaps, and supplementing the historical remains, more especially of the earlier dynasties, these remains being too few and far between to be made use of with any success. Moreover, it is certain that the lists of kings which have come down to us have been *cooked* to suit particular views."

The long Egyptian chronology has not, then, resulted from the monuments, and cannot base itself upon them. It has arisen, as Dr. Brugsch observes, entirely from the trust placed in the statements of the Egyptian priest Manetho, or rather in those reports of his statements which have reached our time. According to these, the priest of Sebennytus, writing about B C. 250, claimed for the precedent Egyptian monarchy an antiqnity of between five thousand and six thousand years.

Two questions here arise—1. Is Manetho correctly reported? and, 2. Are we bound to accept his statements as certainly true? In a former chapter it has been argued that there is a reasonable doubt whether the Egyptian priest really intended his thirty dynasties of kings, the sum of whose joint reigns amounted to above 5000 years, to be regarded as consecutive, and in no case contemporary. Only one modern *savant* takes the view that they were really all consecutive. All the rest admit the principle of contemporaneity, and only differ with regard to the extent to which it prevailed. The "long chronology" depends on denying contemporaneity, or reducing it to a minimum. If it is the fact that five or six of Manetho's dynasties were at times contemporary, his numbers might be correct, and yet the 5000 years might have to be reduced to 2000.

But can his numbers be considered correct? In the first place, there are three versions of them, no one of which has more external authority than the other two. In the second, where the monuments furnish any evidence at all, they contradict him frequently and vitally. Manetho gave to the three Pyramid kings reigns of sixty-three, sixty-six, and sixty-three—in all 192—years, or only eight years short of two centuries. The Turin Papyrus replaces these numbers by six, six, and twenty-four—in all thirty-six years, or less than one fifth of Manetho's total. Manetho gave to the predecessor of the second Menkeres a reign of forty-four years; the Turin Papyrus cuts the number down to eleven years. Manetho assigned to the first Sesostris (of the twelfth dynasty) a reign of forty-eight years; the monuments give him, at the utmost, nineteen years. Similar discrepancies occur in scores of cases, and the result is greatly to discredit Manetho's numbers as they have come down to us. As Brugsch observes: "Les chiffres de Manethon sont dans un état déplorable;" and there exists no means of rectifying them.

Supposing, however, that we could recover the original Manetho, should we be bound to accept him as an authority from whom there could be no appeal? Surely not. Manetho wrote about B.C. 280—250, or about 1200 years after the accession of the eighteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1500. He professed to carry back the history of Egypt for some thousand or thousands of years before this. But what materials could he have for his history? Probably he had the same monumental lists which we possess, and others similar to them. He may have had access to the Turin Papyrus in its unmutilated state; he may have been able to refer to other documents of the same age. But there is no reason to think that he possessed contemporary memorials of the Middle or Old Empire, or knew anything more of them than the traditions which the monarchs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties committed to writing, after a "shipwreck" of Egyptian civilization, in which all was lost. He could, it would seem, only have *guessed* the duration of the Shepherd dominion. The duration of the previous native empire must have been still more obscure. The Egyptians, when left to themselves, had "never had a chronology;" and documents like the Turin Papyrus, containing bare lists of kings with regnal years attached, could be of little value, except as showing what the monarchs of the nineteenth dynasty believed, or wished to be believed, as to the past of their country. Extant contemporary monuments might present in certain instances the names of the kings, but would be unlikely to show either which kings of a dynasty ruled conjointly, or which dynasties were contemporaneous. Copious remains, and a careful study of them, would have been needed to determine such points as these. The "shipwreck of civilization" immediately preceding the eighteenth dynasty caused the remains to be scanty; the intense egotism of the monarchs would be unfavorable to anything like careful study of remote history.

Again, Manetho certainly failed to present a true version of the chronology subsequent to the eighteenth dynasty. Here Herodotus is sometimes more to be depended on than he. But if the priest of Sebennytus could be mistaken in respect of this (comparatively speaking) recent period, is it not likely that he committed still greater errors with regard to times very much more remote?

Let it be further noted that Manetho's scheme of thirty dynasties of Egyptian kings, beginning with Menes, with reigns of which the sum amounted to between 5000 and 6000 years, was a part of a far larger scheme of mundane chronology which no one thinks of accepting—a scheme whereby the beginnings of Egyptian history were carried back to a date *more than thirty thousand years* anterior to the Christian era! All moderns agree that the greater portion of Manetho's chronological scheme is untrustworthy; the dispute is only as to the point at which we may begin to place any reliance upon it.

Upon the whole, we see no reason to retract the views which we have already expressed on the subject of Egyptian chronology, which are briefly these: 1. That the eighteenth (native) dynasty commenced about B.C. 1500; 2. That the Hyksos, or Shepherd period of foreign domination lasted, at the utmost, about two centuries and a half; commencing not earlier than B.C. 1750; and 3. That the native dynasties anterior to the Hyksos domination, many of which were contemporary, may have covered a space of 500, 600, or 700 years, thus reaching back to B.C. 2250, or possibly to B.C. 2450. In this way Babylon and Egypt would be, in their origin as kingdoms, about contemporary; the Pyramids would have an antiquity of about 4000 years; civilization would have taken its rise in Egypt in the course of the third millennium B.C., and would have rapidly advanced in certain directions, as it also did in Babylon, while in others the progress made was small; the early civilizations of Phœnicia and Asia Minor would have followed on those of Egypt and Babylon, at no great interval; civilization would from the first have shown its tendency to spread and communicate itself; the earth would at no time have presented the spectacle of one highly-civilized community standing alone for thousands of years in the midst of races rude and unpolished; the progressive movement of civilization would have been upon the whole equable, uniform, and, if we may use the term, natural.

Such are the chronological views which profane history, monumental and other, studied by itself, seems to us on the whole to favor. We should maintain them had the Bible never been written, or had it been entirely devoid of all chronological notices. But we think it right to call the attention of our readers, whom we presume to be believers in revelation, to the fact that these views, while irreconcilable with the wholly unauthorized chronology of Archbishop Usher, harmonize admirably with the Biblical numbers, as they are given in the version called the Septuagint.

We subjoin a tabular view of the chief chronological conclusions at which we have arrived in the course of this inquiry:

	B.C. about
Date of the Deluge, according to the Septuagint	3,200
Rise of Monarchy in Egypt (probably)	2,450
“ in Babylon (probably)	2,300
Earliest traces of civilization in Asia Minor (probably)	2,000
Rise of Phœnicia	1,550
“ Assyria	1,500

	B.C. about
Earliest Iranic civilization (Zendavesta)......	1,500
" Indic " (Vedas)............	1,200
" Hellenic " (Homer).	1,200
Phrygian and Lydian civilization commence.	900
Etruscan civilization commences.............	650
Lycian " "	600

PART II.—ON ETHNIC AFFINITIES.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHIEF JAPHETIC RACES.

Few things are less interesting to the ordinary reader than the scriptural genealogies. In reading them even the humblest disciple is tempted to question whether "*all* Scripture is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, or for instruction in righteousness" (2 Tim. 3 : 16), or whether there is not some portion of the Word which is unprofitable. Before the New Lectionary was introduced, it was not unusual for clergymen, when the second lesson was Luke 3, to conclude their reading with verse 23. Yet not only are the genealogies of great importance historically, as marking strongly the vital truth, that the entire framework and narrative of Scripture is in every case real, not ideal; plain and simple matter of fact, not fanciful allegory evolved out of the author's consciousness; but often these portions of Scripture, dry and forbidding as is their first aspect, will well repay a careful and scholarly study. They are like an arid range of bare and stony mountains, which, when minutely examined, reveals to the investigator mines of emerald or diamond. Only let Faith and Patience make the search; and let the searcher bear in mind that, where all is dark to him, it may be reserved for future inquirers to let in upon the darkness a flood of light; and let him be careful not to dwarf down the majesty of God's truth to the puny standard of his own imperfect knowledge, which to the wise of another generation may seem but a sort of learned ignorance.

It is proposed, in the present and some following chapters, to draw attention to the earliest of the postdiluvian genealogies—those contained in the tenth chapter of the Book of Genesis. It is believed that they belong, very decidedly, to the class of genealogical documents deserving study; that they contain within them, concealed beneath the surface, a very considerable amount of important historical and ethnological truth.

The time is gone by when nothing more was seen in the list of names to be found in this chapter than a set of personal appellations, the proper names of individuals. No one can read with any attention the following passage, even in its English dress, without perceiving that the writer is bent rather on considering the connection of races than the descent of persons. "And Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, and Heth, *and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite:* and afterward were the *families of the Canaanites* spread abroad" (verses 15-18). The Hebrew scholar sees the same, long before he comes to this passage; for he notes that the forms of the names are in many instances plural (Madai, Kittim, Dodanim or Rodanim, Ludim, Anamim, etc.), while in one remarkable instance he comes upon a dual form, which he at once recognizes as that of a country or people. "Mizraim" (verse 6) is the word elsewhere throughout Scripture uniformly translated "Egypt." It signifies in fact "the two Egypts"—the "upper" and the "lower"—the two countries whose character is physically so different that they have always been recognized as separate; whence the monumental Egyptian kings wear upon their heads *two* crowns, and the hieroglyph for Egypt in the ancient writing is a double water-plant or a double clod of earth, representative of the two regions, the long narrow valley and the broad delta.

Again, it is worthy of notice that the majority of the names in the chapter, if they occur elsewhere in the Bible, occur in an ethnic or else in a geographic sense. Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Meshech, Togarmah, Elishah, Tarshish, Kittim (= Chittim), Cush, Phut, Canaan, Sheba, Dedan, Elam, Asshur, Lud, Aram, Uz, Ophir, Havilah, are all of them in every other place either countries or nations. We hear of "Gomer and all his bands" (Ezek. 38 : 6), of "the land of Magog" (ib. verse 2), of "the isles of Elishah" (Ezek. 27 : 7), the "men of Dedan" (ib. verse 15), the "ships of Tarshish" (1 Kings 22 : 48), and the like. Asshur is usually translated in our version by "Assyria," Elam by "Persia," Madai by "the Medes" or "Media," Cush by "Ethiopia," Lud by "Lydia," Aram by "Syria." There is not one of the names above quoted that can even be imagined to be personal in any other place of Scripture, unless it be Canaan, which might have a personal meaning in Gen. 9 : 18-27.

It may therefore be assumed, both from the cast of the passage itself, and from the light thrown on it by the rest of Scripture, that the object of the author of the tenth chapter of Genesis was to give us, not a personal genealogy, but a sketch of the interconnection of races. Shem, Ham, and Japheth are no doubt persons, the actual sons of the patriarch Noah; but it may be doubted whether there is another name in the series which is other than ethnic. The document is in fact the earliest ethno graphical essay that has come down to our times It is a summary, like those which may be found in Bunsen's "Philosophy of History" or Max Müller's "Survey of Languages," arranging the chief known nations of the earth into an ethnographic scheme. In examining it, we must remember that it is three thousand years old, and that it was written by a Jew and for the Jews. We must therefore only look to find in it an account of the nations with which the Jews, at the date of its composition, had some acquaintance.

The genealogy opens with the statement that "the sons," or descendants, "of Japheth were Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras" (verse 2). Can we identify the races intended under these various names, all or any of them?

Gomer.—Scripture tells us nothing further of Gomer, excepting that his armed "bands" should take part in an invasion of Judæa which was impending at the time when the prophet Ezekiel wrote his thirty-eighth chapter, which was probably about B.C. 600. They were to come in company with those of Magog, Meshech, Tubal, and Togarmah, "from the north quarter" (Ezek. 38 : 2-6), and were to join in producing a great desolation, but were soon afterward to suffer a reverse. Gomer, therefore, should be a warlike people, not averse to taking part in the raids of other nations, dwelling somewhere in the north country, or in the regions between Syria on the one hand and the Black Sea and Caucasus on the other, and powerful in these parts toward the close of the seventh century before our era. Now these requirements are all met by a race which the Assyrians called Gimiri, or Kimiri, and the Greeks Kimmerii, who warred in north-west Asia from about B.C. 670 to 570, and who, according to Strabo, occasionally ravaged Asia Minor in conjunction with a Thracian people called Treres. The Kimmerii dwelt originally in the broad plains of Southern Russia, the tract known as the Ukraine, but being dispossessed by the Scythians, they fled (or a portion of them fled) across the Caucasus into Armenia and Asia Minor. They there ravaged and plundered far and wide for about a century, warring with Gyges and Ardys, the Lydian kings, burning the temple of Diana at Ephesus, overrunning Phrygia, and even penetrating into the remote and mountainous Cilicia, through the passes of Taurus. They have been probably identified with the Cimbri of Roman times, a portion of the great Celtic race, some of whose tribes were found in Britain when the Romans conquered it, and came to be called by them Cambri, and their country Cambria. The descendants of these Cambri still hold a portion of our country, and know themselves by their old name of Cymry, utterly ignoring the name, which we English give them, of "Welsh." Others of the same stock maintained themselves for some centuries in the north, and gave to the mountainous district that harbored them the appellation, which it still retains, of *Cumberland.* We may say therefore that Gomer probably represents the Celtic race under one of their best known and most widely extended names, and that the author of Genesis meant to include among the descendants of Japheth the great and powerful nation of the Celts.

Magog.—Of Magog, or Gog (for the names seem to designate the same people), nothing can be concluded from the word itself. There is no recognized ethnic appellative with any pretension to importance that bears any near resemblance to either of the two terms. It appears, however, from Ezekiel (38 and 39), that the race which these terms, as used by the Jews, designated, was one of remarkable power toward the close of the seventh century B.C. —that it led the expeditions in which Gomer participated, and pushed them as far as Palestine—that it dwelt, like Gomer, in the "north country"—that its weapon was the bow (Ezek. 39 : 3)—and that its warriors were all horsemen (Ezek. 38 : 15). These notes of character *probably* identify the people intended with the European Scythians, who were the dominant race in the tract between the Caucasus and Mesopotamia for the space of nearly thirty years, from about B.C. 630 to B.C. 600; who invaded Palestine and besieged Ascalon in the reign of the Egyptian king, Psammetichus, who fought almost wholly on horseback, and were famous for their skill with the bow. *Probably,* therefore, the author of Genesis meant to include the Scyths of Europe, the conquerors of the Kimmerians, among the races whose descent he traced to the youngest of the sons of Noah.

Madai.—With respect to the third name, Madai, there is no room for doubt. Except in this, and the corresponding passages of Chronicles (1 Chron. 1 : 5), the term, Madai, uniformly means—and is indeed translated uniformly, in the authorized and all other versions—"the Medes." The Medes called themselves—or, at any rate, the Persians, their near kindred, called them—"*Madâ,*" of which *Madai* is the natural Hebrew representative. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt, that, in placing "Madai" among the descendants of Japheth, the author of Genesis 10 intended to notify that from that patriarch sprang the great and powerful nation of the Medes.

Javan.—Here again the word itself is a sufficient index to the writer's meaning. Javan is the nearest possible expression in Hebrew of the Greek term which we render by "Ionians," the original form of which in Greek was *Iafon-es.* Why and how is uncertain; but the fact is indisputable, that the Orientals used this term, universally, as the generic name for the Greek race. The Assyrians called the Greeks of Cyprus the *Yavnan;* the Persians called those of Asia Minor and the Ægean islands, the *Yuna.* The terms "Greek," "Hellene," "Achæan," "Dorian," were unknown in Asia, or at any rate unused by the Asiatics generally, being superseded by the name "Ionian," with which alone they were familiar.

Tubal and Meshech, constantly coupled together in Scripture (Ezek. 27 : 13; 32 : 26; 38 : 2, 3; 39 : 1), seem to represent the two kindred races of the Tibareni and the Moschi, who dwelt in close proximity to each other on the northern coast of Asia Minor, in the days of Herodotus and Xenophon, and who at an earlier period were among the most powerful of the races inhabiting the interior. The Assyrian monarchs were for several centuries—from about B.C. 1100 to 700—engaged in frequent wars with the *Muskai* and *Tuplai,* who then held the more eastern portion of the Taurus range, and the tract beyond it, known later as Cappadocia. Here was the great Moschian capital, which even the Romans knew as Cæsarea *Mazaca.* The author of the Noachide genealogy, in all probability, intends to state that the two powerful races of the Moschi and the Tibareni were, like the Kimmerians, the Scyths of Europe, the Medes, and the Greeks, of Japhetic origin.

Tiras.—This is the most obscure of all the names in the Japhetic list, since no other passage of Scripture throws the least light upon it. Jewish tradition, however, asserts that the Thracians are the people intended. Etymologically, this is not perhaps altogether satisfactory, since the third root consonant of Thrace and Thracian is not *s* but *k.* Geographically, however, the identification is suitable enough; and it may therefore be accepted, at any rate, till some more plausible explanation is offered. Thracian tribes occupied the greater portion of northern and central Asia Minor from a remote antiquity. The Thynians and Bithynians were always admitted to be Thracians. So were the Mariandynians, according to Strabo, and according to others, the Paphlagonians. A strong Thracian character belonged to the Phrygians and Mysians, whose very names were, moreover, mere variants of those borne by purely Thracian tribes, viz., the Briges and Mæsi. Thus the more ancient Hebrews might well include under the name of Thracians the chief tribes of Asia Minor, the tribes which immediately adjoined upon the Moschi toward the west, just as Tiras immediately follows on Meshech in the genealogy. And the author of Genesis 10 may be understood to include among the descendants of Japheth the whole vast nation of the Thracians, which extended from the Halys, in Asia Minor, to the Drave and Save in Europe.

Such are the conclusions to which the critical student naturally comes, when he examines the list of names in Gen. 10 : 2, in the light thrown on them by other passages of Scripture, by the context, and by a comparison of the words used with known ancient ethnic titles. In brief, the statement of the verse is, that a special connection of races united together the following peoples—the Cymry or Celts, the Scyths of Europe, the Medes or Aryans, the Greeks, the Thracians, and the comparatively insignificant tribes of the Moschi and Tibareni—that, in fact, these several races belonged to one stock, had one blood, were but the different branches of a single family.

Now, here is a statement which may at any rate be compared with the results of modern ethnographical research. It is the object of ethnography, or ethnology, whichever we like to call it, to trace out, as far as the facts of history, of physiology, and of language permit, the interconnection of nations. Nations which are really one family should have a family likeness; tribes which grew up together must have once had a common language. If the Celts, the European Scyths, the Medes, or Aryans, the Greeks, and Romans (for these two cannot be separated), and the Thracians had a common descent, the fact should appear in a resemblance between their languages, and in a certain unity of physical type.

What, then, has ethnographical science, following a strictly inductive method and wholly freed from all shackles of authority, concluded on the matter before us? A single passage from the greatest of modern ethnologists will suffice to show.

"There was a time," says Professor Max Müller, "when the ancestors of the Celts, the Germans, the Slaves, the Greeks and Italians, the Persians and Hindoos, were living together beneath the same roof, separate from the Semitic and Turanian races." And again, "There is not an English jury nowadays, which, after examining the hoary documents of language, would reject the claim of a common descent and a legitimate relationship between Hindoo, Greek, and Teuton." Ethnological science, we see, regards it as morally certain, as proved beyond all reasonable doubt, that the chief races of modern Europe, the Celts, the Germans, the Græco-Italians, and the Slaves, had a common origin with the principal race of Western Asia, the Indo-Persian.

Now, this result of advanced modern inductive science, a result which it is one of the proudest boasts of the nineteenth century to have arrived at, is almost exactly that which Moses, writing fifteen hundred years before the Christian era, laid down dogmatically as simple historical fact. For his "Gomer," as already shown, represents certainly the race of the Celts, his "Javan" stands, beyond a doubt, for the Græco-Italians, and his "Madai" (Medes), for the Aryans or Indo-Persians, while his "Magog" may well stand for the Slaves, and his "Tiras" for the Teutons, or Germans. But these two last points require, perhaps, a few words of proof.

That the European Scyths, who overran Western Asia in the seventh century B.C., were a branch of the Indo-Germanic family, has been abundantly proved by Grimm in his "History of the German Language," published in 1848. Their kinship with the modern Slaves is implied in the statement of Herodotus (iv. 110-117), that they were closely allied in race to the Sauromatæ or Sarmatians, whose identity with the Slaves is maintained by Niebuhr and Böckh. This statement has, indeed, been called in question; and it must certainly be admitted that the remains of the ancient Scythic language which have come down to us, though Indo-European, are not specially Slavonic. But, nevertheless, the statement of Herodotus remains—the authority of the writer is great—and the fact stated has never been disproved. At any rate, if the "Magog" of Moses does not exactly represent the nation of the Slaves, it probably includes them, for the Sarmatians, through whose country the route of the Scythians lay, no doubt joined in their invasion, and the so-called Scythic hordes which held Western Asia for thirty years, are almost sure to have been, at any rate in part, Slavonic.

That the Thracians were Teutons is not, perhaps, susceptible of proof; but it is the belief of many of the best ethnologists, and many arguments may be adduced in favor of it. The Thracian tribe of the Getæ seems to have grown into the great nation of the Goths, while the Daci (or Dacini) seem to have been the ancestors of the Danes. The few Thracian words which have come down to us are decidedly Teutonic, such as *bria*, "town" (comp. Germ. *burg*, Engl. *borough*); *brig*, "free" (comp. Gothic *freis*, Germ. *frei*). There is also a resemblance between the Thracian customs, as described by Herodotus (v. 4-8), and those which Tacitus assigns to the Germans.

To return—and at the same time, to conclude the present chapter—whereas modern ethnological science, basing itself on the facts of language, lays it down as a grand discovery that one of the great families into which the human race is divided comprises the five divisions of 1. Indo-Persians or Aryans; 2. Celts; 3. Teutons; 4. Græco-Italians; and 5. Slaves—Moses, anticipating this discovery by a space of above three thousand years, gives as members of one family—1. Madai, the Medes or Aryans; 2. Gomer, the Cymry or Celts; 3. Tiras, the Thracians (Teutons); 4. Javan, the Ionians (Greeks); and 5. Magog, the Scythians and Sarmatians (Slaves). The only difference between the two schemes is that Moses adds further a sixth race, Tubal, the Tibareni; and a seventh, Meshech, the Moschi—races which rapidly declined in power between B.C. 1100 and 400, and which perished without leaving either a literature or descendants, whence modern ethnological science takes no notice of them.

CHAPTER II.

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE JAPHETIC RACES, GOMER AND JAVAN.

THE grand outlines of the Mosaic ethnology are not hard to read; but in the details there is, not unfrequently, very considerable obscurity. The names here belong often to the class of those which occur in no other independent passage of Scripture; and in some instances the real original form of the name is doubtful. But, though these circumstances render interpretation difficult, and in some degree uncertain, they do not altogether preclude it. As the wanderer who passes through an unknown tract of country when the evening twilight is settling down upon it, while he sees but dimly, still sees to some extent, and acquires a certain amount of knowledge regarding the district which he traverses, so the student of these darker passages of the Sacred Text may gather something of their meaning from careful examination of them, albeit he is fain to acknowledge that in many respects he may have failed to grasp their true sense, and that even where he may have seized it, he has done so by conjecture rather than by any process that admits of being clearly traced out and stated.

With these preliminary remarks, we proceed to examine the second step in the Mosaic account of the affiliation of nations. "And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togarmah. And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim" (Gen. 10:3, 4).

ASHKENAZ.—The Ashkenaz must in the time of Jeremiah have been located in the Armenian highland, or at any rate in its immediate vicinity, since they are joined by him with Minni and Ararat (51:27). The were to accompany Cyrus to the siege of Babylon, which took pace in B.C. 538. As neither Scripture nor profane history makes any other mention of any such people in these parts, I should incline to suppose them to be an obscure Cymric tribe, which, like Tubal and Meshech, decayed and came to nothing soon after the time of Jeremiah. It is possible, though far from certain, that we have traces of their name in the lakes, and river, *Ascanius* in Asia Minor, and also in *Scandia* and *Scandinavia;* but if so, we must regard those names as given by an early population which had disappeared before our first historical knowledge of the tracts in question.

Riphath.—This name is doubtful, for the reading of the Hebrew text in the parallel passage of Chronicles (1 Chr. 1 : 6) is Diphath, and neither name occurs in any other passage of Scripture. The Hebrew *r* and *d* are so similar in shape that they were constantly confused by the copyists ; and, where one has replaced the other in a proper name, it is seldom possible to decide which was the original form of the word. Here, indeed, as the Septuagint translators read "Riphath" in both passages, we may perhaps assume that as most probably the true form. Of the Riphath, however, as a people, we know nothing ; and we must be content to allow that the Mosaic record is here again—as in the preceding case—incapable of comparison with the results of modern ethnology, since we do not know what race is intended.

Togarmah.—The people thus designated are mentioned twice by Ezekiel (27 : 14, and 38 : 6) ; in the former passage as trading in the fairs of Tyre with horses and mules, in the latter as about to come with Gomer out of the north quarter against Palestine. Neither passage does much toward fixing a locality, but both agree with the hypothesis, which has the support alike of etymology and of national tradition, that the people intended are the ancient inhabitants of Armenia. Grimm's view that Togarmah is composed of two elements, *toka,* which in Sanskrit is "tribe," or "race," and *Armah* (Armenia), may well be accepted ; and the Armenian tradition which derived the Haïkian race from Thorgau, as it can scarcely be a coincidence, must be regarded as having considerable value. Now, the existing Armenians, the legitimate descendants of those who occupied the country in the time of Ezekiel, speak a language which modern ethnologists pronounce to be decidedly Indo-European ; and thus, so far, the modern science confirms the scriptural account. It has not, however, as yet been shown that there is any special connection between Armenian and Celtic, which is what the mention of Togarmah among the sons of Gomer would lead us to expect. Perhaps further study of the Armenian language, especially in the more ancient of its extant forms, as in the "history" of Moses of Chorênê, may reveal such a connection. Perhaps the connection may have existed without its being possible now to prove it. So many races from very ancient times found a refuge in the Armenian fastnesses that we can well understand the original ethnic character of the true Armenians having been submerged and lost before the rise of a literature, or at any rate of that literature which has come down to us.

Elishah.—Some have recognized in this name the Greek word Hellas, which, from about the date of the Persian war, was used to express the aggregate of the Greek race. But it is better, with Josephus, to explain the term as equivalent to Αἰολεῖς, Æolians. The Æolians were one of the principal Grecian tribes : and though not Ionians according to Greek ideas, were yet closely akin to them, and are properly enumerated among the "sons" of Javan, when that term is used, as it is throughout the Old Testament, for the Greek people *generally.* The passage of Ezekiel, in which alone the word recurs, confirms the notion that the Æolians are intended (Ezek. 27 : 7). It speaks of them as inhabiting the "islands" or maritime districts, which the tribe especially affected, and as supplying the Tyrians with the famous purple dye (*murex*), which was abundant on many of the coasts where the Æolians were settled.

Tarshish.—Tarshish here can scarcely designate the remote Tartessus, which was probably not founded till after Moses's time, and with which the Jews seem first to have become acquainted in the reign of Solomon. It represents more probably Tarsus in Cilicia, which, though said by some to have been founded by Sennacherib, is not unlikely to have been an old settlement in which that monarch placed a body of new colonists. Tarsus was close to Kittim (Cyprus), with which this passage immediately connects it. We are, indeed, nowhere told that it was peopled by Greeks till after the time of Alexander ; but there is reason to believe that there were Hellenes settled on the Cilician coast from a very remote date, as there certainly were in Cyprus. According to Abydenus, Sennacherib's colonization of Cilicia was resisted by certain Greeks, who engaged his fleet unsuccessfully, which they would scarcely have done unless they had considered Cilicia to belong, at least in part, to them. We may therefore regard Tarshish here as representing the people of Cilicia, or rather the Greek element in the population of that country, which may perhaps have been considerable.

Kittim.—There can be little doubt that Kittim, or Chittim (as it is sometimes spelt in our version), was understood by the Hebrews to designate in an especial way the people dwelling in Cyprus. The ancient capital of that island was called by the Greeks "Kition," and its inhabitants were known as "Kitieis," or "Kittiæans.' In course of time, the word no doubt came to have a larger sense, being extended from Cyprus to the other islands of the Ægean, and from them to the mainland of Greece, and even to Italy. But at the early date to which this genealogy belongs the word "Kittim" must almost certainly have been used in its primitive acceptation of "the Cypriots." Now it is generally stated by historians and ethnologists that the original population of Cyprus was Phœnician, and that the Greek element which holds a position of pre-eminence in the island during the historical times was imported into it at a comparatively late date, consisting of emigrants from European Hellas. But all this is very uncertain. When Cyprus first comes before us in history, it is *predominantly* a Greek island. The Assyrians knew it, about B.C. 710, as "the land of the *Yavnan* or *Yunan*," *i.e.*, of the Ionians or Greeks. There is no trustworthy evidence of the time at which the Greek part of the population first settled in the island, nor any satisfactory proof that they were immigrants from Europe. They may have been, at least in part, primitive settlers. The Greeks of Europe, who regarded themselves as the product of their own soil (*αὐτόχθονες*, *γηγενεῖς*), and supposed that all other Greeks elsewhere must of necessity have sprung from them, dated the foundation of Greek colonies in Cyprus from the time of the Trojan war, or about B.C. 1250, according to the earlier chronologists. We may conclude from this that all which the European Greeks really knew was that there had been persons of their race and name in Cyprus from the earliest times whereof they had anything like actual knowledge. There were no real relations of mother-country and colony between any Cyprian town and any state of European Greece. If the stream of migration originally flowed into Greece Proper from Asia, it would be likely that some portions of the race would be left behind on the road. Of these primitive Asiatic Greeks, who were not colonists, and had not come from Europe, there are traces in various places, as in Magnesia under Sipylus, which was Greek, but anterior to the Ionian colonization, and in the town of the same name on the Mæander. May not the Greeks of Cyprus have been another such body of laggards—a waif and stray from the main migration which pressed on from Asia into Europe?

Dodanim or Rodanim.—Here again the manuscripts vary. While the bulk of them have Dodanim in Genesis, almost all have Rodanim in the corresponding passage of Chronicles (1 Chr. 1 : 7). The Septuagint translators, however, in *both* places give *Rhodii*, and the Samaritan version, the next in antiquity to the Greek, agrees with it. Rodanim, therefore, may be assumed to be the true reading; more especially, as it was an unfamiliar word, about which a copyist might doubt, whereas Dodanim, a mere plural form of the well-known Dedan, would have in it nothing strange or provocative of doubt. But if this view is accepted, and the word is read as Rodanim, there can scarcely be a question that the Septuagint translators have given us the true clew to the meaning. By "*Rhodii*" they certainly meant the "Rhodians," or inhabitants of Rhodes, the other great littoral island of Western Asia, which would naturally occur to the thoughts of a writer who had just spoken of Cyprus. Now there is abundant evidence that the inhabitants of Rhodes were Greeks from an exceedingly early time. The very name of the island—the only name which it can be proved to have ever historically borne—is a word of Greek etymology which none but a Greek race would have given it. It is formed from the word *rhodon*, "a rose," and Rhodes is "the Isle of Roses." Hence this flower was stamped upon the coins. Homer represents Rhodes as Greek before the time of the Trojan war; and indeed we have no indication of any other race than the Greek having ever had a hold upon the island. Rhodes too was in early times a colonizing, and so a famous power—one, therefore, of which some knowledge might naturally have reached the writer of the Pentateuch.

What, then, has been the object of the writer in the two verses which we are considering? He has selected two out of the seven races, which he had previously declared to have descended from Japheth, and he has subdivided them; or rather, he has particularized certain nations, known to himself and to those for whom he immediately wrote, as belonging to the races in question. Why he has taken two only of the races, and omitted the other five, we cannot say. Perhaps he was not acquainted with the ramifications of the others; or perhaps he regarded them as sufficiently well known to his readers. It is seldom possible to give a perfectly satisfactory account of a writer's omissions; more especially an ancient writer's; so many motives cause them, and so difficult is it for any one at the present day to throw himself back into the exact position and attitude of one who wrote in primitive times.

Leaving aside, therefore, the question of what the writer has not told us, let us consider what it is which he has designed to teach in these two verses. First, then, *he has indicated the principle of ethnic subdivision.* He has noticed the fact that races, as they increase, subdivide; and thus, that, as mankind spread over the earth, there was a constant breaking up into a larger, and still a larger, number of nations. These nations were distinct, not merely politically, but linguistically, and so ethnically; for "by these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, *every one after his tongue*" (verse 5). The author has thus prepared us for the fact of great multiplicity in language, a fact with which each year's experience makes us more and more largely acquainted; and at the same time he has prepared us for the far more curious and far less obvious fact of the resemblance and connection between what appear at first sight to be completely distinct tongues. The science of ethnology has found it necessary to speak of "mother," "sister," and "daughter" dialects. Genesis 10 tells us of "mother," "sister," and "daughter" races. The harmony is evident. Indeed it may be confidently stated that the gradual division of parent races into diverse tribes, and the further subdivision of these tribes into distinct ethnic units, is the only theory of ethnology, which at once harmonizes with, *and accounts for*, the facts of language, as comparative philology reveals them to us. And this theory is that of Genesis 10.

Further, the writer here informs us that there were within his knowledge three nations of Cymric and four of Greek origin. The Cymric races he plants in the highlands of Armenia, in the vicinity, at any rate, of the tract which was the great early home of the Cymric race in the times known to us through profane history. The Greek races he places in Cyprus, in Cilicia, in Rhodes, and in the adjacent coasts and islands, all which are either known to have been, or may reasonably be suspected to have been, at a very early date, peopled by Greeks. In neither case does he assert, nor are we to suppose, that the division which he makes is scientific or exhaustive. The author nowhere professes to give a division which is to particularize all the nations living upon the earth in his day. He singles out under each head certain races which were known to him and to his readers. These are, naturally enough, those of countries not far removed from Egypt and Palestine. The geographic limits of the Japhetic stem, as exhibited to us in verses 2–5, do not go beyond the Peloponnese toward the west, the coast of the Black Sea toward the north, and the Caspian toward the east. We may well imagine that geographic knowledge did not extend further in Moses's time. Within the limits which we have indicated, all the chief Japhetic races seem to be mentioned. The Æoles in the Peloponnese and the adjacent regions, the Thracians north and east of these, in Europe and in Asia Minor, the Cymry on the northern shores of the Euxine, the Scythians in the tract between the Euxine and the Caspian, the Moschi and Tibareni in Cappadocia and Colchis, Cymric tribes in Armenia, the Medes in Azerbijan and Northern Persia, Rhodian Greeks in Rhodes, Cypriot Greeks in Cyprus, and Cilician Greeks in Cilicia, fairly cover the ground, and show no remarkable omission. The general teaching is, that the nations to the north and west of Mesopotamia and Syria were Japhetic, and that within the limits known to the writer they comprised seven principal races. Modern ethnological science in no way conflicts with either of these statements. On the contrary, so far as it is able to pronounce an opinion, it indorses the statements made, finding the facts of the case, so far as it is able to get hold of them, always consistent with and sometimes very strikingly illustrative of the Mosaic narrative.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHIEF HAMITIC RACES.

"And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan" (Gen. 10:6). It is thus that the ancient genealogist, after enumerating the chief races descended from Japheth, proceeds with his ethnological table. From Ham, the second of the sons of Noah, were descended, according to him, four main races, which he designates respectively as "Cush," "Mizraim," "Phut," and "Canaan." Let us see if we can identify, either certainly or probably, the races intended.

Cush.—The word "Cush" is, in the authorized version, for the most part translated by "Ethiopia." In this rendering our translators followed the old Latin version known as "the Vulgate," which here accords with the Septuagint. Now, Ethiopia, which is a Greek word, adopted by the Romans, designates (according to Greek and Roman notions) *especially* the country lying immediately to the south of Egypt, the modern Abyssinia; and the Ethiopians are, *especially*, the people of this country, the progenitors of most of the modern Abyssinians. And, undoubtedly, this tract and people were included under the term "Cush" by the Hebrews, as is evident from Ezek. 29:10 (compare 2 Chron. 14:9; 16:8; 2 Kings 19:9; Isa. 20:3-5; Dan. 11:43; and Nahum 3:9). But there are passages which show that the Hebrew application of the term, both geographically and ethnically, was considerably wider than this. The paradisiacal "Cush," which was watered by the river Gihon (Gen. 2:13), must have been in Asia, not in Africa. An Asiatic "Cush" is often indicated in Scripture, as where Ezekiel joins Cush with Persia (Ezek. 37:5), and where Isaiah couples it with Elam (11:11). This Asiatic Cush, apparently, embraces parts of Arabia (Gen. 10:7; Isa. 43.3; 45:14); of Mesopotamia (Gen. 10:8–10), and of the region still further to the eastward (Ezek. 38:5; Isa. 11:11). The writer of the genealogy, therefore, probably intends to state that the primitive inhabitants of these various tracts, the Ethiopians proper above Egypt, a portion of the Arabians, the primitive Babylonians, and their neighbors to the eastward, the Cissians, were among the descendants of Noah's second son, the patriarch Ham.

MIZRAIM.—It has been already observed in an earlier chapter (see page 36), that this word is a dual in form, and that it is the word which occurs in the original (with scarcely an exception) wherever we in our version have "Egypt." It has been conjectured that the true original reading in this place was "Mizrim"—"the Egyptians"—which is possible, though uncertain, and not of much importance. What is clear, is, that the writer intended to state that the Egyptians, of whom he was about to tell us so much in his histories of Abraham, Joseph, and Moses, were, like the Cushites or Ethiopians, descendants of Ham, sprung from the same source with the inhabitants of the Upper Nile valley, with whom they were in their after history so intimately connected. It is quite clear that this descent of the Egyptians from Ham was generally believed by the Jews, who called Egypt "the land of Ham" (Psa. 105 : 23, 27 ; comp. 78 : 51), in distinct allusions to the patriarch. Whether the Egyptians themselves were aware of the descent is doubtful. They called their country *Khem*, or *Khemi*, which closely resembles "Ham ;" but perhaps the resemblance of the two names is accidental, Egypt being called *Khem*, "black," simply to mark the color of its soil.

PHUT.—This term is somewhat obscure. The only passages of Scripture which throw any further light upon it are, Jer. 46 : 9 ; Ezek. 27 : 10 ; 30 : 5 ; and 38 : 5 ; Nahum 3 : 9 ; and, perhaps, Isa. 66 : 9. In most of these places Phut is joined with tribes which are distinctly African ; but in two of them (Ezek. 27 : 10, and 38 : 5), the accompanying nations seem to be Asiatic. The explanation of this may possibly be, that, as there were two Cushes, so there were two Phuts, one Asiatic and the other African—the African Phut being the original nation, while the Asiatic was an offshoot thrown out from it. But it is also possible that, in the two cases where Phut occurs in an Asiatic connection, the connection may be no sure sign of geographical proximity. In Ezek. 27 : 10, all that is said is, that Tyre hired her mercenary troops from Persia, Lud, and Phut ; and in Ezek. 38, where Persia, Cush, and Phut are said to have served in the army of Gog, mercenaries may again be intended. Thus it is doubtful whether there is really any Asiatic Phut in Scripture ; and our attention may be confined to the question of what nation is intended by the African Phut. Now here we may note, in the first place, that the nation appears to be one dwelling in immediate proximity to Egypt and Ethiopia, to one or other of which it is closely attached in every passage ; and, secondly, that it is one of these who serve in the Egyptian armies (Jer. 46 : 9 ; Nahum 3 : 9) with shield and bow. If we now inquire from our Egyptian sources of information, what nation answers to this description, we find a people called by the Egyptians PET, whose emblem was the unstrung bow, and who dwelt between Egypt and Ethiopia proper, in the region now called Nubia. Over this tract the Egyptian kings claimed dominion, and its people would no doubt serve in their armies. Their special weapon was, as we may conclude from their emblem, the bow ; and there is thus little doubt that they are the people called "Phut" (or "Put," Nahum 3 : 9), by the Hebrews.

CANAAN.—There is no doubt at all with respect to the people which this term represents. They were the ancient inhabitants of Palestine and Lower Syria, the people who possessed the entire tract between the Mediterranean and the desert, from Hamath in the north to Gaza in the south, before Abraham with his Syrian colony entered the country. The land of Canaan, mentioned in the early Egyptian inscriptions no less than in Scripture, derived its name from them. They yielded gradually to the encroachments of the Hebrews upon the south, and to those of the Assyrians and other Semitic nations to the north, and finally died out and disappeared, much as the Celtic population disappeared from our own country. During their most flourishing period they comprised six principal tribes—the Hittites, Hivites, Amorites, Jebusites, Perizzites, and Girgashites—besides many smaller ramifications.

Thus the four main races which, according to the sacred genealogist, derived their origin from the patriarch Ham, may be identified, either certainly or very probably, with the Ethiopians (Asiatic and African), the Egyptians, the *Pet*, or ancient Nubians, and the people of Canaan. As he had assigned to the descendants of Japheth a particular geographical quarter and direction—the northern and the north-western portions of the world, as it was known to him—so he now assigns to the progeny of Ham a continuous region or tract, which lies wholly toward the south. Canaan, Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia—taken in its widest use—are in a certain sense conterminous, and form the southern boundary of the world as known to the Hebrews. They stretch from the Mediterranean on the west to the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean toward the east, comprising not merely Palestine and the Nile valley, but Southern Arabia, Babylonia, and Kissia.

If it be asked now, what view does modern ethnology take of the relation borne to each other by the races to which the sacred genealogist thus assigns a common origin, the answer must be that, in this case, modern ethnology speaks with stammering lips ambiguously and hesitatingly. "Philologers are not agreed as to an Hamitic class of languages." So little is known, in fact, of any of these languages but the Egyptian that the question has scarcely presented itself as yet to philologists generally as a problem to be solved, Was there in the ancient world an Hamitic, as there was certainly a Semitic and a Japhetic group of languages? Still, there are some inquirers who have turned their attention to this particular point; and the result of their investigations appears to be, on the whole, confirmatory of the Mosaic statement which we are here considering.

The language of the ancient Egyptians is tolerably well known to us from the remains of it existing on the monuments and in papyri, which it has been found possible to interpret by the help of the modern Coptic, and of the clew furnished by the Rosetta stone. Although in some respects it presents resemblances to the class of tongues known as Semitic, yet, in its main characteristics, it stands separate and apart, being simpler and ruder than any known form of Semite speech, and having analogies which connect it it on the one hand with Chinese, and on the other with the dialects of Central Africa. It is not a typical specimen of an Hamitic tongue, since it presents the appearance of a language in which a native groundwork has been largely overlaid by a foreign accretion. But in its non-Semitic element it furnishes a clew to the character of the ancient Hamitic tongue, and helps us to pronounce on the Hamitic or non-Hamitic character of other more imperfectly known forms of speech.

The language of the ancient Ethiopians proper—those who dwelt on the Blue Nile, in the tract south and south-east of Egypt—has perished entirely. The nation had in the early times no literature; and we should have possessed no clew to their tongue, were it not that we are able to examine the dialects of their descendants, who have continued ever since to occupy the same country, and have never wholly changed their speech. The Abyssinian tribes of the Agau, Galla, Gonga, and others, appear to be the legitimate descendants of the old Ethiopic population; and their languages, which are decidedly non-Semitic, present numerous analogies to the non-Semitic portion of the ancient Egyptian.

According to the notion which has found general favor with ethnologists, the language of the Canaanites was Semitic. This is assumed mainly from a supposed identity of the Canaanites with the Phœnicians, who were certainly of the Semitic family. But recently a good deal of evidence has been brought forward to show that the Phœnicians and the Canaanites were really just as distinct as the English and the Britons or the French (Franks) and the Gauls, the real connection being simply that the one people succeeded the other in the same country. The Canaanites were the original inhabitants of Palestine and Lower Syria; and among their towns were Sidon, Arca, Arvad, and Zemara, or Simyra, all of which afterward became Phœnician. The Phœnicians were, according to the most ancient accounts, immigrants into Syria from the shores of the Persian Gulf, at a date to which their national traditions extended. It would seem that they expelled the Canaanites from the coast tract, and took possession of their towns, the names of which they retained, while they built also a number of new cities. Their ethnic character was very different from that of the Canaanites. The latter were "fierce and intractable warriors, rejoicing in their prancing steeds and chariots of iron, neither given to commerce, nor to any of the arts of peace." The former were "quiet and peaceable, a nation of traffickers, skilful in navigation and in the arts both useful and ornamental, unwarlike except at sea, and wholly devoted to commerce and manufactures." Again, "Whereas, between the Canaanites and the Jews there was deadly and perpetual hostility, until the accursed race was utterly rooted out and destroyed, the Jews and Phœnicians were on terms of almost perpetual amity—an amity encouraged by the best princes," who would scarcely have contracted alliance with a people under the wrath of God.

But if this presumed identity be set aside, there is nothing that can be urged in favor of the Semitic character of the Canaanites, excepting the derivations of a certain number of (presumed) Canaanite names. Melchizedek, Hamor, Sisera, Salem, Ephrath, and many others of the most ancient names of persons and places in Palestine have plausible Hebrew derivations, which are thought to show that the language of the country, in the time anterior to the Phœnician occupation, was already of the Semitic type. But it should be remembered that these names came to us *solely through the Hebrews;* and that all nations—the Orientals especially—are apt to deflect foreign names from their native form, and to put them into a shape which assimilates them to their own speech. If the name of Alexander had come to us only through the Oriental form of Iskander, or Scander, we might have thought that the nation to which he belonged was Semitic, or Turanian; we should certainly never have suspected it to be Greek. So with such words as Bokht-inazar for Nebuchadnezzar, Stamboul for Constantinople, Roum for Roma, Eregli for Heracleia, Negropont for Euripus—we could not possibly have deduced aright the ethnic character of the people by whom the names were originally given, from the travesties that have superseded them in the mouths of Turks or modern Greeks.

It would seem, therefore, that, in point of fact, we know nothing of the language spoken by the ancient Canaanites. It is unsafe to conclude anything from names which come to us only through the mouth of a foreign people ; and no other remnants of the ancient Canaanite speech remain to us. Here, then, we must be content once more to confess our ignorance, and to lay down simply the negative conclusion—that there is nothing known of the ancient Canaanites that renders it impossible, or even unlikely, that they spoke a tongue akin to that of their neighbors upon the south—the Egyptians.

If little is known of the language of the Canaanites, still less can be laid down as to that of the Phut, or ancient people of Nubia. We can only say that, from the position of this people between Ethiopia and Egypt, it is probable that they spoke a tongue not very different from the languages of those nations. So far as we have any means of judging, the ancient races of north-eastern Africa were all connected together. Varieties of one ethnic family seem to have peopled the whole Nile valley. Physically, the various races most certainly resembled one another ; witness the representations on the Egyptian monuments, and the mummies found along the whole middle course of the river. It is not likely that in language they were very different.

But in this case, as in the preceding one, modern ethnology is simply silent. The data for forming a judgment are wanting ; and where this is the case, the disciple of Bacon holds his tongue. Inquiry has shown that the Egyptians and Ethiopians (Mizraim and Cush) were, as represented in the Mosaic genealogy, most certainly akin to each other. Inquiry has not yet shown anything positive with respect to the ancient Nubians (Phut), or the people of Canaan. An unproved theory with respect to the Canaanites, which it would have been difficult to reconcile with the Mosaic statements, has recently been examined with care, and shown to be groundless. And thus the case rests, so far as Gen. 10 : 6 is concerned.

CHAPTER IV.

SUBDIVISIONS OF CUSH.

“And the sons of Cush ; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah : and the sons of Raamah ; Shebah, and Dedan” (Gen. 10 : 7). In this verse and in the next we have the descendants of Cush pointed out to us ; or, in other words, we are told which were the principal races that derived their origin from the primitive Ethiopians. It would seem from the list that the Ethiopians, having settled themselves in the country south and south-east of Egypt, between the main stream of the Nile and the sea-coast, proceeded at a very early date to send out colonies, which assumed new names, from leaders, or otherwise, on quitting their original home, and carried them to the new localities wherein they took up their abodes. We must endeavor in the present chapter to follow the line of this migration, and to identify the various races named, as a preliminary to the inquiry, What was the ethnic character of these nations ? does, or does not, modern research give reason to believe that it was in early times Ethiopian or Cushite ?

Seba.—This name, which must not be confounded with Sheba, seems to have been applied in ancient times to a particular portion of the East African country, which bore the general designation of Cush or Ethiopia. Josephus says that Saba was the ancient name of the famous Ethiopian city of Meroë and of the district about it. One of the main rivers of the region was the Asta-*sobas*. In Scripture we find Seba, and the Sabæans ; or more properly the Sebæans usually connected with Ethiopia Proper and with Egypt. The Sebæans themselves are said, in one passage, to have been “ men of stature ;” and Herodotus remarks that the Ethiopians of his day had the character of being the tallest and handsomest nation in the world. Altogether, it seems best to regard the Seba of Gen. 10 as denoting a special division of the Ethiopian people, probably the ruling race, which dwelt about Meroë (Saba), the capital, and was physically superior to the rest of the nation.

Havilah.—Apart from 1 Chron. 1 : 9, which is a mere transcript of Gen. 10 : 7, there are three, and three only, passages of Scripture where this word is found. These passages are Gen. 2 : 11, in the description of Eden ; Gen. 25 : 18, in the account given of the country of the Ishmaelites ; and 1 Sam. 15 : 7, where Saul's slaughter of the Amalekites is spoken of. A careful examination of the context in each of these places has led to the conclusion that in none of them is the Havilah intended which is here mentioned. We are thus reduced to obtain our explanation of the term from two considerations only—namely, that of the name itself, and of its position in the present list. These considerations have induced the learned generally to identify the people in question with the inhabitants of the Arabian tract known as Khawlán, in the north-western portion of the Yemen.

Sabtah.—No other passage of Scripture throws any light on this name ; but, if Havilah is rightly identified with Khawlán, we may connect Sabtah with the Sabbatha or Sabota of Pliny and Ptolemy, which was on the south coast of Arabia, and was the capital of the Atramitæ, or people of Hadramaut. By this identification Sabtah forms a connecting link between Havilah on the one hand, and Raamah—which will be next discussed—on the other.

Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan.—The Cushite race called here Raamah was overlaid and eclipsed by its descendants, the most celebrated of the South Arabian tribes, Sheba and Dedan. Sheba must undoubtedly be connected with the great race of the Sabæans, which as early as Solomon was the chief in Arabia (1 Kings 10 : 10 ; Psa. 72 : 10), and which is greatly celebrated by the classical writers. The race was apparently a mixed one, being only in part descended from Ham, while in part—in great part, probably—it was composed of Semites (Gen. 10 : 28). Dedan is to be sought eastward of Sheba, on the shores of the Persian Gulf, where the name seems still to linger in the island of *Dadân*, on the border of the gulf. The Dedanians are mentioned by Isaiah as sending out " travelling companies," which lodged in the wilds of Arabia (21 : 13) ; and Ezekiel enumerates them among the merchants who supplied Tyre with precious things (27 : 20). In this last quoted passage the people of Dedan are conjoined with Sheba and Raamah (verse 22), and also with those of Assyria and Chilmad in Babylonia (verse 23) ; so that the location of the Cushite Dedan, in the immediate neighborhood of Chaldea and the Gulf, would seem to be certain.

Sabtechah.—We have no means of knowing what race is indicated by this name, or what exact locality is to be assigned to them. The word occurs only here and in 1 Chron. 1 : 9. The connection of Sabtechah with Ramaah points to a position on or near the Persian Gulf ; but our data do not justify us in coming to any more exact conclusion. Some have supposed a connection between the word Sabtechah and the Samidacé of Ptolemy, which was a city of Carmania ; but the resemblance of names is too remote to entitle us to build a theory upon it.

The general conclusion to be drawn from Gen. 10 : 7 appears to be the following. The genealogist means to assign to the family of Cush the primitive inhabitants of almost all southern and south-eastern Arabia. Regarding the Cushite settlements as proceeding from Ethiopia (or Abyssinia), he traces them across the Red Sea to the opposite shores of Yemen or Arabia Felix, and thence eastward, along the coast tract now known as Hadramaut, to the borders of the Persian Gulf and the neighborhood of Chaldea. He regards the Cushite races inhabiting this tract as principally four, which he designates under the names of Havilah, Sabtah, Raamah, and Sabtechah ; the most important of the four being Raamah, under which were comprised the Cushite Sheba and Dedan.

Here we may pause to inquire if modern ethnological science has anything to say which either confirms or impugns these statements of the genealogist. Many popular writers speak in a certain vague and general way of the Arabians being Semites; and the language known as Arabic is certainly a Semitic form of speech. From these premises a conclusion is sometimes drawn, that Cushite races are out of place in the Arabian peninsula, and that here at least the genealogist is detected in a mistake. Such a conclusion might at any time have been pronounced, at the best, precarious ; since great parts of Arabia are up to the present day unexplored, and nothing at all is known of the ethnic character of their inhabitants. But recent researches enable us to go a step further, and to lay it down that the conclusion is not only uncertain, but is at actual variance with fact. M. Antoine d'Abbadie, Dr. Beke, M. Fresnel, and others, have proved that there are to this day races in Southern Arabia, especially the Mahras, whose language is decidedly non-Semitic ; and that between this language and that of the Abyssinian tribes of the Galla, Agau, and their congeners, there is a very considerable affinity. The Mahra, moreover, is proved by analysis to be the modern representative of an ancient form of speech found in inscriptions along the South Arabian coast, and known to philologists as Himyaric. These inscriptions are thought to be evidently of a high antiquity and the Himyaric empire to which they are supposed to belong is carried back by some scholars to as high a date as B.C. 1750. Thus it would seem to be distinctly made out that Arabia contains, and has from a very remote time contained, at least two races ; one, in the northern and central regions, Semitic, speaking the tongue usually known as Arabic ; and another in the more southern region, which is non Semitic, and which from the resemblance of its language to the dialects of the aboriginals of Abyssinia, the descendants of the ancient Ethiopians, deserves to be called Ethiopian or Cushite. The Mosaic genealogist is thus in this instance strikingly confirmed by ethnological science on a point where his statements seemed most open to attack.

"And Cush begat Nimrod : he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord : wherefore it is said, Even as Nimrod the mighty hunter before the Lord. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar" (Gen. 10 : 8-10).

Every reader sees that here there is a change in the narrative. We have no longer a mere genealogy, but the commencement of a personal history. An individual is introduced, an individual of such distinction and eminence that his name had already, in the time of Moses, passed into a proverb—"Even as Nimrod, the mighty hunter before the Lord." But, although the style of the narrative is changed in a way that is harsh to modern notions, the main object of the writer is still the same. He is bent on tracing the spread of the Cushite race. He has brought the race in the preceding verse from African Ethiopia, along the Southern Arabian shore to the west coast of the Persian Gulf, to the immediate vicinity of Chaldæa. He now brings them into Chaldæa and Babylonia. Nimrod, he tells us, the son of Cush, or the Cushite, who "began to be a mighty one in the earth," set up the "beginning" or "head" of his kingdom at "Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar." These names belong, one and all, to the broad tract of alluvial soil at the head of the Persian Gulf, watered by the two great streams of the Tigris and the Euphrates, known to the Greeks and Romans, from its people, as Chaldæa, and from its capital city as Babylonia. The name "Babel" speaks for itself, and is sufficient to identify the position ; which, moreover, all the other terms bear out. "Shinar" in Scripture is always the low country about Babylon. Here clay and bitumen (the "slime" of Gen. 11 : 3) abounded ; and here great buildings were very early raised out of these poor materials, the remains of which exist to the present day. Hither went the Jews into captivity (Zech. 5 : 11) ; and hence were they "recovered" when God set His hand the first time to draw together the remnant of His people (Isa. 11 : 11). Erech, which the Septuagint translators render by Orech, is beyond a doubt the city which the Greeks and Romans called Orchoë, and which is to this day known as Irka or Warka, on the left bank of the Euphrates, about one hundred and twenty miles south-east of Babylon—a site covered with mounds and ruins, from which numerous remains of great antiquity have been recovered. "Accad" is a term found in the primitive nomenclature of the country ; where it designates both a race and a city. Finally, Calneh or Calno (Isa. 10 : 9) was, according to the Septuagint interpreters, in the same region, being, according to them, the exact spot "where the tower was built" and consequently in the near vicinity of Babylon.

The meaning then of the writer cannot be doubted. He intends to state that Nimrod and his people, the conquering race which first set up a monarchy in Lower Mesopotamia, and built or occupied the great cities of the alluvial plain, Babel or Babylon, Accad, Erech or Orchoë, and Calneh or Calno, were Cushites, a kindred race to the people of Ethiopia Proper, or the tract about the great Nile affluents, and to various tribes scattered along the southwestern, southern, and eastern shores of the Arabian peninsula. What light, if any, does modern ethnology throw upon this interesting statement?

A few years back a great ethnologist made answer (practically) to the effect that his science repudiated the statement altogether. "Nimrod," he said, "was no Cushite by blood." He and his people were pure Turanians, or Tatars. They conquered Babylonia from Africa, and so, having come from the land of Cush, were called Cushites. But the expression was purely "geographical." They were quite unconnected in race with either the Egyptians or the Ethiopians. Indeed, an Asiatic Ethiopia was a pure figment of Biblical interpreters ; it "existed only in their imaginations," and was "the child of their despair."

So wrote the late Baron Bunsen in 1854. But Sir Henry Rawlinson, the earliest decipherer of the ancient Babylonian monuments, came to a completely different conclusion in 1858. A laborious study of the primitive language of Chaldæa led him to the conviction that the dominant race in Babylonia at the earliest time to which the monuments reached back was Cushite. He found the vocabulary of the primitive race to be decidedly Cushite or Ethiopian, and he was able to interpret the inscriptions chiefly by the aid which was furnished to him from published works on the Galla (Abyssinian) and the Mahra (South Arabian) dialects. He noted, moreover, a considerable resemblance in the system of writing which the primitive race employed, and that which was established from a very remote date in Egypt. Both were pictorial ; both to a certain extent symbolic ; both in some instances used identically the same symbols. Again, he found words in use among the primitive Babylonians and their neighbors and kinsmen, the Susianians, which seemed to be identical with ancient Egyptian, or Ethiopic, roots. The root *hyk* or *hak*, which Manetho interprets as "king," and which is found in the well-known "*Hyk*sos," or "Shepherd-kings," appeared in Babylonian and Susianian royal names under the form of *khak*, and as the *terminal* element—which is its position also in royal Ethiopic names. The name "Tirkhak" is common to the royal lists of Susiana and Ethiopia, as that of Nimrod is to the royal lists of Babylon and Egypt. The sun-god is called "Ra" in Egyptian, and "Ra" was the Cushite name of the supreme God of the Babylonians. Many other close analogies might be mentioned ; but these are probably sufficient as specimens. It is impossible, within the limits of a work such as the present, to do more than give specimens of what has been proved by a laborious induction.

The result is, that once more the modern science of ethnology, arguing wholly from the facts of language, has come to a conclusion announced more than three thousand years ago by the author of Genesis. The author of Genesis unites together as members of the same ethnic family the Egyptians, the Ethiopians, the Southern Arabians, and the primitive inhabitants of Babylon. Modern ethnology finds, in the localities indicated, a number of languages, partly ancient, partly modern, which have common characteristics, and which evidently constitute one group. Egyptian, ancient and modern, Ethiopic, as represented by the Galla, Agau, etc., southern Arabian (Himyaric and Mahra), and ancient Babylonian, are discovered to be cognate tongues, varieties of one original form of speech. Primeval history is thus confirmed most signally by modern research; and the *Toldoth Beni Noah* is once more proved to be, what it has been called—"the most authentic record we possess for the affiliation of races."

CHAPTER V.

SUBDIVISIONS OF MIZRAIM AND CANAAN.

"And Mizraim begat Ludim, and Anamim, and Lehabim, and Naphtuhim, and Pathrusim, and Casluhim (out of whom came Philistim), and Caphtorim" (Gen. 10:13, 14).

Having concluded his account of the descendants of Cush, whom he has represented as the eldest of the "sons of Ham" (ver. 6), the genealogist returns to Mizraim, the second "son," or (in modern phraseology) the second great race descended from the patriarch Ham. As offshoots of this race—the Egyptian—he proceeds to enumerate eight tribes or nations—the Ludim, the Anamim, the Lehabim, the Naphtuhim, the Pathrusim, the Casluhim, the Philistim, and the Caphtorim. It will be our first task in the present chapter to endeavor to identify these various races.

Ludim.—Similarity of sound has tempted commentators to connect with this name the well-known race of the Lydians, the chief people of Western Asia Minor, from whose historical or mythological stores the Greeks drew the romantic tales of Cambles the glutton, of Candaules and Gyges, of Crœsus, Atys, and Adrastus the Phrygian—tales told so inimitably by the ancient writers, that the best modern version is but a feeble echo of them. But the general duty of resisting temptation is nowhere more imperative than in the field of comparative philology, in which the identifications that have the most enticing appearance are almost in every instance mere traps to catch the unwary. In the case before us, if we examine the Scripture records, we shall find that the Hamitic Ludim, who are frequently mentioned, are plainly an African, and not an Asiatic people; and therefore that their identity with the Lydians is quite out of the question. They are commonly united with either Cush or Phut, or both, (Isa 66:19; Jer. 46:9; Ezek. 30:5), and are spoken of as a principal element of the strength of Egypt, as serving in her armies and participating in her destruction. We must consequently regard them as a people who in later times were dependent on the Egyptians, and who dwelt near them, probably in the vicinity of Phut, which has been shown to be the modern Nubia (p 43). Further than this nothing can be laid down with certainty, neither the classical writers nor the Egyptian monuments furnishing us with any name in this locality which can reasonably be compared with Ludim.

Anamim.—Here conjecture is still more at fault. The Anamim are mentioned only here and in the parallel passage of Chronicles (1 Chron. 1:11). We have thus no clew to their locality beyond what the context of the present passage furnishes; and this context cannot be said to tell us more than that they were an East African people, probably one at an early date absorbed into either Ethiopia or Egypt.

Lehabim.—Once more we touch sure ground. The Lehabim seem to be rightly identified with the Lubim, who appear frequently in Scripture as near neighbors of the Egyptians, and who are beyond a doubt identical with the *Rebu* or *Lebu* of the monuments and with the "Libyans" ('Λίβυες *Libyi*) of the Greeks and Romans. This people inhabited the tract which bordered Egypt upon the west, extending to some distance along the northern coast. They were generally dependent upon Egypt, and served in large numbers in the Egyptian armies (2 Chron. 12:3; 16:8; Nah. 3:9). The Greeks came in contact with them when they occupied the Cyrenaica, and from them called the entire southern continent by the name of Libya. Their descendants are probably to be found in the modern Tuariks and Berbers, aboriginal races of North Africa, inhabiting the desert and the flanks of Atlas.

Naphtuhim.—Like Anamim, this name occurs only in the Hamitic genealogy, and it is therefore extremely difficult to lay down anything positive with regard to it. If, however, we may judge by its position in the list, it should designate a people dwelling west of the Nile, either in Egypt or immediately upon its borders. Exactly in this position occurs the geographic name *Niphaiat*, applied in Coptic to the country about the Mareotic Lake, at the north-west corner of the Egyptian territory. In the Egyptian monuments no such geographic name is found; but we read of a people called the *Na-petu*, whose position is uncertain. It is conjectured that the Naphtuhim are this race; and that in the time of Moses they dwelt on the western border of Egypt, perhaps in the Mareotic nome, to which their name still attaches.

Pathrusim.—Pathros, the local name, from which the gentilitial noun "Pathrusim" is formed, occurs frequently in the writings of the Jewish prophets, where it designates, apparently, a district of Egypt—probably that in the immediate vicinity of Thebes (see Jer. 44 : 1, 15; Ezek. 29 : 14; 30 : 14). Pliny calls this region "the Phaturite nome;" and it appears to have derived its name from a town near Thebes which the Egyptians called *Ha-Hat-her*, or, with the article, *Pha-Hat-her*, whence the Hebrew, "Pathros," or "Phathros." Originally, the race inhabiting this district would seem to have been considered separate and distinct from the rest of the Egyptians. At a very early date it asserted independence, and was ruled by its own kings. Later, it established a supremacy over the rest of Egypt; but at this time it had lost any distinctive character, and had become thoroughly and entirely Egyptian. The Pathrusim of the Mosaic genealogy must be regarded as the inhabitants of Upper Egypt, originally a colony or offshoot of the Mizraites of the lower region, but ultimately absorbed by the parent nation.

Casluhim.—The Casluhim are wholly unknown to us. Their name occurs nowhere but in this passage, and in the corresponding verse of Chronicles (1 Chron. 1 : 12).

Philistim.—According to the present passage, and the corresponding verse of Chronicles, the Philistim, or Philistines, were a branch of the obscure race of the Casluhim. According, however, to several other passages of Scripture (Deut. 2 : 23; Jer. 47 : 4; Amos 9 : 7), the Philistines were not Casluhim, but Caphtorim. It is proposed, therefore, in the present passage (and in 1 Chron. 1 : 11) to invert the order of the two names, and to read—"and Caphtorim (out of whom came Philistim) and Casluhim." The alteration is not of very much importance, since the main point of interest is the Mizraite (or Egyptian) origin of the Philistines, which is asserted with equal distinctness, whichever order of the words is preferred.

Caphtorim.—Caphtor and the Caphtorim are mentioned only in connection with the Philistines, as the country and the race which gave birth to the Philistine people. We have thus no clew to the locality here intended except the position of the name in the passage, which is doubtful, and the vague one furnished by Jeremiah's expression, "the *isle* of Caphtor" (47 : 4). If this expression were of necessity to be taken literally, we must think of some island of the Mediterranean, as Crete or Cyprus. But the Hebrew is used of shores and coasts, no less than of islands (see Gen. 10 : 5), and may even extend to inland tracts on the borders of a river large enough to be, like the Nile (Nah. 3 : 8), regarded as a sea. Hence the identification, which has been suggested, of Caphtor with Coptos, which the ancient Egyptians called *Kebt-hor*, and which is termed by the modern Copts *Keft*, or *Kuft*, would seem to be worthy of acceptance. The Coptic nome adjoined that of Thebes, lying a little farther to the north; and thus, if the name in the original list immediately followed that of the Pathrusim, as has been shown to be probable, it would have been in a very natural position.

The result of this examination of the Mizraite names has been a failure to identify three—Ludim, Anamim, Casluhim—a probable identification of two (Pathrusim, Caphtorim), with tribes ultimately absorbed into the Mizraites—and an almost certain identification of the other three with nations dwelling near Egypt—the Naphtuhim with the *Na-petu*, the Philistim with the Philistines, and the Lehabim, or Lubim, with the Libyans.

It follows to ask what modern ethnological science teaches of these three last-mentioned races. Does it teach anything at all about them; and if so, does it regard them as diverse from or akin to the Egyptians? If the former, it opposes the Mosaic statement; if the latter, it supports it.

Now, so far as one of the three nations—the *Na-petu*—is concerned, answer there is none. This race perished, or was absorbed, at an early date, and no information is procurable as to its language, manners, or physical type; consequently, modern ethnology pronounces nothing concerning its ethnical character.

But with regard to the other two the case is somewhat different. Something is known of the general character of the Philistine people, and we possess a certain number of Philistine names, as Achish, Goliath, Ishbi-benob, Saph, and perhaps the following list: Salatis, Bnon, Apachnas, Apophis, Jannas, and Asses. Now of these names all that can be said is, that while none of them is Semitic in character, several have a decided resemblance to Egyptian names known to us from good sources. "Jannas," for instance, will remind every reader of the "Jannes" who, together with Jambres, "withstood Moses" (2 Tim. 3 : 8). "Saph" is like "Suphis," the builder of the great pyramid. Again, "Achish" recalls the Egyptian king "Aches," the seventh of Manetho's second dynasty; and "Apophis" may well be a Grecized form of "Pepi," corresponding to "Athothis" for "Thoth," and "Amenephthes" for "Menephthah." Further, with respect to manners and physical type, one of the best of modern Egyptologers informs us that the Philistines, as represented on the Egyptian sculptures, together with the Tokkaru and the Shayretana, "bear a greater resemblance to the Egyptians than does any other group of foreign peoples represented in their sculptures." There would seem, then, to be sufficient ground for saying that the Philistines appear, from what we know of them, to have been cognate to the Egyptians; though no doubt they separated off from them at a remote date, "before the character and institutions of the latter had attained that development in which they continued throughout the period to which their monuments belong."

With respect to the Libyans, whether we can form a positive judgment or no depends upon the view we take of the connection between them and the modern non-Arab inhabitants of North Africa. The history of the region makes it probable that these inhabitants are, in the main, the descendants of the old Libyans. The names still borne by the tribes corroborate this view. The Libyan tribe of the *Marmaridæ* is represented by the modern *Berbers,* and that of the *Cabales* by the *Cabyles.* Numerous customs recorded by the ancients as obtaining among the ancient Libyans are found still to exist among the Berbers and Tuariks. On these grounds the best modern ethnologists regard the identity of the two races as established, and speak of the Berbers, Tuariks, Shuluhs, Cabyles, etc., as the descendants of the aboriginal population of Northern Africa. But if this be granted, then we may say that modern ethnology distinctly supports the Mosaic statement of the Mizraite character of the Lehabim, since a very considerable analogy has been traced between the native languages of North Africa and the Egyptian and Coptic, an analogy which is more striking in the structure than in the roots, but which extends to some of the simplest and earliest words. In Berber "one" is *ouan;* in Coptic, *ouot;* in Egyptian, *oua;* in Shuluh, two is *seen;* in Coptic, *snaü;* in Coptic "to drink" is *so;* it is *soo* in Berber and Tuarik. *Ouas*, Berber for "day," resembles Coptic (or rather Sahidic) *hu; ikhf*, Berber for "head," may be traced in Egyptian *ape*, and Coptic *aphe*, which in the oasis of Ammon is *akhfe.* Tuarik *mar* for "man," is perhaps identical with Coptic and Egyptian *romi.* These and other similar resemblances are regarded as sufficient to constitute the Berber, Tuarik, etc., "cognate" dialects to the Egyptian; and "cognate dialects," as already remarked more than once, are an indication of "cognate races."

"And Canaan begat Sidon his first-born, and Heth, and the Jebusite, and the Amorite, and the Girgasite, and the Hivite, and the Arkite, and the Sinite, and the Arvadite, and the Zemarite, and the Hamathite: and afterward were the families of the Canaanite spread abroad" (verses 15–18).

This portion of the Mosaic genealogy needs but a very few words of comment. The sacred writer, specially interested in that branch of the Hamitic family with which his countrymen were to be brought into peculiarly close and permanent connection, enters with great minuteness into its subdivisions, enumerating no fewer than eleven distinct tribes within the narrow area of the Canaanite country, which extended between Hamath and Gerar, a distance of no more than about two hundred and eighty miles. These tribes are, for the most part, excessively obscure, nothing more being known of several than their bare names; they have left no literature and no records, and the modern ethnologist has thus scarcely any means of determining their ethnic characteristics, or of testing the statement that they belonged to the family of Ham. In most instances he has but the names themselves to go upon; and so unsafe is it to draw any conclusion from such meagre data that nothing would have been said of the names in this place had not it seemed good to some etymologists to found a theory upon them. It has been argued from supposed Semitic derivations of some of the appellations in the above list, as, notably, of "Sidon" and "Amorite," that the race which gave the names must have spoken a Semitic tongue, and therefore that the Canaanite tribes are wrongly placed by Moses among the Hamitic nations. The force of this argument must of course depend, in the first instance, on the probability of the supposed derivations; but, to render it of any great account, probable Semitic derivations should be given, not of one or two of the names only, but of all of them. Now this has not been attempted. Certain names have been selected out of the list, for which a plausible Semitic derivation could be alleged; and on evidence thus picked and culled the world has been asked to reject the statements of Moses.

Further, the derivations suggested are extremely unsatisfactory. Sidon, for instance, is derived from the Hebrew *tsâdoh,* and said to mean "a fishing place," which is thought to be an appropriate name for a seaport town. But *tsâdoh* is "to hunt" rather than to "fish;" *tsayyâd* is "a hunter," and *tsaîd* "a hunting" or a "prey.' The sense of "fishing" may be included in *tsâdoh,* but it is certainly not the primary sense of the word. "To fish" is *dûg,* and the proper word for "a fishery" is *dûgâh.*

"Amorite" is regarded as a mere variant of "Aremite" or "Aramæan" which is probably enough derived from *rûm,* "to be high." It is said, therefore, to be equivalent to "mountaineer" or "highlander.' But the transposition of root letters, which forms the basis of this theory, is very rare in the Semitic languages, and, in the case of names, has not been supported by any sufficient number of parallel instances. Moreover, if "Amorite" were granted to be a Semitic word, meaning "mountaineer" or anything else, it would not at once follow that the Amorite nation was Semitic. The names given to nations by their neighbors are often quite unknown to themselves, and indicate the language, not of the people designated, but of the people which gave the designation. The name "Parthian" was probably imposed on the Turanian Parthians by their Iranic neighbors; that of "Greeks" was imposed on the Hellenes by the Italians. In our own country we call a people "Welsh" (*i.e.* "strangers") whose only name for themselves is Cymry. Unless we are sure that an ethnic title is one which a race gives itself, we can draw no conclusion from its etymology; and we certainly do not know this of the title "Amorite."

It thus appears that the ethnic names under which the Canaanitish races are designated by the Hebrews furnish no trustworthy evidence of the Semitic origin of the people. Ethnology has, in fact, no sufficient materials on which to form a judgment in this case. Neither the names of the races nor those of individual Canaanities can fairly be taken to prove anything on the point in question. We must consider that in this instance ethnological science is silent, not confirming, but in no way opposing, the statements of the Biblical historian.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SEMITIC RACES.

"UNTO Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the brother of Japheth the elder, even unto him were children born. The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram" (Gen. 10:21, 22).

The writer of the genealogy, having completed his account of the races descended from Japheth and from Ham, proceeds in the last section of this chapter, which extends from verse 21 to verse 31, to mention the chief races and nations descended from the remaining patriarch, Shem. He has reserved Shem to the last, not because he was the youngest of the three brothers, for the true translation of verse 21 is, "Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, the *elder brother of Japheth*, were children born," but because the subsequent narrative is going to be concerned with the descendants of Shem amost exclusively, and thus by reserving Shem the narrative is made to run on more connectedly.

EBER.—He opens his account with a statement that Shem was "the father of all the children of Eber," thus at once calling attention to the fact that the peculiar "people of God," whose history he is about to trace, were one of the tribes belonging to the Semitic family. In this he anticipates what he afterward tells us, with much additional detail, in verses 24–30, and in ch. xi. verses 13–26. The Israelites were among the children of Eber, or Heber, and hence the name by which they were commonly known among the surrounding nations was "Hebrews." They were not the only race so descended, or numerically the most important one; but they were *the only race that kept the name;* and we cannot doubt that the author had them especially in his mind when he noted at the very outset of his account of Shem's descendants that they included "all the children of Eber."

But the actual "sons" of Shem, or main divisions of the Semitic race, according to our author, were the following: ELAM, ASSHUR, ARPHAXAD, LUD, and ARAM. We have, in the first place, to identify these races.

ELAM.—We have frequent mention of Elam both as a nation and as a country in Scripture. (See especially Gen. 14:1, 9; Isa. 11:11; 21:2; Jer. 25:25; 49 34–39; Ezek. 32:24; Dan. 8:2.) Of these passages, the one which most exactly fixes the locality is the last; where Daniel tells us that "Shushan the palace" was "in the province of Elam," and that, being there, he "saw in a vision," and behold, he "was by the river Ulai." Now, "Shushan the palace," where Nehemiah waited on king Artaxerxes (Neh. 1:1), and where king Ahasuerus (Xerxes) held his court in the days of Mordecai and Esther (Esth. 1:2; 2:5; etc.), is beyond any reasonable doubt identified with Susa, the capital of Persia, and the ordinary residence of the court from the time of Darius Hystaspis to the conquest of Alexander. In the immediate neighborhood of Susa was a river called by the Greeks Eulæus, which is quite manifestly Daniel's "Ulai." Susa, moreover, though it became the chief capital of the Persian kings, was not, strictly speaking, in Persia, but was the capital of a separate and very ancient kingdom, which bore many names, one of them being *Elymaïs*. The combined resemblance of the three names, *Elymaïs* with *Elam, Susa* with *Shushan*, and *Ulai* with *Eulæus*, cannot possibly be accidental; and the passage of Daniel would therefore, even if it stood alone, suffice to show what country is intended by Elam. It may be added, however, that all the other passages quoted above (and several besides them) confirm the conclusion thus arrived at; and especially it may be noted that the *Mosaic* Elam is certainly in this quarter. Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, who invaded Palestine in the time of Abraham (Gen. 14:1).

being lord paramount over Amraphel, king of *Shinar*, who must have borne rule in Babylonia, on the confines of Elymaïs.

We have thus fixed the locality of the people designated by the word "Elam" to the region on the left or east bank of the Tigris, opposite Babylonia, and lying between that country and Persia proper. But a few words more must be added with respect to the people themselves. We find the tract in question designated by different names. Sometimes it is called Susiana or Susis; sometimes Kissia; sometimes Elam, or Elymaïs. The first of these names is a mere derivative from the name of the capital, Susa; but the other two indicate the fact that the country was inhabited by two entirely distinct races. The Elamites or Elymæans were probably the earlier in-comers, and from them the tract was called Elymaïs. They were subsequently overrun and conquered by the Kissians or Cossæans (Cushites?), who became the governing race, and called the country after themselves, Kissia. We find the two classes of inhabitants mentioned together in the book of Ezra (chap. 4:9), and they even continued separate and distinct to the time of Strabo.

Asshur.—The word "Asshur" which occurs with great frequency in Scripture, is, except in this place, in the parallel passage of Chronicles (1 Chr. 1:17), and in one or two others, uniformly translated in our version by "Assyria." Nor is it possible for even the most inattentive reader to entertain the slightest doubt that the country which the Greeks and Romans designated by that name is intended. Asshur is the country of which Sennacherib and Esarhaddon are kings (2 Kings 19:13, 37), whose capital is Nineveh (verse 36), and whose river is Hiddekel (Gen. 2:14)—the Tigris. This identification is so universally accepted that it would be a waste of words to say more about it. The sacred writer means *certainly* to tell us that among the descendants of Shem was included the great nation of the Assyrians.

Arphaxad.—By "Arphaxad," or "Arpachshad" (as the word reads in the Hebrew), occurring as it does in the same sentence with Elam and Asshur, we must certainly understand a tribe or nation. But it is impossible to say what tribe or nation is intended. The only suggestion worthy of a moment's attention that has ever been made is to regard the word as designating the inhabitants of a portion of Assyria which was known to the Greeks and Romans as Arrapachitis. The root of this word is Arapkha (or Arapcha), which was an Assyrian town of no great importance, occasionally mentioned in the Inscriptions. Now Arapkha does certainly, to a considerable extent, resemble Arpachshad. Still it is far from being the same word. The two have really but one element in common, which is *arpa* (=*arba*), the Assyrian for "four." *Arpa-kha* (or Arap-kha) meant "the four fish," and was probably the city where the four sacred fish, often seen on cylinders, were special objects of worship. *Arpach'shad* could not mean this. *Ch'shad* would be an entirely new root. But take away the supposed identity of name, and there is no ground at all for connecting Arphaxad with Arrapachitis. Arrapachitis never appears in the Assyrian times as a distinct country, nor is there any reason for believing that it then formed a separate division or province of Assyria. Its inhabitants were pure Assyrians—at least they are never in any way distinguished from the rest of the nation. On the whole, therefore, it would seem that this identification must be set aside; and if so, it must be confessed that we have no clew to the race (or country) intended, the word occurring nowhere else in Scripture, except in the parallel passage of Chronicles (1 Chr. 1:17).

Lud.—The Semitic "Lud" have been generally identified with the Lydians; but this identification, which is based wholly on the similarity of the names, is rendered extremely improbable, by the geographic position of the people. It is not in the manner of our author to make a violent transition from one locality to another, only in order to come back with equal suddenness to the point which he abruptly quitted. If by "Lud" here he had intended Lydia, the order of the names would have been Elam, Asshur (Arphaxad), Aram, Lud; not Elam, Asshur (Arphaxad), Lud, Aram. We must look for Lud in a position between Asshur and Aram, or, in other words, between Assyria and Syria, not in the far-off region bordering upon the Ægean Sea. Now here it happens that we find in the Egyptian inscriptions a people called *Ruten* or *Luden* (the words would be indistinguishable in Egyptian), who possess considerable power, and are frequently engaged in war with the great Pharaohs of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries B.C., under one of whom Moses it is probable, wrote his history. These *Luden* dwelt north of Palestine, and in the near vicinity of Mesopotamia, thus approaching very close to the Assyrians, who at an early time spread themselves westward at least as far as the Khabour river. It is thus not improbable that they are the people whom Moses designates here by the word Lud. If they are not, the name "Lud" must be regarded as one of those which defy identification.

Aram.—Aram, which occurs in Scripture with the same frequency as Asshur, is, like Asshur, a name concerning the application of which there is no doubt. Our translators almost always render the word, as did the Septuagint interpreters, by "Syria;" and the term, though etymologically quite distinct, is beyond a doubt, in its use by the Hebrews, a near equivalent for the "Syria" of the Greeks and Romans. It designates a people distinct from, yet closely allied with, the Assyrians, which, in the remotest times whereto history reaches, was established in the valley of the middle Euphrates, and in the tract between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean. This people, known to itself as Aramæan, continued the predominant race in the country to the time of the Mohammedan conquest. It produced a literature as early as the fourth century of our era, portions of which are still extant, as the works of St. Ephraem Syrus, the Peshito or Syriac version of the Old and New Testaments, the Syriac translations of St. Ignatius's Epistles, and the like. Remnants of the race are found at the present day near Damascus, and also in the Kurdish mountains, where they are known as "Nestorians," or as "Chaldees," the former title designating their religion, the latter their supposed identity with the people of Nebuchadnezzar.

Of the six races, therefore, mentioned in Gen. 10 : 21, 22 as descended from Shem, we can certainly identify four, and we can probably identify one other; but with regard to one we have to confess ignorance. "Eber," "Elam," "Asshur," and "Aram" correspond beyond a doubt to the Hebrews, the Elamites or Elymæans, the Assyrians, and the Syrians; Lud represents probably the *Ruten* or *Luden* of the Egyptians; Arphaxad alone is unknown to us, and cannot be said, so far as our present information goes, to designate any historical people.

The races mentioned being identified as far as is possible, we have now to inquire what modern ethnology teaches as to them, and especially as to their diversity or resemblance one to another. Now here we have at the outest to put on one side two of the races, since concerning them modern ethnology is silent. Nothing is known of the ethnic character of the people called by the Egyptians *Ruten* or *Luden*, with whom the Egyptian monarchs of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries were engaged in such frequent wars. By their locality they might reasonably be either Semites or Hamites, for while they adjoin Aram and Assyria on the one hand, they approach nearly to the Hittites and Canaanites on the other. But we have absolutely no evidence of their ethnic character; and it is therefore necessary to regard them as beyond the limits of the present inquiry. Similarly, with respect to the Elamites, who again might naturally by their position be either Semitic or Hamitic, since they touch Assyria in one direction and Babylonia in another, we have no indications of ethnic type on which we can rely. The early names in the country, so far as we know them, are Hamitic; but the Cushite invasion of the territory took place at so remote a date that this cannot be considered as proving anything. The name Elam itself and Shushan which we are told meant "a lily" (Athen. "Deipns." xii. p. 513), would seem to be Semitic; but it would be unsafe to conclude anything from names which reach us only through foreigners.

The inquiry must therefore be limited to the three races of the Hebrews, the Assyrians, and the Syrians or Aramæans. Is there, or is there not, reason to believe, from facts known to us through the media of scientific research and profane history, apart from any consideration of Scripture, that these three races, concerning which alone of those here mentioned by the genealogist we have any extensive knowledge, were cognate one to another? Let us hear what the first ethnologist of the day says on the subject.

Professor Max Müller speaks of the Aramaic and the Hebrew as two main branches of the Semitic stock. He regards the close connection of the Syriac and Hebrew languages as so patent and so universally acknowledged a fact that he considers argument on the subject to be superfluous. He concludes from this fact that the races which spoke the languages were "agnate descendants of Shem," ethnically allied, that is, in the closest possible way, as near to each other as Bretons to Welsh, as Russians to Poles, or as Italians to Wallachians.

And this indeed has been allowed for many centuries—ever since Hebrew and Syriac first became objects of study to Occidentals. But it is only recently that it has been rendered possible to pronounce on scientific grounds that the great people of the Assyrians, which the genealogist in Gen. 10 distinctly connects with the Syrians and the Hebrews, is most fully entitled to the place assigned it in his list, being closely cognate with those two nations. The discovery by Mr. Layard, M. Botta, Mr. Loftus, and others, of numerous and lengthy inscriptions among the débris of the palaces inhabited by the Assyrian kings, acting as a stimulus to the labors of Dr. Hincks, M. Oppert, and, above all, of Sir Henry Rawlinson, has resulted in the recovery of the ancient Assyrian language, which has been submitted to analysis, and is now almost as well known as Syriac or Hebrew itself. The French *savant*, M. Oppert, has recently published an elaborate "Grammaire Assyrienne;" Mr. Norris of the British Museum has brought out a complete "Assyrian Dictionary." The grammar and construction of the language are perfectly well defined, the only obscurity that remains attaching to the meaning of certain words, and the phonetic value of the names. And the conclusion which linguistic scholars have universally drawn from the careful study and analysis of this ancient form of speech is, that the language is Semitic, nearly akin to both Hebrew and Syriac, but, on the whole, closer to the former.

Again, the physiognomy of the ancient Assyrians has been fully revealed by the long series of sculptures dug out of the ruins of Nineveh, Calah, and other Assyrian cities, and now adorning the walls of the Louvre and the British Museum; and the unmistakably Jewish character of the whole cast of countenance is patent to all, and has been generally recognized.

The result is, that of the six races stated in Gen. 10 : 21, 22 to have been common descendants of the patriarch Shem, while one is incapable of identification, and on two others modern ethnology has no means of pronouncing a judgment, the remaining three, on which alone the science has anything to say, are distinctly pronounced to be sister races, to belong to a single type; and to that type the science, here for once acknowledging the historical authority of Scripture, albeit amid a few faint murmurs from some of its less distinguished professors, assigns formally a distinctive name, embodying the scriptural fact—the name of "Shemite" or "Semitic."

CHAPTER VII.

ON THE SUBDIVISIONS OF THE SEMITIC RACES.

"And the children of Aram; Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and Mash" (Gen. 10 : 23).

From the analogy of the rest of the chapter we may assume that in this brief summary the genealogist particularizes either certain main ethnic subdivisions of the Syrians, or certain leading points of their geographic emplacement. The verse, however, is peculiarly obscure, and open to a great variety of interpretations. Of the four new terms which occur in it, one alone, "Uz," obtains any further illustration from the rest of Scripture. The other three terms, "Hul," "Gether," and "Mash" (if that is the right reading), are terms which occur nowhere else than in this genealogy, which must therefore have gone out of use at a very early date, and with respect to which it is difficult even to form a probable conjecture. The term "Mash," however, is very probably an incorrect reading, as will be shown further on in this chapter.

Uz, or Huz, as the word is more correctly rendered in Gen. 22 : 21, was at a tolerably early date the name of a country (and probably also of a people, in the neighborhood of the Sabæans and the Chaldees. See Job 1 : 1, 15, 17.) It was readily accessible to the Temanites, the Shuhites (ib. 2 : 11), and the Buzites (ib. 32 : 2). The Edomites at one time held possession of it (Lam. 4 : 21). It was a country suitable for the breeding and nurture of sheep, oxen, asses, and camels (Job 1 : 3). These various notes of locality long ago inclined the bulk of Scriptural expositors to place Uz in some portion of the tract called Arabia Deserta, the only tract which can be regarded as adjacent to the three countries of Chaldæa, Saba, and Edom. But till recently it was impossible to give to Uz any more definite emplacement. It was assigned to Arabia Deserta, but to no special part of that vast region. Now, however, we know, from an inscription of Esarhaddon, that there were in Central Arabia, beyond the Jebel Shomer about the modern countries of Upper and Lower Kaseem, two regions called respectively Bazu and Khazu, which, considering the very close connection of Huz and Buz in Scripture (see Gen. 22 : 21), it is only reasonable to regard as the countries which those two names indicate. This identification enables us to assign to Uz or Huz a tract nearly in the middle of North Arabia, not very far from the famous district of Nejd.

Hul and Gether, which are names that occur in no other part of Scripture, and which have no near equivalents in the ancient or modern geography of Western Asia, admit of no satisfactory explanation. They probably designate two Aramæan nations which either disappeared or changed their appellations at a very early date. Nothing more can be said of them; for it is idle to speculate where we have no data at all beyond the names themselves, and where those names do not point plainly, or even probably, to any known race.

Mash.—Here the case is somewhat different; not that "Mash" itself is any more intelligible than "Gether or "Hul," but that in this instance there is, besides "Mash," another reading In 1 Chron. 1 : 17, the Hebrew text runs thus: "The sons of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram, and Uz, and Hul, and Gether, and *Meshech*." It is evident that here the "sons of Aram," or branch races included under the Aramæans, are intended to be enumerated immediately after their parent, Aram. "Uz, and Hul, and Gether" occur exactly as in Genesis; while the fourth place is filled up with another, but not very different name, Meshech." Now, if this were all, there would be a difficulty in choosing between the two readings, each having, so far, an equal amount of authority, and there being no reason why we should prefer either Genesis to Chronicles or Chronicles to Genesis. But the scale, which would otherwise be evenly balanced, is turned by the fact that the Septuagint version of the Old Testament has "Meshech" (Μοσόχ) in both places. We may assume from this that some copies of the Hebrew Scriptures had "Meshech" and not "Mash," in Gen. 10 : 23 ; and, as there is no evidence of any variation in 1 Chron. 1 : 17, "Meshech" must be regarded as having a preponderance of evidence in its favor, and as therefore entitled to be considered the true reading. Here, however, we come upon another difficulty. "Meshech" has already occurred in the genealogy among the Japhetic races ; and having so occurred, should (it may be thought) not have appeared again. But the double occurrence of a name in the lists under consideration, which is not limited to the instance before us, but occurs likewise in the cases of Lud (verses 13 and 22), Havilah (verses 7 and 29), and Sheba (verses 7 and 28), may be accounted for in two ways. Either two distinct races may be intended, to which quite unconnectedly the same name has happened to become attached, as was the case, probably, in ancient times, with the Iberians of the Caspian and with those of the Spanish peninsula, and certainly in modern times with the Georgians of the old Iberian country and the Georgians of the North American continent ; or the genealogist may have intended in each case the same race, that race being in reality a mixed one, in part descended from one patriarch, in part from another. In the present instance the latter supposition is the more probable ; for there is abundant evidence that the population of Cappadocia—the true original country of the Moschi (see page 38)—was a mixed one, and a good deal of evidence connecting a portion of the population with Syria or Aram. Herodotus, Strabo, and other writers call the Cappadocians of their day "White Syrians," an appellation that cannot possibly have belonged to the ruling caste in the country, which was undoubtedly Aryan, but which must have had a basis in fact. If the Meshech (Moschi—the primitive inhabitants of Cappadocia, whom the Aryans conquered — were a mixed race, partly Japhetic, partly Aramæan, all the statements of the Greek writers connecting Cappadocia with Syria, and even Assyria, would be accounted for.

Assuming the view here taken to be correct, we may say that of the four nations intended in verse 23, while two are wholly unknown, the two others are to some extent known to us. Uz designates a race which in remote times inhabited a tract nearly in the centre of North Arabia. Meshech, in the genealogy of Aram, points to a people which became mixed with the Japhetic Moschi in Cappadocia. Now there are grounds for affirming, quite independently of Scripture, that in both these places there was anciently a Semitic population. Northern and Central Arabia have, from the earliest times to the present day, been held by Semites ; and there is no reason to believe that races of any other stock have at any time settled there. We should perhaps have expected in the locality which has been assigned to Uz, Arabs rather than Aramæans ; but the two races have always touched each other, and the line of demarcation between them has no doubt varied at different periods. In Cappadocia the Semitic inhabitants are distinctly declared to be "Syrians"—Syrians who only differed from their brethren south of the Taurus range in having a much lighter complexion.

"And Arphaxad begat Salah ; and Salah begat Eber. And unto Eber were born two sons : the name of one was Peleg (for in his days was the earth divided) ; and his brother's name was Joktan" (verses 24 and 25).

This passage stands in strong contrast with the rest of the chapter. Elsewhere the genealogist is mainly, if not wholly, dealing with races. Here he for a while turns his attention to persons. (Compare ch. 11 : 10–26, where these names occur in a purely personal list.) His main object in the latter part of the chapter appears to have been to complete his account of the races descended from Shem by an enumeration of the various branches of the Joktanites, whom he regarded as one of the most important sections of the Semitic family. As, however, that branch really derived its name from a person, and that person was a somewhat remote descendant of Shem, he determined in the instance to give the complete genealogy. Accordingly he referred Joktan to Shem through three intermediate steps, thus tracing down the actual descendants of Noah to the sixth generation, and anticipating, so far, the narrative of the next chapter. Having done this, and come to Joktan, he returned to his main purpose, and completed it in the four verses which we have now to consider.

"And Joktan begat Almodad, and Sheleph, and Hazarmaveth, and Jerah, and Hadoram, and Uzal, and Diklah, and Obal, and Abimael, and Sheba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and Jobab : all these were the sons of Joktan" (verses 26–29).

Arab tradition makes Joktan, who in Arabic is called *Kahtan,* the great progenitor of all the purest tribes of Central and Southern Arabia ; and though there is nothing in Scripture directly to connect Joktan himself with the Arabian peninsula, yet the list of his descendants completely bears out the Arab tradition. It has been already shown that Havilah and Sheba designate important Arab tribes or districts. And the best Arabic scholars are of opinion that the great majority of the other names in the above list may be connected either probably or certainly with this locality. To show this, it may be as well briefly to run through the names in question.

ALMODAD is reasonably regarded as an equivalent word to the Arabic *Mudad,* or *El*

Mudad, a famous person in Arabian history, chief of a tribe called Jurhum, and father of the wife of Ishmael. The very form of the name is Arabic, its initial element being the Arabic article, *al* or *el*, "the."

SHELEPH. — The "Salapeni" are mentioned by Ptolemy among the ancient inhabitants of Arabia Felix ; and it is no doubt the same tribe which appears in the geographer Yacut as the *Es-Sulaf*, or *Beni-es-Silfan*, a people inhabiting the Yemen. The traveller Carsten Niebuhr, the father of the historian, found the race still existing in his day, inhabiting a tract of the Yemen, which he calls "Sälfie." These names almost exactly reproduce the Hebrew Sheleph, and are a sufficient indication of the locality and people intended.

HAZARMAVETH.—The word is, as nearly as possible, identical with the Arabic *Hadramaut*, which is still the name of a tract and people on the south-eastern coast of Arabia, between the Yemen and the Mahra country. The people were known to the Greeks and Romans as the Chattramotitæ, Chattramitæ, or Atramitæ. They have been at all times one of the most powerful of the Arab tribes.

JERAH.—A fortress named *Yerâkh*, which exactly reproduces the Hebrew word here used, exists in the Mahra country, adjoining Hadramaut to the east. This may be a trace of the tribe here intended, which is, however, otherwise unknown to us.

HADORAM. — Some compare this name with that of the tribe called Atramitæ ; but that term more probably represents the people of Hadramaut. (See under HAZARMAVETH.)

UZAL was the old name of the modern Saná, the capital city of the Yemen, which is still a town of some consequence. It was in ancient times one of the most flourishing of the Arab communities, and is compared by the early Mohammedan geographers to Damascus. The Greek and Roman writers probably intend to speak of it under the name of Auzara, or Ausara, which they call a city of the Gebanitæ.

DIKLAH has been on insufficient grounds supposed to represent the Minæi, a famous people of ancient Arabia. It is more probably represented by the city Dakalah, a place of some importance in the Yemen.

OBAL and ABIMAEL are names that have not as yet been probably identified with any known place or tribe in Arabia. Like most of the other names in this series, they occur only here and in the corresponding passage of Chronicles (1 Chron. 1 : 22), where Obal appears as Ebal.

SHEBA.—The identity of Sheba with the great and important race of the Sabæans, the most celebrated people of Arabia in the ancient times, has been already maintained in a former chapter. The occurrence of the name, both here, among the Joktanites and in verse 7, among the descendants of Cush, is best explained by supposing that the Sabæans were a mixed race, composed in part of Cushites, in part of Joktanite, *i.e.*, of Semitic, Arabs. There is reason to believe that the latter element in the race preponderated.

OPHIR is mentioned so frequently as a place in Scripture, that it might appear there could be little difficulty in fixing its locality. Few points of sacred geography have, however, been more controverted. Ophir has been placed in Arabia, in India, in Ceylon, in Eastern Africa, in Phrygia, and in South America, where it has been identified with Peru ! But the advocates of these various views would probably one and all admit that the "Ophir" of the present passage, intervening, as it does, between Sheba and Havilah, must be sought in the Arabian peninsula. Now in the Periplus, ascribed to Arrian, one of the most ancient works on Arabian geography, Aphar appears as the metropolis of the Sabæans. Ptolemy calls this same city Sapphara ; and there seems to be no doubt that is the city which is now known as *Saphar*, or *Zaphar*. Ther is every reason to regard this place and its inhabitants as the place and people here intended by Moses.

HAVILAH, like Sheba, has been discussed in a former chapter. It designates no doubt the district of Arabia Felix known as Khawlán. Here, probably, as in Sheba, the Hamites and Semites were intermingled tribes descended from the two patriarchs having intermarried and blended together.

JOBAB.—This tribe is not elsewhere mentioned in Scripture. It has been identified by many Biblical critics with the Jobaritæ (Ιωβαρῖται) mentioned by Ptolemy among the Arabian nations, which some suggest ought to be read Jobabitæ (᾽Ιωβαβῖται). But this identification is very uncertain.

Thus, it appears that, of the thirteen names in the Joktanite list, at least eight are traceable in Arabic nomenclature, some certainly, as Sheba and Hazarmaveth, the others probably. And we may therefore conclude that the intention of the genealogist was to assign to the descendants of Joktan the Semite a location in the Arabian peninsula, and chiefly in the Yemen, to which most of the names belong.

What, then, does modern ethnology teach with regard to the Arabians? Beyond a doubt, two things principally—first, that, with the exception of certain races upon the south coast, they are homogeneous, clearly of one blood, resembling each other most closely, alike in language, manners and customs, traditions, and physical conformation ; secondly, that the type of their language is Semitic, its inflections, syntax, and vocabulary bearing, all of them, a near resemblance to those of the Assyrians, the Syrians, and the Hebrews. The entire result, so far as the Semites are concerned, is, that, whereas ethnologists, proceeding mainly on the facts of language, divide the Semitic family into five main branches—the Aramæan, the Hebrew, the Phœnician, the Assyrian or Assyro-Babylonian, and the Arabian, Moses, in his genealogy of Shem, distinctly recognizes four out of the five divisions—Asshur standing for the Assyrians, Aram for the Syrians or Aramæans, Eber for the Hebrews, and Joktan for the Joktanite, or pure Arabs. Moses adds to the Semitic races known to the ethnologist, two others, the Elamites and the Ludites, concerning whom ethnology says nothing. He omits the Phœnicians, who in his time had not, it is probable, acquired any importance, or made the movement, which first brought them into notice, from the shores of the Persian Gulf to those of the Mediterranean.

Finally, it may be noticed that, whereas the Japhetic and Hamitic races are, each of them, geographically continuous, the former spread over all the northern regions known to the genealogist—Greece, Thrace, Scythia, most of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Media, the latter over all the south and the south-west, North Africa, Egypt, Nubia, Ethiopia, Southern and South-eastern Arabia, and Babylonia—so the Semitic races are located in what may be called one region, that region being the central one, lying intermediate between the Japhetic region upon the north, and the Hamitic one upon the south. Syria, Palestine, Northern and Central Arabia, Assyria, and Elymaïs, stretch from west to east in a continuous line which reaches from the Mediterranean to the mountains of Luristan. It was this intermediate position of the Semites, which brought them in contact, on the one hand with Japhetic races, as in Cappadocia, on the other with Hamitic, as in Palestine, in the Yemen, in Babylonia, and Elymaïs.

The examination of Genesis 10, which has been here attempted, may now terminate. It has been shown that in no respect is there any contradiction between the teaching of the modern science of ethnology and this venerable record. On the contrary, the record, rightly interpreted, completely harmonizes with the science, and not only so, but even anticipates many of the most curious and remarkable of the discoveries which ethnology has made in comparatively recent times. It does not set up to be, and it certainly is not complete. It is a genealogical arrangement of the races best known to Moses and to those for whom he wrote, not a scientific scheme embracing all the tribes and nations existing in the world at the time. To find fault with it for its omissions is absurd, since it makes no profession of completeness. Could error be proved in it, the argument would be of consequence. But the Christian may with confidence defy his adversaries to point out any erroneous, or even any improbable statements in the entire chapter from its commencement to its close. The thorough harmony which exists between ethnological science and this unique record is a strong argument for the truth of both.

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Beacon Lights of Science

THE

CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD

A SIMPLE ACCOUNT OF

MAN IN EARLY TIMES

By EDWARD CLODD, F.R.A.S.

PREFACE.

For the information of parents and others into whose hands this book may fall, it may be stated that it is an attempt, in the absence of any kindred elementary work, to narrate, in as simple language as the subject will permit, the story of man's progress from the unknown time of his early appearance upon the earth, to the period from which writers of history ordinarily begin.

That an acquaintance with the primitive condition of man should precede the study of any single department of his later history is obvious, but it must be remembered that such knowledge has become attainable only within the last few years, and at present enters but little, if at all, into the course of study at schools.

Thanks to the patient and careful researches of men of science, the way is rapidly becoming clearer for tracing the steps by which, at ever-varying rates of progress, different races have advanced from savagery to civilization, and for thus giving a completeness to the history of mankind which the assumptions of an arbitrary chronology would render impossible.

As the Table of Contents indicates, the First Part of this book describes the progress of man in material things, while the Second Part seeks to explain his mode of advance from lower to higher stages of religious belief.

Although this work is written for the young, I venture to hope that it will afford to older persons who will accept the simplicity of its style, interesting information concerning primitive man.

In thinking it undesirable to encumber the pages of a work of this class with foot-notes and references, I have been at some pains to verify the statements made, the larger body of which may be found in the works of Tylor, Lubbock, Nilsson, Waitz, and other ethnologists, to whom my obligations are cordially expressed.

I am fully conscious how slenderly each department of human progress has been dealt with in this work, but in seeking to compass a great subject within a small space, it has been my anxiety to break the continuity of the story as little as possible.

PART I.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

Everything in this wide world has a history; that is, it has something to tell or something to be found out about what it was, and how it has come to be what it is.

Even of the small stones lying in the roadway, or about the garden, clever men have, after a great deal of pains-taking, found out a history more wonderful than all the fairy stories you have been told; and if this be true, as true it is, of dead stones and many other things which cannot speak, you may believe that a history stranger still can be written about some living things.

And it is the history of the most wonderful living thing that this world has ever seen that I want to tell you. You will perhaps think that I am about to describe to you some curly-haired, big-tusked, fierce-looking monster that lived on the earth thousands of years ago, for children (and some grown-up people too) are apt to think that things are wonderful only when they are big, which is not true. To show you what I mean: the beautiful six-sided wax cells which the bee makes are more curious than the rough hut which the chimpanzee—an African monkey—piles together; and the tiny ants that keep plant-lice and milk them just as we keep cows to give us milk, and that catch the young of other ants to make slaves of them, are more wonderful than the huge and dull rhinoceros.

Well, it is about *yourself* that I am going to talk, for I want you to learn, as far as we are able to find out, how it is that you are *what* you are and *where* you are. Remember, I no not say *how* you are, or *why* you are, for God alone knows that, and He has told the secret to no one here, although, maybe, He will tell it us one day elsewhere.

Perhaps you have thought that there is nothing very wonderful in being where you are, or in possessing the good things which you enjoy; that people have always had them, or if not, that they had only to buy them at the shops; and that from the first day man lived on the earth he could cook his food, and have ices and dessert after it; could dress himself well, write a good hand, live in a fine house, and build splendid churches with stained-glass windows, just as he does now-a-days.

If you have thought so, you are wrong, and I wish to set you right, and show you that man was once wild and rough and savage, frightened at his own shadow, and still more frightened at the roar of thunder and the quiver of lightning, which he thought were the clapping of the wings and the flashing of the eyes of the angry Spirit, as he came flying from the sun; and that it has taken many thousands of years for man to become as wise and skillful as we now see him to be.

For just as you had to learn your A, B, C to enable you to read at all, and just as you are learning things day by day which will help you to be useful when you grow up and are called upon to do your share of work in this world, where all idleness is sin, so man had to begin learning, and to get at facts step by step along a toilsome road.

And instead of being told, as we are told, why a certain thing is done, and which is the best way to do it, he had to find out these things for himself by making use of the brains God had given him, and had often to do the same thing over and over again, as you have sometimes with a hard spelling lesson, before he was able to do it well.

Now there are several reasons for the belief that man was once wild and naked, and that only by slow degrees did he become clothed and civilized. For instance, there have been found in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, but especially in Europe, thousands of tools and weapons which were shaped and used by men ages upon ages ago, and which are just like the tools and weapons used by savages living now-a-days in various parts of the earth, and among whom no traces of a civilized past can be found.

Far across the wind-tossed seas, far away in such places as Australia, Borneo, and Ceylon, islands which you must learn to find out on a map of the world, or on a globe, there live at this day creatures so wild that if you saw them you would scarcely believe that they were human beings and not wild animals in the shape of men, covering themselves with mud, feeding on roots, and living in wretched huts or in woods under the shelter of trees. The word "savage" means *one who lives in the woods.*

In telling you how the earliest men lived I shall want you to go back with me a great many years, even before the histories of different countries begin. For men had to learn a great deal before they were clever enough to *write* histories of themselves and live together as we English people do, making a nation; many, many centuries—and a century is a hundred years—passed away before they left any trace behind to tell us that they lived, other than the tools I am about to describe, or broken pottery and scratchings on bones.

Yes, I shall take you past not only the Conquest, but past the day when in this England—then called Britain—the wild people dwelt in mud huts, lived on fruits and the flesh of wild animals, stained their bodies with the blue juice of the woad-plant, and worshiped trees and the sun and moon, even to the day when no sea flowed between England and France, when there was no German Ocean and no English Channel!

For you must take now on trust what by and by you will be able to prove the truth of for yourself, when you learn lessons from the rocks and hills themselves, instead of from books about them, that this world is, like the other worlds floating with it in the great star-filled spaces, very, very old and ever-changing,—so old that men make all sorts of guesses about its birthday; and that, unlike us who become wrinkled and gray, this dear old world keeps ever fresh and ever beautiful, brightened by the smiling sunlight of God playing over its face.

Now, it would be making another guess—and, as we shall never know whether we have guessed right, what is the use of guessing?—to say how many years man has lived here. It is enough for us to know—and this is no guess—that the good Being who made the world put man on it at the best and fittest time, and that He makes nothing in vain, whether it be rock, tree, flower, fish, bird, beast, or man.

But although God left man to find out very much for himself, He gave him the tools wherewith to work. Eyes wherewith to see, ears wherewith to hear, feet wherewith to walk, hands wherewith to handle,—these were given for the use of the man himself, by which I mean the mind, soul, or spirit, which is man. Perhaps we may best call it the thinking part, because the word "man" comes from a very old word which means *to think;* therefore a man is *one who thinks.* When names were given to things, some word was fixed upon which best described the thing. "Brute" comes from a word meaning *raw* or *rough*, and so man is distinguished from the brutes which are in some things like him, and from the plants and trees, which are like him in that they breathe, by being known as the *thinking* being.

If I sometimes break off my story to explain the meaning of certain words, you will one day learn to thank me for it, because, as you have already seen, there is a reason, and sometimes a very beautiful reason, for the names which things bear; and it is not less strange than true, that words often tell us more of the manners and doings of people who, silent now, used to speak them, than we can find out from the remains they have left behind them.

In one case, the words they used to speak are the only clue we have to the fact that a people who were our forefathers once lived in Asia. They have left no traces (so far as we can find out) of the tools which they used, of the houses they lived in, or of writings on rocks or bricks, and yet we know that they must have been, because the words they spoke have come down to us, and are really used by us in different forms and with different meanings, of which I will give you a proof.

You know that the girls in a family are called the "daughters." That word comes from a word very much like it, by which these people of old,—the Aryans, as we have named them—called their girls, and which means a *milking-maid.* Now, we know by this that they had got beyond the savage state, and that they must have kept goats and cows for the milk which they gave. Thus much a simple word tells us. In the same way, if the English people had died off the face of the earth, and left no records behind them other than remains of the words they uttered, we should know that English girls had learned to *spin,* because in course of time unmarried women were called *spinsters.*

II. MAN'S FIRST WANTS.

I have now to tell you that the first men were placed here wild and naked, knowing nothing of the great riches stored up in the earth beneath them, and only after a long time making it yellow with the waving corn, and digging out of it the iron and other metals so useful to mankind.

The first thought of man was about the wants of his body; his first desire was to get food to eat, fire for warmth, and some place for shelter when night came on, and wild beasts howled and roared around him.

See how, in the first step he had to take, man is unlike the brutes.

Wherever God has placed the brute, He has given it the covering best fitted for the place in which it lives, and has supplied its proper food close at hand. But God has placed man here naked, and left him to seek for himself the food and clothing best suited to that part of the world in which he lives. If God had given man thick, hair-covered skin he could not have moved from place to place with comfort, and so man is made naked, but given the power of reasoning about things, and acting by reason. The brute remains the brute he always was, while man never stops, but improves upon what those who lived before him have done.

Man has not the piercing eye of the eagle, but he has the power of making instruments which not only bring into view stars whose light has taken a thousand years to reach the earth, but which also tell us what metals are in the sun and other stars; man has not the swiftness of the deer, but he has the power of making steam-engines to carry him sixty miles in an hour; man has not the strength of the horse, but he has put machines together which can do the work of a hundred horses.

Whatever power man has, whether of body or of mind, improves by use. The savage, who has to make constant use of his bodily powers to secure food, is by practice, fleeter of foot and quicker of sight than civilized man who, using the power of his mind, excels the savage in getting knowledge and making good and also bad use of it.

I have said that the first things man wanted were food, warmth, and shelter.

Ages before he lived here, the streams of fresh water had run down the mountain sides and through the valleys they had helped to make, and they were running still, never resting, so that man had little trouble in quenching his thirst, and would of course keep near the stream. But the food he needed was not to be had so easily. The first things he fed on would be wild fruits and berries, and the first place he lived in would be under some tree or overhanging rock or in some cave. He might wish to eat of the fish that glided past him in the river, and of the reindeer that bounded past him into the depths of the forest; but these were not to be had without weapons to slay them.

There are few things which the wonderfully made hand of man cannot do, but it must have tools to work with. A man cannot cut wood or meat without a knife, he cannot write without a pen, or drive in nails without a hammer.

III. MAN'S FIRST TOOLS.

One of the first things which man needed was therefore some sharp-edged tool, which must of course be harder than the thing he wanted to cut. He knew nothing of the metals, although some of them, not the hardest, lay near the surface, and he therefore made use of the stones lying about. Men of science (that is, men *who know*, because "science" comes from a word meaning *to know*) have given the name "Age of Stone" to that far-off time when stone and such things as bone, wood, and horn, were made into various kinds of tools. Flints were very much used, because, by a hard blow, flakes like the blade of a knife could be broken off them. Other flints were shaped to a point, or into rough sorts of hammers, by chipping with a rounded pebble, or other stone. Many of them are in form like an almond, having a cutting edge all round. Their sizes differ, some being six inches long and three inches wide, while others are rather larger.

These oldest stone weapons, unsharpened by grinding and unpolished, have been chiefly found in places known as the "drift;" that is, buried underneath the gravel, and clay, and stones which have been *drifted* or carried down by the rivers in their ceaseless flow.

In these early days of man's history huge wild animals shared Europe with him. There were mammoths, or woolly-haired elephants, rhinoceroses, hippopotamuses; there were cave-lions, cave-bears, cave-hyænas, and other beasts of a much larger size than are found in the world at this day.

That they lived at the same time that man did is certain, because under layers of earth their bones have been found side by side with his, and with the weapons which he made.

Year after year man learnt to shape his tools and weapons better, until really well-formed spear-heads, daggers, hatchets, hammers, and other implements were made, and at a far later date he had learnt the art of polishing them. Remember that first in what is called the "old Stone Age" men learnt to chip stones, and afterwards, in what is called the "Newer Stone Age," to grind and polish them.

The better-shaped tools and weapons have been chiefly found in caves, which, as books about the earth will tell you, were hollowed out by water ages before any living thing dwelt here. These caves were used by men not only to live in, but also to bury their dead in; and from the different remains found in and near them, it is thought that feasts were held when the burials took place, and that food and weapons were put with the dead because their friends thought that such things were needed by them as they traveled the long journey to another world. I should tell you that but very few bones of primitive man have been found, and this is not to be wondered at when we remember how much more lasting is the work of man than are his remains, and also that from an early period the burning of dead bodies was common.

The great help to man of the weapons I have described to you against the attacks of the wild animals is easily understood, for with them he was able not only to defend himself and his family, but to kill the huge creatures, and thus get food for the mouths that were always increasing in number. That he did kill and eat them, and clothe himself in their skins and make their jawbones into strong weapons, is certain.

It is surprising to think how many things the first men had to do with the stones they roughly shaped. They cut down trees, and perhaps by the aid of fire scooped them out to make canoes, for it was plain to them that wood floated on the water; they killed their food, cut it up, broke the bones to suck out the marrow; cracked sea-shells to get out the fish inside them, besides doing many other things with what would seem to us blunt and clumsy tools.

While we are talking about this Stone Age I should tell you that there are found in different parts of the world stone ruins of very great age and various sizes, some built of stone pillars covered with a flat stone for roof, others built to a point like the great pyramids of Egypt.

These, like the caves, were used to bury the dead in, but sometimes were built to mark the place where some great deed was done, or where something very wonderful had happened. The piling together of stones was an easy and lasting way of keeping such things fresh in men's minds, just as we erect statues in honor of our great men, or build something in memory of their acts of bravery, nobleness, or love. When built as tombs for the dead, their size depended upon the rank of the person to be laid within them. The circles of standing stones—like that at Stonehenge—are thought to have been built for worship of some kind.

You have learnt, then, that during the time when weapons and tools of stone were made men lived a wild, roaming life, eating roots, berries, and fruits, and, in a raw state, the flesh of such animals as they killed, and, sad to say, some of them eating the flesh of their fellowman; clothing themselves, little or much as they needed, in the skins of animals, which they sewed together with bone needles, using the sinews for thread. And now we have to speak about the first mode of getting a fire.

IV. FIRE.

There are a great many curious stories which profess to give an account of the way in which fire was first obtained, but they are a part of that guess-work about things which is ever going on, and which brings us no nearer the truth. Men have ever been quick to make use of what we call their "wits" (which word comes from an old word used by our forefathers, meaning *understanding*) or their common sense, and common sense taught them that fire was to be had by rubbing two pieces of wood together. In making their flint weapons sparks would fly, but they saw that the flints themselves could not be set on fire. When they felt cold they rubbed their hands together and warmth came to them. They tried what could be done by running a blunt pointed stick along a groove of its own making in another piece of wood, and they found first that each got heated, then that sparks flew, then that flame burst out.

Travelers tell us that savages can produce fire in a few seconds in this way, and that in the northern seas of Europe the islanders find a bird so fat and greasy that all they have to do is to draw a wick through its body, and on lighting it the bird burns away as a candle does.

And fire was as useful in the days I am writing about as travelers find it now in giving protection from the wild beasts at night, so that man had many reasons for keeping his fire always burning by heaping on it the wood which was ready to his hand in such abundance.

V. COOKING AND POTTERY.

At first men ate flesh raw, as some northern tribes do now, but afterward they would learn to cook it, and this they did by simply putting the meat direct to the fire. Afterward they would dig a hole and line it with the hard hide of the slain animal, fill it with water, put the meat in, and then make stones red-hot, dropping them in until the water was hot enough and the meat cooked. Then a still better way would be found out of boiling the food in vessels set over the fire, which were daubed outside with clay to prevent their being burnt. Thus men learnt—seeing how hard fire made the clay—to use it by itself and to shape it into rough pots, which were dried either in the sun or before the fire, and hence arose the beautiful art of making earthenware.

VI. DWELLINGS.

Besides living in caves, holes were dug in the ground, a wall being made of the earth which was thrown out, and a covering of tree-boughs put over it. Sometimes where blocks of stone were found lying loosely, they were placed together, and a rude, strong kind of hut made in this way.

There have been found in lakes, especially in Swiss lakes, remains of houses which were built upon piles driven into the bed of the lake. The shape of many of these piles shows that they were cut with stone hatchets, and this proves that people lived in this curious fashion in very early times. It is thought that they did so to be freer from the attacks of their enemies and of wild beasts.

These lake dwellers, as they are called (and they not only lived thus in the Stone Age and later ages, but there are people living in the same manner in the East Indies and other places at this day), made good use of their stone hatchets, for they not only cut down trees, but killed such animals—and very fierce they were—as the bear, wolf and wild boar. They had learned to fish with nets made of flax, which they floated with buoys of bark, and sank with stone weights.

Besides what we know about the dwellings of men in early times, there have been found on the shores of Denmark, Scotland and elsewhere, enormous heaps of what are called "kitchen-middens." These were really the feeding-places of the people who lived on or about those coasts, and are made up of piles of shells, largely those of the oyster, mussel, periwinkle, etc., on which they fed. With these there have also been found the bones of stags and other animals, and also of birds, as well as flint knives and other things.

I said at starting that the three things which man would first need were food, fire and shelter, and, having told you how these were procured by him, you are perhaps wondering how these people of the Stone Age spoke to each other and what words they used. This we shall never know, but we may be sure that they had some way of making their thoughts known one to another, and that they learned to speak and write and count little by little, just as they learned everything else. They had some idea of drawing, for bones and pieces of slate have been found with rough sketches of the mammoth, bull, and other beasts scratched on them. These old-world pictures witness to the truth, that man is greater than brutes in this as in other things, since no brute has yet been known to draw a picture, write an alphabet, or learn how to make a fire.

But I shall have something to say about speaking and writing by and by.

VII. USE OF METALS.

In course of time, some man, wiser than his fellows, made use of his quicker eye and more active brain to discover the metals which the earth contained; and this marks a great gain, for which we cannot be too thankful. When we think about the thousand different uses to which metals are put—how without them no ship big enough and strong enough to cross the ocean could have been built, or steam-engine to speed us along constructed

—we learn how enormous is their value to us. It is certain that if man had never discovered them he would have remained in a savage, or, at least, a barbarous state.

Through all the story of his progress we see that he never went to the storehouse of the earth in vain. Therein were treasured up for him the metals which he needed when stone was found to be too blunt and soft for the work he wished to do; therein the vast coal-beds which were laid open to supply the cosy fires when wood grew scarce.

Gold, which means the *yellow, bright* metal (from *gulr*, yellow), was most likely the first metal used by man. Its glitter would attract his eye, while, unlike some other metals, it is found in rivers, and on various rocks on the surface of the earth. It has to be mixed with another metal to be hard enough for general use; and in its native state would be therefore easily shaped into ornaments. Savage and polished people are alike in this love of ornament. Necklaces of shells and amber made in the Stone Age have been found; and to this day savages think of decoration before dress. One very common way of making themselves smart, as they think, is by marking their face, body, and limbs with curved lines, made with a pointed instrument, filling in the marks with color. This is called tattooing. If this shows that people have in all places and times loved to look fine, although they have gone through pain and discomfort as the price, it also shows that the love of what is beautiful, or of what is thought to be beautiful, is theirs, and that is another thing which the brute has not. No herds of cows ever leave off feeding to admire a sunset; and you never saw a horse or a monkey with face lit up with delight at the sight of a rainbow.

Copper is a metal which came into early use, as, like gold, it is often found unmixed with anything else, and its softness enables it to be worked into various shapes. Where it was scarce, and tin could be had, fire was made use of to melt and mix the two together, forming the pretty, hard, and useful metal called bronze. By pouring the molten mass into a mold of stone or sand, weapons of the shape wanted would be made.

The age when the metals I have named were used is called the "Age of Bronze." A very long time passed before iron was smelted, that is, melted and got away from the ore (or *vein* running through the rock) with which it is found, because this is very hard work, and needs more skill than men had then; but when they succeeded smelting and molding it, it took the place of bronze for making spear-heads, swords, hatchets, etc., bronze being used for the handles and for ornaments, many of which—such as earrings, bracelets, and hair-pins—have been found among the ruins in the Swiss lakes.

Silver and lead were used later still.

You have thus far learnt that by finding in river-beds, caverns, and elsewhere, various tools, weapons, ornaments, and other remains, some of them at great depth, and all without doubt made by man, it is known that he must have lived many thousands of years before we have any records of him in histories written on papyrus (which was the reed from which the ancients made their paper—hence the name "paper"), or painted on the walls of tombs.

By the way of marking the steps in man's progress his early history is divided into three periods, named after the things used in them, as thus:—

1. The Age of Stone, which, as stated at page 5, is also divided into the Old Stone Age and the Newer Stone Age.
2. The Age of Bronze.
3. The Age of Iron.

When you can get to the British Museum, go into the room where the "British Antiquities" are kept, and there you will see for yourself the different flint and metal tools and weapons which I have described.

How many years passed between the shaping of the first flint and the molding of the first bronze weapon is not known. We are sure that men used stone before they used bronze and iron, and that some tribes were in the Stone Age when other tribes had found out the value of metals. The three Ages overlap and run into each other "like the three chief colors of the rainbow."

For example, although some of the lake-dwellings, about which I have told you, were built by men in the Stone Age, a very large number belong to the Bronze Age; and the relics which have been brought to light show how decided was the progress which man had made. The lake-dwellers had learned to cultivate wheat, to store up food for winter use, to weave garments of flax, and to tame the most useful animals, such as the horse, the sheep and the goat. Man had long before this found out what a valuable creature the dog is, for the lowest tribes who lived on the northern sea-coasts have left proof of this in the bones found among the shell heaps.

In what is known as the Age of Iron very rapid progress was made; and while the variety of pottery, the casting of bronze coins, the discovery of glass, and a crowd of other new inventions show what great advance was made in the *things* man used, they show also how fast man himself was rising from a low state.

VIII. MAN'S GREAT AGE ON THE EARTH.

At this point of the story you will, perhaps, be asking a question, to which I will give the best answer that can at present be found.

You will ask how it is that we know these remains of early man to be so very, very old.

To make my reply as clear as possible, I will describe to you one of the many places in which the old bones and weapons have been found.

There is a large cavern at Brixham, on the south coast of Devonshire, which was discovered fourteen years ago through the falling in of a part of the roof. The floor is of stalagmite, or particles of lime, which have been brought down from the roof by the dropping of water, and become hardened into stone again. *Stalagmite* comes from a Greek word which means a *drop*. In this floor, which is about one foot in thickness, were found bones of the reindeer and cave-bear, while below it was a red loamy mass, fifteen feet thick in some parts, in which were buried flint flakes, or knives, and bones of the mammoth. Beneath this was a bed of gravel, more than twenty feet thick, in which flint flakes and some small bones were found. Altogether, more than thirty flints were found in the same cave with the bones of bears and woolly elephants; and as they are known to have been chipped by the hand of man, it is not hard to prove that he lived in this country when those creatures roamed over it.

But what proof have we, you ask, that the bones of these creatures are so very old? Apart from the fact that for many centuries no living mammoth has been seen, we have the finding of its bones buried at a goodly depth; and as it is certain that no one would trouble to dig a grave to put them in, there must be some other cause for the mass of loam under which they are found.

There are several ways by which the various bones may have got into the cave. The creatures to which they belonged may have died on the hill-side, and their bones have been washed into the cave; or they may have sought refuge, or, what in the case I am now describing seems most likely, lived therein; but, be this as it may, we have to account for the thirty-five feet of loam and gravel in which their remains are buried.

The agent that thus covered them from view for long, long years, is that active tool of nature which, before the day when no living thing was upon the earth, and ever since, has been cutting through rocks, opening the deep valleys, shaping the highest mountains, hollowing out the lowest caverns, and which is carrying the soil from one place to another to form new lands where now the deep sea rolls. It is *water* which carried that deposit into Brixham cavern and covered over the bones, and which, since the day that mammoth and bear and reindeer lived in Devonshire, has scooped out the surrounding valleys 100 feet deeper. And although the time which water takes to deepen a channel, or eat out a cavern, depends upon the speed with which it flows, you may judge that the quickest stream works slowly to those who watch it, when I tell you that the river Thames, flowing at its present rate, takes eleven thousand seven hundred and forty years to scoop out *its* valley *one foot* lower! Men of science have therefore some reason for believing that the flint weapons were made by men who lived many thousands of years ago.

"A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday when it is past, and as a watch in the night."

Science, in thus teaching us the great age of the earth, also teaches us the Eternity of the Ageless God; and likewise those vast distances about which astronomers tell us make the universe seem a fitter temple for Him to dwell in than did the old, cramped notions of a flat earth, for whose benefit alone the sun shed his light by day, and the moon and stars their light by night. Science illumines with new beauty the grand thoughts of the star-watching poet of old, who sang, "If I ascend up into heaven, Thou art there; if I make my bed in the unseen world, behold, Thou art there."

IX. MANKIND AS SHEPHERDS, FARMERS, AND TRADERS.

From being a roving, wild, long-haired savage, gnawing roots, or crouching behind rock or tree to pounce upon his prey, uncertain each morning whether night would not set in before he could get enough to eat, man had become a shepherd or tiller of the soil, not only learning the greatness of the earth in which he had been placed, but also beginning dimly to feel his own greatness above the beast of the field and the fowl of the air.

Some part of mankind, finding how useful certain animals were for the milk and flesh which they gave as food, and for the skins, especially of their young ones, which could be made into soft clothing, had learned to tame and gather them into flocks and herds, moving with them from place to place wherever the most grass could be had. These men were the first shepherds or herdsmen, living a nomad (which means *wandering*) life, dwelling in tents because they could be easily removed.

This was the kind of life that Abraham lived thousands of years ago, and that the Arabs and other wandering tribes still live at this day.

While some loved the shepherd's or herdsman's life, others chose a more settled state, becoming farmers or tillers of the earth. The word earth means the *plowed.*

To do this work well, the rude stone implements of their forefathers were useless, and implements made of the best and hardest metals were needed. Then, as they remained in one place, they would not be content with log huts as men were in the Stone Age, or with tents as the nomads were, but would have their houses well built, with places like stables and barns in which to lodge their cattle and store up their corn.

All the sunny days would be wanted for their field-work, and they would therefore be glad to employ others who could build their houses and make their tools. Thus one after another different trades would arise and be carried on, which would bring people together for mutual help and gain: thus houses would multiply into villages, villages would become towns, and towns would grow into cities.

The different classes of people

would unite together for protection against their enemies, and either all would learn the art of war, or would select some of the bravest and strongest among them to become the army to defend the land. Some one man, the best and ablest they could find, would be chosen to carry out the laws which the people agreed to make for the well-being of all.

For in early as well as in later times, the bad passions and jealousies of men broke out and caused those desolating wars which have darkened so many bright spots in this world. It is certain that the tillers of the soil and the dwellers in towns would be more inclined to a peaceful and quiet life than the roving tribes or their chieftain with his followers and herds and flocks, who would often seek to gain by force what they coveted.

Not that these were always to blame, but they would be the more likely of the two to "pick a quarrel." Disputes arose between them about the ownership of the land; the nomads, who loved the lazy ease of a pastoral life more than the hard work of tool-making or house-building, would want to share some of the good fruits which the farmers were making the earth to yield, or some of the bright, sharp-edged weapons which the metal-workers were molding, and in various ways "bad blood," as people call it, would be stirred, which would end in fighting. The stronger would conquer the weaker, seize upon or lay waste their land, and make slaves of such of the prisoners as they thought it worth while to spare. It was an age, like many ages since, when no tender feelings ruled in the heart of man, but when the "golden rule" was not, and the harsh, stern law was this:

> "That they shall take who have the power,
> And they shall keep who can."

But wars do not last forever, and men would find that it was, after all, better to live in friendship and peace. So they would trade together; the earth would yield the farmer more food than he needed, and he would be glad to barter with it, giving some of it to the herdsman in exchange for cattle, and to the tool-maker in exchange for tools, each of whom would be very glad to trade with him.

Then as bartering grew, it was found very awkward and cumbersome to carry things from place to place, especially if they were now and then not very much wanted, and people would agree to make use of something which was handy to carry, steady in value, and that did not spoil by keeping. So, whenever they could, men fixed upon pieces of metal, first casting bronze into coins, and then using gold and silver, which being scarcer than other metals are worth more. We learn from the paintings at Thebes, and from ancient history, that gold and silver were counted as wealth in early times. Abraham is said in the Book of Genesis (which you will read when you are older) to have been "very rich in cattle, in silver, and in gold." The word "pecuniary," which is used in speaking of a man's riches, comes from the Latin word *pecus*, which means *cattle*, and shows that formerly a man's wealth was sometimes reckoned by the cattle he had. Another proof of the meaning that a word will hold.

And this reminds me that I have to tell you a little about speaking, writing, and counting.

X. LANGUAGE.

In what way the wonderful gift of language came to man we do not know, and the wise of many ages have tried in vain to find out.

The same God who made the beautiful organs in man by which he can utter so many different sounds, gave him the power of creating names for the things which he saw, and words for the thought which dwelt in his mind.

There are some words which we can account for, such as those which imitate sounds, as when we say the clock "ticks," or call the "cuckoo" and the "peewit" after the sound they make. But this explains only a portion of the vast number of words which make up a language, and which springs from roots deep down, too deep for us to track.

Man at first had very few words, and those were short ones, and in making known his thoughts to others, he used signs very much; "gesture language," as it has been called. We do the same now; for in shaking the head to mean "no," in nodding it to mean "yes," and in shaking hands in proof that we are joined in friendship, we speak in gesture-language, and would have to do it a great deal if we were traveling in some country of which we did not know the language.

There are very few things that cannot be expressed by signs or gestures, and among the ancients entire plays were performed by persons called pantomimes (which word means *imitators of all things*), who acted not by speaking, but wholly by mimicry.

A story is told of a king who was in Rome when Nero was emperor, and who having seen the wonderful mimicry of a pantomime begged him as a present, so that he might make use of him to have dealings with the nations whose languages he did not know. We have now so many words that we need use signs but very little, if at all.

Just as all the races of mankind are thought to have come from one family, so the different languages which they speak are thought to have flowed from one source.

There are *three* leading streams of language, and I shall have to quote a few hard names in telling you about them.

It was thought some years ago that Hebrew, which is the language in which the sacred books of the Jews (known to us as the Old Testament) are written, was the parent, so to speak, of all other languages, but it has since been found through tracing words to their early forms that

1. Sanskrit, in which the sacred books of the Brahmans are written, and which was a spoken tongue in the time of Solomon and Alexander the Great, but which has been a "dead" or unspoken language for more than two thousand years;

Zend, in which the sacred books of the Parsees (or so-called fire-worshipers) are written;
Greek, the language of Greece;
Latin, the language of the ancient Romans;

and nearly all the other dialects and languages of India and Europe, are children of the Indo-European, or Aryan family.

I told you something about these Aryans at page 4, and will add that through their language we know that they had learned "the arts of plowing and making roads, of sewing and weaving, of building houses, and of counting as far as one hundred." The ties of father, mother, brother, and sister, were hallowed among them, and they called upon God, who "is Light," by the name still heard in Christian churches and Indian temples. That name is *Deity*. It comes from a very ancient word, by which these people spoke of the *sky*, and which was afterward applied to Him who dwells in the sky. For "beyond sun, and moon, and stars, and all which changes, and will change, was the clear blue sky, the boundless firmament of heaven." There man in every age has fixed the dwelling-place of God who is Light, and in whom is no darkness at all.

2. The second division of languages includes the Hebrew; the Arabic, in which the Koran, the sacred book of the Mohammedans, is written; and the languages on the very old monuments of Phœnicia, Babylon, Assyria, and Carthage.
3. The third division includes the remaining languages of Asia, with the exception of the Chinese, which stands by itself as the only relic of the first forms of human speech, being made up of words of one syllable.

The ancient language of Britain is

now found only in some parts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, and the foundation of our present language, which now contains above one hundred thousand words, is the same as that spoken on the coast of Germany. It was brought over by Angles, Saxons (hence Anglo-Saxons), Jutes and other tribes from the Continent. Anglo-Saxon is the mother-tongue of our present English, to which in various forms Latin words have been added, together with a few words from the languages of other nations.

For teaching you the different changes in the English language, as well as for an interesting list of words borrowed from the Arabic, Turkish, Chinese, etc., the best books to help you are Dr. Morris's "Historical Outlines of English Accidence," and Archbishop French's "English Past and Present."

I am afraid I have confused you a little in this talk about language, but you can hear it another time over again when you are older and better able to learn the importance belonging to the study of the wonderful gift by which we are able to talk to people in various languages, and read in ancient books the history of man's gropings after God. I want to lead you on to feel and know that the study of words is a delightful way of spending time, and that the dictionary, which is thought by most people to be a dry book, is full of poetry and history locked up in its words, which the key of the wise will open.

XI. WRITING.

It is much easier to tell you how men learned to write.

The use of writing is to put something before the eye in such a way that its meaning may be known at a glance, and the earliest way of doing this was by a picture. Picture-writing was thus used for many ages, and is still found among savage races in all quarters of the globe. On rocks, stone slabs, trees, and tombs, this way was employed to record an event, or tell some message.

In the course of time, instead of this tedious mode, men learned to write signs for certain words or sounds. Then the next step was to separate the word into letters, and to agree upon certain signs to always represent certain letters, and hence arose alphabets. The shape of the letters of the alphabet is thought by some to bear traces of the early picture-writing. To show you what is meant, Aleph, the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, means an *ox*, and the sign for that letter was an outline of an *ox's head.*

The signs used by astronomers for the sun, moon and planets; the signs I, II, III, for one, two, and three, are proofs that if picture-writing is of value to man in a civilized state, it must have been of greater value to him, and much more used by him the farther we search back. We still speak of *signing* our name, although we have ceased to use a sign or mark, as was done when few could write.

XII. COUNTING.

The art of Counting is slowly learned by savage tribes, and at this day some are found that cannot reckon beyond four, or that, if they can, have no words for higher figures.

All over the world the fingers have been and are used as counters, and among many tribes the word for "hand" and "five" is the same.

This may be taken as a common mode by which the savage reckons:

One hand	5
Two hands or half a man . . .	10
Two hands, and one foot . . .	15
Hands and feet, or one man . .	20

We do the same, as shown in the word *digit*, which is the name for any of the figures from one to nine, and comes from the Latin *digitus*, which means a *finger;* while counting by fives and tens enters into all our dealings. One early way of counting was by pebbles, the Latin for which is *calculi*, and we preserve this fact in our use of the word *calculate;* just as, when we tie a knot in our handkerchief to remind us of something we fear to forget, we are copying the ancient plan of counting with knotted cords.

This story of the World's Childhood has been chiefly learned by studying the lessons taught by those traces of man which are found in the north-western part of Europe, but it is believed that he first lived elsewhere, and afterwards traveled here. For in the days known as the Ancient Stone Age, when Britain and Ireland were joined to the main land, and great rivers flowed through the valleys which are now covered by the German Ocean and English Channel, and when woolly-haired elephants and rhinoceroses roamed about in the pine forests of what is now England and France, Europe was very much colder than it is now, and it is thought that man did not live there before these huge creatures.

You will one day learn from the beautiful story which rocks and rivers are ever telling, what vast changes have happened over all the earth, in proof of which you may think about what I have already said, to which may be added, that the sea once swept over the place where you live, and ages hence may flow over it again.

XIII. MAN'S WANDERINGS FROM HIS FIRST HOME.

It is believed that man lived at first somewhere near the middle of Asia, and from thence those who came after him spread on all sides, some settling in the rich plains watered by the river Nile, to become the forefathers of Egyptian kings, others wandering to the bleak shores of Northern Europe to become the forefathers of the Sea-kings.

As the climate in which people live affects the color of their skins, so the progress of any race, as well as the kind of life which they live, depend very much on the land they dwell in, and this will explain why some races have progressed so much more than others, and even become their rulers. Where there were rich, grassy plains, the people gathered flocks and herds, wandered from place to place in search of good pasture, and made scarcely any advance. Where a fruitful soil and balmy air were to be had, there people would settle as farmers and workers in wood and metals, gathering both knowledge and wealth, while those who lived on islands and by the sea-coasts became adventurous and bold.

It is not the object of this narrative to take you beyond the time when histories usually begin, and what you have learned does not therefore relate to any single tribe or nation, but to the growth of mankind as a whole. I will, however, sketch in a few lines the course which the leading races of mankind took after they left their supposed common home.

The tribes who wandered into the northern parts of Europe lived for ages a wild roving life; and when they had so far advanced as to find out, or, what is more likely, learn from other races, the use of metals, and then to apply their powers in building ships stout and strong enough to brave the open sea, they became the terror of quiet people, and you will learn from old English history how they pounced one after another upon this island, plundering wherever and whatever they could.

Other tribes settled down in Persia; on the sea-board of Palestine; in Egypt; and were the roots from which grew those mighty nations whose kings had reigned for many years before the birth of Abraham. Other tribes leapt across the narrow straits between Asia and America, and wandered over that vast New World, those who traveled southward becoming builders of cities whose ruins tell of their past importance.

Long before the great empires of Greece and Rome, there arose a people known to us as the Jews, whose history fills so many books of the Bible, and who were descended from a chieftain named Abraham. I shall have some interesting stories to tell you further on concerning this good and noble man.

Abraham left his native land and moved with his slaves and cattle to Palestine. His descendants afterward settled in Egypt, which was then a great corn-yielding country, where they grew to large numbers, and were treated kindly during the lifetime of Joseph, whose touching story is told in the Book of Genesis. After his death they were, however, made slaves and used very harshly. A good, learned, and heroic man named Moses, who, although he had been brought up by the king's daughter as her son, burned with righteous anger for the wrongs of his oppressed countrymen, rose at the head of them and delivered them. How they journeyed to Palestine, living under chiefs or judges; killing, in the cruel manner of that age, men, women, and children; how they grew and prospered, but, falling into vice, became weak and enslaved: then rose again for a time, until when Jesus Christ lived they were subject to the Roman Empire, you will learn by and by from Scripture histories.

XIV. MAN'S PROGRESS IN ALL THINGS.

The early history of man shows us how wonderful his progress has been when we compare the Age of Stone with our present happy lot. Not only in house-building, cooking, pottery, clothing, various uses of metals, have rude ways been improved upon, but also in his knowledge of the earth beneath and the stars around has the progress of man been vast. The lightning and the wind, the rushing stream, daily work for him, and their force is chained to do his bidding. He has already seen a good depth, and may see further yet, into the mystery of the stars, and every day he is spelling out some sentence here and there in the great book of Nature.

One would like to know and thank those men of the past who laid the foundation of all that has since been done. For he who first chipped a flint was the father of all sculptors; he who first scratched a picture of man or mammoth was the father of all painters; he who first piled stones together was the father of all builders of abbeys and cathedrals; he who first bored a hole in a reindeer's bone to make a whistle, or twanged a stretched sinew, was the father of all musicians; he who first rhymed his simple thoughts was the father of all poets; he who first strove to learn the secret of sun and star was the father of all astronomers.

XV. DECAY OF PEOPLES.

I have called this "simple account of man in early times" by the title of the "Childhood of the World," because the progress of the world from its past to its present state is like the growth of each of us from childhood to manhood or womanhood.

Although the story has, on the whole, flowed smoothly along, we must not leave out of sight the terrible facts which have sometimes checked the current. History, in books and in ruins, teaches that there have been tribes and nations (some of the nations go great and splendid that it seemed impossible for them ever to fall) which have reached a certain point, then decayed and died. And since man has lived so many thousands of years on the earth, there must have risen and fallen races and tribes of which no trace will ever be found.

The cause of the shameful sin and crime of which every place in this world has been more or less the scene, has sometimes been man's ignorance of what is due to his God and his fellow-man, but more often his willful use of power to do evil, forgetting, in his folly and wrong-doing, that the laws of God change not, that Sin is a fair-dealing master and pays his servants the wages of death. They have disobeyed the law of love, and hence have arisen cruel wars and shocking butcheries; captures of free people and the crushing of their brave spirits in slavery. They have disobeyed the laws of health, and the plague or "black death" has killed tens of thousands, or gluttony and drunkenness have destroyed them. They have loved money and selfish ease (forgetting the eternal fact that not one of us can live by bread alone, but that we live our lowest if that be the end and aim of our life), and their souls, lean and hungry, have perished.

But although the hand on the clock-face of progress has seemed now and then to stand still, or even to go back, it is a great truth for our comfort and trust that the world gets better and not worse. There are some people who are always sighing for what is not or cannot be; who look back to the days of their childhood and wish them here again; who are ever talking of the "good old days" when laughter rang with richest mirth, when work was plentiful and beggars scarce, and life so free from care that wrinkles never marked the happy face. Do not listen to these people; they have either misread the past or not read it at all. Like some other things, it is well-looking at a distance, but ill-looking near. We have not to go far back to the "good old times," to learn that kings and queens were worse lodged and fed and taught than a servant is nowadays.

It is very foolish and wrong to either wish the past back again, or to speak slightingly of it. It filled its place; it did its appointed work. Even out of terrible wars blessings have sometimes come, and that which men have looked upon as evil has been fruitful in good. We cannot see the end as well as the beginning: God alone can do that. The true wisdom is to see in all the steps of this earth's progress the guiding hand of God, and to believe that He will not leave to itself the world which for His own pleasure he has created. For

"nothing walks with aimless feet."

To you and to every one of us, God gives work to do; and if He takes it away, it is that others may do it better, and so the well-being of all be secured.

Let us strive to do thoroughly the work which we find nearest to our hand; though we may think it small and trifling, it is not so in the sight of Him who made the dew-drop as well as the sun, and who looks not so much upon the thing we have to do, as upon the way and the spirit in which we do it.

PART II.

XVI. INTRODUCTORY.

In seeking to show you by what slow steps man came to believe in one all-wise and all-good God, I wish to fix one great truth upon your young heart about Him; for the nobler your view of Him is, the nobler is your life likely to be.

Now you would think your father very hard and cruel if he loaded you with all the good things he had, and sent your brothers and sisters, each of them yearning for his love and kisses, to some homeless spot to live uncared for and unloved, and to die unwept.

And yet this is exactly what some people have said that God does. They have spoken of Him, who has given life to every man, woman, and child, without power on their part to take or refuse what is thus given, as being near only a few of His creatures, and leaving the rest, feeling a soul-hunger after Him, to care for themselves and to never find Him.

Believe that He who is called our Father is better, more just, more loving, than the best fathers can be, and that He "is not far from any one of us."

In those dim ages through which I have led you, God, whose breath made and ever makes each of us "a living soul," was as near the people who lived then as He is near us, leading them, although they, like ourselves, often knew it not. The rudest, and to us in some things most shocking, forms of religion, were not invented by any devil, permitted by God to delude men to destruction, but were, as we learn from savage races now, the early struggles of man from darkness to twilight—for no man really loves the darkness—and from twilight to full day.

Around him was the beauty and motion of life; before him very often the mystery of death, for there were weeping fathers and mothers in those old times over dead little children, and friends stood silent and tearful beside their dead friends in those days as they do in these; and do you think that man would sit himself down to frame a willful, cunning lie about the things which awed him?

Although the ideas which these early men had about what they saw and felt were wrong, *they were right to them*, and it was only after a long time when some shrewd man, making bad use of his shrewdness, pretended to know more than God will ever permit man to know here, that lies and juggling with the truth of things began.

I tell you this because I want you to feel a trust in God that nothing can take away; and how much you will need this trust, when your heart comes to feel the sin and sorrow of this world, the years that are before you will reveal.

XVII. MAN'S FIRST QUESTIONS.

It was not long after man had risen from his first low state, and the chief wants of his body were supplied, that he would begin to act the *man* still more by *thinking* (see page 3), and then would hear some voice within, telling him that eating and drinking were not the chief ends for which life had been given him.

He saw around him the world with its great silent hills and green valleys; its rugged ridges of purple-tinted mountains, and miles of barren flat; its trees and fragrant flowers; the graceful forms of man, the soaring bird, the swift deer and kingly lion; the big, ungainly-shaped mammoth, long since died out; the wide scene, beaming with the colors which came forth at the bidding touch of the sunlight, or bathed in the shadows cast by passing clouds: he saw the sun rise and travel to the west, carrying the light away; the moon at regular times growing from sickle-shape to full round orb; * then each night the stars, few or many, bursting out like sparks struck off the wheels of the Sun-God's chariot, or like the glittering sprays of water cast by a ship as she plows the sea.

His ears listened to the different sounds of Nature; the music of the flowing river; the roar of the never-silent sea; the rustle of the leaves as they were swept by the unseen fingers of the breeze; the patter of the rain as it dropped from the great black clouds; the rumble of the thunder as it followed the spear-like flashes of light sent from the rolling clouds: these and a hundred other sounds, now harsh, now sweet, made him ask—What does it all mean? Where and what am I? Whence came I? whence came all that I see and hear and touch?

Man's first feeling was one of simple wonder; his second feeling the wish to find out the *cause* of things, what it was that made them as they were.

All around him was Nature (by which is meant *that which brings forth*), great, mighty, beautiful; was it not all alive, for did it not all move?

In thinking how man would seek to get at the cause of what he saw, we must not suppose that he could reason as we do. But although he could not shape his thoughts into polished speech, common sense stood by to help him.

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* Moon means the *measurer*, hence our word *month*, "for time was measured by nights and moons long before it was reckoned by days and suns and years."

He knew that he himself moved or stood still as he chose, that his choice was ruled by certain reasons, and that only when he willed to do anything was it done. Something within governed all that he did. Nature was not still; the river flowed, the clouds drifted, the leaves trembled, the earth shook; sun, moon, and stars stayed not; these then must be moved by something within them.

Thus began a belief in spirits dwelling in everything—in sun, tree, waterfall, flame, beast, bird, and serpent.

XVIII. MYTHS.

In seeking to account for the kind of life which seemed to be (and really was, although not as he thought of it) in all things around, man shaped the most curious notions into the form of *myths*, by which is meant a fanciful story founded on something real. If to us a boat or a ship becomes a sort of personal thing, especially when named after any one; if "Jack Frost," and "Old Father Christmas," which are but names, seem also persons to the mind of a little child, we may readily see how natural it is for savages to think that the flame licking up the wood is a living thing whose head could be cut off; to believe that the gnawing feeling of hunger is caused by a lizard or a bird in the stomach; to imagine that the echoes which the hills threw back came from the dwarfs who dwelt among them, and that the thunder was the rumbling of the Heaven-God's chariot wheels.

Myths have changed their form in different ages, but they remain among us even now, and live in many a word still used, the first meaning of which has died out. To show you what is meant; we often speak of a cross or sullen person being in a bad *humor*, which word rests on a very old and false notion that there were four moistures or *humors* in the body, on the proper mixing of which the good or bad temper of a person depended.

In telling you a little about myths I cannot attempt to show you where the simple early myths become later on stiffened into the legends of heroes, with loves and fears and hates and mighty deeds, such as make up so much of the early history of Greece and Rome, for that you will learn from other and larger books than this.

XIX. MYTHS ABOUT SUN AND MOON.

Among many savage tribes, the sun and moon are thought to be man and wife, or brother and sister. One of the most curious myths of this kind comes from the Esquimaux, the dwellers in the far North. It relates that when a girl was at a party, some one told his love for her by shaking her shoulders after the manner of the country. She could not see who it was in the dark hut, so she smeared her hands with soot, and when he came back she blackened his cheek with her hand. When a light was brought she saw that it was her brother, and fled. He ran after her and followed her as she came to the end of the earth and sprang out into the sky. There she became the sun and he the moon, and this is why the moon is always chasing the sun through the heavens, and why the moon is sometimes dark as he turns his blackened cheek towards the earth.

In all the languages known as Teutonic the moon was of the male gender and the sun of the female gender.

Among other people, and in later times, the sun is spoken of as the lover of the dawn, who went before him killing her with his bright spear-like rays, while night was a living thing which swallowed up the day. If the sun is a face streaming with locks of light, the moon is a silver boat, or a mermaid living half her time under the water. When the sun shone with a pleasant warmth he was called the friend of man; when his heat scorched the earth he was said to be slaying his children. You have perhaps heard that the dark patches on the moon's face, which look so very much like a nose and two eyes, gave rise to the notion of a "man in the moon," who was said to be set up there for picking sticks on a Sunday.

XX. MYTHS ABOUT ECLIPSES.

There is something so weird and gloomy in eclipses of the sun and moon, that we can readily understand how through all the world they have been looked upon as the direct work of some dreadful power.

The Chinese imagine them to be caused by great dragons trying to devour the sun and moon, and beat drums and brass kettles to make the monsters give up their prey. Some of the tribes of American Indians speak of the moon as hunted by huge dogs, catching and tearing her till her soft light is reddened and put out by the blood flowing from her wounds. To this day in India the native beats his gong as the moon passes across the sun's face, and it is not so very long ago that in Europe both eclipses and rushing comets were thought to show that troubles were near.

Fear is the daughter of Ignorance, and departs when knowledge enlightens us as to the cause of things.

We know that an eclipse (which comes from Greek words meaning *to leave out* or *forsake*) is caused either by the moon passing in such a line between the earth and the sun as to cause his light to be in part or altogether hidden, *left out* for a short time, or by the earth so passing between the sun and moon as to throw its shadow upon the moon and partly or wholly hide her light. *Our* fear would arise if eclipses did not happen at the very moment when astronomers have calculated them to occur.

XXI. MYTHS ABOUT STARS.

There is a curious Asian myth about the stars which tells that the sun and moon are both women. The stars are the moon's children, and the sun once had as many. Fearing that mankind could not bear so much light, each agreed to eat up her children. The moon hid hers away, but the sun kept her word, which no sooner had she done than the moon brought her children from their hiding-place. When the sun saw them she was filled with rage, and chased the moon to kill her, and the chase has lasted ever since. Sometimes the sun comes near enough to bite the moon, and that is an eclipse. The sun, as men may still see, devours her stars at dawn, but the moon hides hers all day while the sun is near, and brings them out at night only, when the sun is far away.

The names still in use for certain clusters of stars and single stars, were given long ago when the stars were thought to be living creatures. They were said to be men who had once lived here, or to be mighty hunters or groups of young men and maidens dancing. Many of the names given show that the stars were watched with anxiety by the farmer and sailor, who thought they ruled the weather. The group of stars known to us as the Pleiades were so called from the word *plein*, which means to *sail*, because the old Greek sailors watched for their rising before they ventured on the ocean. The same stars are called the *digging* stars by the Zulus, who live in South Africa, because when they appear the people begin to dig. A very good illustration of the change which a myth takes is afforded by these same stars, which are spoken of in Greek mythology as the seven daughters of Atlas (who was said to bear the world on his shoulders), six of whom were wedded to the Gods, but the seventh to a king, for which reason Merope, as she is named, shines the faintest of them all.

The stars were formerly believed to govern the fate of a person in life. The temper was said to be good or bad, the nature grave or gay, according to the planet which was in the ascendant, as it was called, at birth. Several words in our language witness to this old belief. We speak of a "disaster," which means the stroke or blast of an unlucky star; *aster* being a Greek word for *star*. We call a person "ill-starred" or "born under a lucky star." Grave and gloomy people are called "saturnine," because those born under the planet Saturn are said to be so disposed. Merry and happy-natured people are called "jovial," as born under the planet Jupiter, or Jove. Active and sprightly people are called "mercurial," as born under the planet Mercury. Mad people are called "lunatics." *Luna* is the Latin word for moon, and the more sane movements of the insane were believed to depend upon her phases or appearances of change in form.

Sun, moon and stars were all thought to be fixed to the great heavens (which means *heaved* or lifted up, and comes from an Anglo-Saxon word, *hefan*, to lift), because it seemed like a solid arch over the flat earth. To many a mind it was the place of bliss, where care and want and age could never enter. The path to it was said to be along that bright-looking band across the sky known to us as the "Milky Way," the sight of which has given birth to several beautiful myths. I should like to stay and tell you some of them, but we must not let the myths keep us too long from the realities.

XXII. MYTHS ABOUT THE EARTH AND MAN.

The waterspout was thought to be a giant or sea-serpent reaching from sea to sky; the rainbow (which books about light will tell you is a circle, half only of which we can see) was said to be a living demon coming down to drink when the rain fell, or, prettier myth, the heaven-ladder or bridge along which the souls of the blest are led by angels to Paradise, or the bow of God set in the clouds, as Indian, Jew, and Finn have called it; the clouds were cows driven by the children of the morning to their pasture in the blue fields of heaven; the tides were the beating of the ocean's heart; the earthquake was caused by the Earth-Tortoise moving underneath; the lightning was the forked tongue of the storm-demon, the thunder was his roar; volcanoes were the dwelling-places of angry demons who threw up red-hot stones from them.

Man's sense of the wonderful is so strong that a belief in giants and pigmies and fairies was as easy to him as it has been hard to remove. The bones of huge beasts now extinct were said to have belonged to giants, whose footprints were left in those hollows in stones which we know to be water-worn. The big loose stones were said to have been torn from the rocks by the giants and hurled at their foes in battle. The stories of the very small people who once lived in this part of Europe, and whose descendants now live in Lapland, gave rise to a belief in dwarfs. The flint arrow-heads of the Stone Age were said to be elf-darts used by the little spirits dwelling in woods and wild places, while the polished stone axes were thunderbolts.

How all kinds of other myths, such as those accounting for the bear's stumpy tail, the robin's red breast, the cross-bill's twisted bill, the aspen's quivering leaf, arose, I cannot now stay to tell you, nor how out of myths there grew the nursery stories and fairy tales which children never tire of hearing; for we must now be starting on our voyage from the wonderful realm of fancy to the not less wonderful land of fact, whither science is ever bearing us. Nay, not less wonderful but more wonderful, since the fancies come from the facts, not the facts from the fancies.

XXIII. MAN'S IDEAS ABOUT THE SOUL.

We have learnt that because man saw all nature to be in motion, he believed that life dwelt in all, that a spirit moved leaf, and cloud, and beast. *Words* now come in to tell us what in the course of time was man's notion about a spirit. The difference between a living and a dead man is this: the living man breathes and moves; the dead man has ceased to breathe and is still. Now the word *spirit* means *breath*, and in the leading languages of the world the word used for *soul* or *spirit* is that which signifies *breath* or *wind*. Frequently the soul of man is thought to be a sort of steam or vapor, or a man's shadow, which becoming unsettled causes him to be ill. The savage thinks that the spirit can leave the body during sleep, and so whatever happens to him in his dreams seems as real and true as if it had taken place while he was awake. If he sees some dead friend in his sleep, he believes either that the dead have come to him or that his spirit has been on a visit to his friend, and he is very careful not to wake any one sleeping lest the soul should happen to be away from the body. Believing that a man's soul could thus go in and out of his body, it was also thought that demons could be drawn in with the breath, and that yawning and sneezing were proofs of their nearness. So what is called an invocation was spoken to ward them off, of which we have a trace in the custom of saying "God bless you" when any one sneezes.

According to an old Jewish legend, "the custom of saying 'God bless you' when a person sneezes dates from Jacob. The Rabbis say that before the time that Jacob lived, men sneezed once and that was the end of them—the shock slew them. This law was set aside at the prayer of Jacob on condition that in all nations a sneeze should be hallowed by the words 'God bless you.'"

Diseases were said to be caused, among other things, by the soul staying away too long from the body, and the bringing of it back is a part of the priest's or wizard's work.

All these ideas, crude as they are, have lived on among people long after they have risen from savagery, and in fact remain among us, although their first meaning is hidden, in such sayings as a man being "out of his mind," or "beside himself," or "come to himself." If the body has suffered any loss in limb or otherwise, the soul is thought to be maimed too. And the belief that it will need, after it leaves the body, all the things which it has had here will explain the custom of killing wives and slaves to follow the deceased, and as among very low races lifeless things are said to have souls, of placing clothes, weapons, and ornaments in the grave for the dead person's use in another world. It is within a very few years that in Europe the soldier's horse that follows his dead master in the funeral procession was shot and buried with him.

Man regarding himself as surrounded by spirits, dwelling in everything and all-powerful to do him good or harm, shaped his notions about them as they seemed to smile or frown upon him.

Not only did he look upon sickness as often the work of demon-spirits, but in his fear he filled the darkness with ghosts of the dead rising from their graves, shrieking at his door, sitting in his house, tapping him on the shoulder, and breaking the silence with their whistling tones.

XXIV. BELIEF IN MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT.

In the desire to ward off these unwelcome guests, man has made use of charms and magic arts and tricks of different sorts. And there have always been those who, shrewder than the rest, have traded on the fears of the weak and timid, and professed to have power over the spirits or such influence with them as to drive them away by certain words or things. Medicine-men, rain-makers, wizards, conjurers, and sorcerers, these have abounded everywhere; and even among us now there are found, under other names, people who think they have power with the unseen and know more about the unknown than has ever been or will be given to man to find out in this life.

This belief in magical arts, which is so firmly rooted among the lowest tribes of mankind, has only within the last two hundred years died out among civilized people, and even lingers still in out-of-the-way places among the foolish and ignorant, who are always ready to see a miracle in everything that they cannot understand. Out of it grew the horrid belief in witchcraft, through which it is reckoned *nine millions* of people have been burned! Witchcraft spread with a belief in the devil, who, being looked upon as the enemy of God and man, was regarded as the cause of all the evil in the world, which he worked either by himself or by the aid of agents. It was held that persons had sold themselves to him, he in return promising that they should lack nothing and should have power to torment man and woman and child and beast. If any one, therefore, felt strange pains—if any sad loss came—it was the unholy work of witches. It was they who caused the withering storm; the ruin to the crops; the sudden death of the cattle; and when any one pined away in sickness, it was because some old witch had cast her evil eye upon him, or made a waxen image of him and set it before the fire, that the sick man may waste away as it melted. The poor creatures who were charged with thus being in league with the devil were sought for among helpless old women. To have a wrinkled face, a hairy lip, a squint eye, a hobbling gait, a squeaking voice, a scolding tongue; to live alone: these were thought proofs enough, and to such miserable victims torture was applied so cruelly that death was a welcome release.

XXV. MAN'S AWE OF THE UNKNOWN.

Since all that puzzles the savage puzzles us, we can feel with him, when he speaks of the soul as breath, of dreams as real, and, in hushed voice, of good and bad spirits around.

To this day we have not, nor does it seem likely we ever can have, any clear idea about the soul. We have a vague notion that at death it leaves the body as a sort of filmy thing or shadow or vapor. English, Chinese, and Indians alike will keep some door or window open through which the departing soul may leave, and it is a German saying that a door should not be slammed lest a soul be pinched in it!

And our dreams, which so many believe in as bringing faithful messages of joy and sorrow, seem to us so real and "true while they last." Even in the most foolish and baseless stories which are told about bells rung in haunted houses, and ghosts with sheeted arms in churchyards, there is, remember, a witness to the awe in which man, both civilized and savage, in every age and place, holds the unseen.

For all that science tells us about the creatures that teem in a drop of water and in the little bodies that course with our blood, brings us no nearer to the great mystery of life. The more powerful the microscopes we use, the more wonders—as we might rightly expect—do we see: but *life itself* no glass will ever show us, and the soul of man no finger will ever touch.

God has given to man a mind, that is, power to think and reason and remember, and with it time, place, and wish to use the gift. He, in the words of a great poet, "wraps man in darkness and makes him ever long for light." As that which costs little is valued little, man would not have cared, had much knowledge been granted him at first, to strive after more; but because he knows little, yet feels that he has the power to learn much, he uses the power in gaining increase of wisdom and knowledge, till he feels the truth of those very old words which say of wisdom, "She is more precious than rubies, and all the things thou canst desire are not to be compared unto her."

XXVI. FETISH-WORSHIP.

So far then we have seen how man seeks to explain what he sees around him, and the next thing we have to find out is, what is his first feeling toward it all? It is to bow before it and worship the powers which seem stronger than himself.

The very lowest form of worship is that paid to lifeless things in which some virtue or charm is thought to dwell, and is called "fetish" worship, from a word meaning a *charm*. It does not matter what the object is; it may be a stone of curious shape, the stump of a tree with the roots turned up, even an old hat or a red rag, so long as some good is supposed to be had, or some evil to be thwarted, through it. The worship of stones, about which we may read in the Bible, prevails to this day among rude tribes, who have the strangest notions about them as being sometimes husbands and wives, sometimes the dwelling-place of spirits. The confused ideas which cause the savage to look upon dreams as real cause him to confound the lifeless with the living, and to carefully destroy the parings off his nails and cuttings of his hair, lest evil should be worked through them. The New Zealander would thrust pebbles down the throat of a male child to make its heart hard. The Zulu chews wood that the heart of his foe or of the woman whom he loves may soften toward him even as the wood is being bruised. The dreadful practice of men eating human flesh is supposed to have arisen from the idea that if the flesh of some strong, brave man be eaten, it makes the eater brave and strong also. The natives of Borneo will not eat deer lest they should thereby become faint-hearted, and the Malays will give much for the flesh of the tiger to make them brave. If a Tartar doctor has not the medicine which he wants he will write its name on a scrap of paper and make a pill of it for the patient to take. A story is told of a man in Africa who was thought very holy, and who earned his living by writing prayers on a board, washing them off and selling the water.

We may laugh at this, but whenever we say a verse out of the Bible, or gabble over the beautiful Lord's Prayer, because we think that in some mysterious way we get good by so doing, we are fetish-worshipers, and far below the poor savages I am telling you about, for we know that unless our hearts speak, no muttering of words can help us.

XXVII. IDOLATRY.

The customs of worshiping a fetish and of setting up an idol, although they may appear the same, are really very different, because when an idol is made it does not always follow that it is worshiped. The word "idol" comes from a Greek word meaning an *image* or *form*, and sometimes the idol it treated as only an image of the god or gods believed in, and is not mistaken for the god itself. Unhappily it has more frequently been regarded as a god, and believed to hear prayer, to accept gifts, and have power to bless or curse. The materials out of which different races shape their gods show us what their ideas are. These may be mere bundles of grass or rudely daubed stones, or carved with the care and beauty displayed in the household idols of the East. If the god is believed in as all-powerful, a huge image will be built, to which will be given a score of arms and legs, the head of a lion, the feet of a stag, and the wings of a bird. But it would fill a much larger book than this were I to tell you how in every age different nations have made and worshiped idols and what they have been like. Very many years will yet pass away before even in civilized countries people will learn that the great God has neither shape nor parts, and can never be looked upon, "seeing," as the good apostle Paul told the Greeks, "that He is Lord of heaven and earth, and dwelleth not in temples made with hands," and therefore is not "like unto gold or silver or stone graven by art and man's device."

XXVIII. NATURE-WORSHIP.

We have now to leave the lifeless

things in which poor savage man has found a god to hang round his neck or set up in his hut and learn a little about some of the living and moving things which are worshiped.

Some learned men think that the worship of serpents and trees was the earliest faith of mankind. Others have thought that the sun, moon, stars, and fire were first worshiped. But it seems more likely that in different parts of the world men had different gods, and would at first worship the things nearest to them till they knew enough about them to lessen fear, and would then bow before those greater powers whose mysteries are hidden still.

1. Water-Worship. The worship of water is very wide-spread and easy to account for—for what seemed so full of life, and therefore, according to early man's reason, so full of spirits, as rivers, brooks, and waterfalls? To him it was the water-demon that made the river flow so fast as to be dangerous in crossing, and that curled the dreaded whirlpool in which life was sucked. When one river-god came to be afterward believed in, as controlling every stream, making it to flow lazily along or to rush at torrent-speed, it was believed to be wrong to save any drowning person lest the river-god should be cheated of his prey.

Sacred springs, holy wells, abound everywhere to show how deep and lasting was water-worship. You have heard of sacred rivers, such as the Ganges, of which some beautiful stories are given in the sacred books of India, telling how it flows from the heavenly places to bless the earth and wash away all sin.

2. Tree-Worship. The worship of trees is also very common. The life that, locked up within them during the long winter, burst out in leaf and flower and fruit, and seemed to moan or whisper as the breezes shook branch and leaf, was that not also the sign of an indwelling spirit?

So, far later in time than the early nature-worshipers, the old Greeks thought when they peopled sea and stream, tree and hill, with beings whom they called nymphs, telling of the goddesses who dwelt in the water to bless the drinkers, and of those who were born and who died with the trees in which they lived. And you have perhaps heard that the priests of the ancient religion of this island held the oak-tree sacred and lived among its groves, as their name Druid, which comes from the Welsh word *derw* or the Greek *drus*, both meaning an *oak*, shows.

3. Animal-Worship. Besides the worship of trees and rivers and other like things seen to have life or motion, the worship of animals arose in very early times. The life in them was seen to be very different from that of the tree or river. The water swirled and foamed, the tree shook, the volcano hissed, but no eyes glistened from them, no huge claws sprang forth to tear. And the brute seemed so like to man in many things, and withal was so much stronger, that it must have a soul greater than the soul of man.

As mastery over the brute was gained, the fear and worship of it died out here and there, but sacred animals play a great part in many religions. The kind of brute worshiped depended very much on the country in which man lived. In the far North he worshiped the bear and wolf, further south the lion and tiger and crocodile, and in very many parts of the world the serpent. So cunning and subtle seemed that long, writhing, brilliant-colored thing, so deadly was its poison-fang, so fascinating the glitter of the eye that looked out from its hateful face, that for long centuries it was feared and became linked in the minds of men as the soul of that Evil which early worked sorrow and shame among them.

On this I cannot now dwell, but must go on to tell you that man's next step, rising from the worship of stones and brutes, was to believe in a class of great gods each ruling some separate part of nature or of the life of men.

XXIX. POLYTHEISM, OR BELIEF IN MANY GODS.

Thus instead of thinking only of a separate spirit as dwelling in every streamlet, he conceived of one river-god or water-god ruling all streams, or of one sea-god ruling every sea. I hope you are taking notice of the lesson this history has so far taught, that the more man began to think and to know, the more did he lessen the number of his gods. Thus arose belief in one god ruling the thunder, another the rain, another the wind, another the sun, and so on.

As the best way of making quite clear to you the growth of belief in these great controlling beings, I will try and explain to you how the worship of the sun and moon began.

There is nothing that would excite man's wonder at first so much as the fact that daylight was not always with him, that for a time he could see things around him, and then that the darkness crept over them and caused him to grope along his path or lie down to rest.

Each morning, before the sun was seen, rays of light shot upward as if to herald his coming, and then he arrived to flood the earth with more light, growing brighter and brighter till the eye could scarce look upon him, so dazzling was the glory. Then as slowly he sank again, the light-rays lingering as they came until they passed away altogether.

About all the other gifts which the sun is made to shed upon this and other worlds you may read in books on astronomy (such as Mr. Lockyer's Lessons in that science), and from those you may learn true wonder-tales describing how we are all what the Incas of South America were called, "children of the sun;" here I am dealing with the sun as an object of worship only.

Welcome as was the light given by moon and far-off stars, it was less sure than the sun's, and, although it relieved the gloom and darkness, could not chase night away.

Therefore the natural feeling of man was to bow before this Lord of light, and, in the earliest known form of adoration, kiss his hand to it, paying it the offering of sacrifice. There is an old story from some Jewish writings known as the Talmud, which describes very powerfully man's feeling concerning the darkness and the light.

It relates that when Adam and Eve were driven out of the garden of Eden, they wandered over the face of the earth. And the sun began to set, and they looked with fear at the lessening of the light, and felt a horror like death steal over their hearts. And the light of heaven grew paler and the wretched ones clasped one another in an agony of despair. Then all grew dark. And the luckless ones fell on the earth, silent, and thought that God had withdrawn from them the light forever; and they spent the night in tears. But a beam of light began to rise over the eastern hills, after many hours of darkness, and the golden sun came back and dried the tears of Adam and Eve, and then they cried out with joy and said, "Heaviness may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning; this is a law that God hath laid upon nature."

The worship of the heavenly bodies is not only very wide-spread but continued to a late age among the great nations of the past, as the names of their gods and the remains of their temples prove. In this island pillars were once raised to the sun, and altars to the moon and the earth-goddess, while the story of early belief is preserved in the names given to some of the days of the week, as Sun-day, Mon- or Moon-day.

Days were the most ancient division of time, and as the changes of the moon began to be watched they marked the weeks, four weeks roughly making up the month which was seen to elapse between every new moon. To distinguish one day from another, names were given; and as it was a belief that each of the seven planets presided over a portion of the day, their names were applied to the seven days of the week.

Our forefathers, however, consecrated the days of the week to their seven chief gods. Sunday and Monday to the sun and moon, as already stated; Tuesday to *Tuisco* (which name, strange as it may seem, comes from the same word-root as *Deity*), father of gods and men; Wednesday to *Woden* or *Odin*, one-eyed ruler of heaven and god of war; Thursday to *Thor*, the god of thunder; Friday to *Friga*, Woden's wife; Saturday either to *Seater*, a Saxon god, or to *Saturn*. We use the name for each month of the year which the Romans gave, but the Saxon names were very different, January being called the *wolf-monat* or wolf-month, March the *lenet-monat*, because the days were seen to *lengthen*, and so on.

I should tell you that there are countries where, because the heat of the sun is so fierce as to scorch and wither plant and often cause death to man, he is not worshiped as the giver of the blessed light, but feared as an evil, malicious god.

The worship of fire is usually found joined to that of sun, moon and stars. Fire gives light and warmth; it seems, in its wonderful power, to lick up all that is heaped upon it, like some hungry, never-satisfied demon, and is nearest of anything on earth to the great fire bodies in the sky.

XXX. DUALISM, OR BELIEF IN TWO GODS.

Man, as he came to think more and more about things, and not to be simply frightened into an unreasoning worship of living and dead objects, lessened still further the number of ruling powers, and seemed to see two mighty gods fighting for mastery over himself and the universe.

On the one hand was a power that appeared to dwell in the calm, unclouded blue, and with kind and loving heart to scatter welcome gifts upon men; on the other hand was a power that appeared to be harsh and cruel, that lashed the sea into fury, covered earth and sky with blackness, swept man's home and crops away in torrent and in tempest, chilled him with icy hand, and gave his children to the beast of prey. One a god of light, smiling in the sunbeam; the other a god of darkness, scowling in the thundercloud; one ruling by good and gentle spirits, the other by fierce and evil spirits.

This belief in a good god opposed and fought against by a bad god became so deeply rooted that no religion is quite free from it, for it seemed to man the only explanation of the hurt and evil whose power he felt.

But it is not true that the Almighty God in whom we are taught to believe is checked and hindered by another power. If He were, He would cease to be all-mighty, and we should have to pray to the evil power and beseech *him* not to hurt us.

The sin which is in the world, and about which your own heart tells you, has its birth in the will of man, which God in His sovereign wisdom has created free. Instead of making us as mere machines that cannot go wrong, He has given us the awful power of doing either good or evil, and thus of showing our love to Him by choosing what He loves and doing the things that are pleasing in His sight. However anxious we may be, as man has so often been, to cast the blame of wrong-doing on another, the sins which we commit are our own willful work. This we know to be true because it is declared by that Voice within each of us which does not lie, and which is the voice of the holy God.

If we have power to break God's commandments, but not power to keep them, or if some unseen force, stronger than ourselves, is allowed to drive us into evil, we could not have that sense of guilt which ever follows sinning, because we should feel that the fault was not all our own, and that we should be wronged in being punished for what we could not help. Then that saddest of all states—distrust of God, distrust of His voice within—would be ours.

But leaving this matter for awhile, I have hitherto said little about the way in which man would seek to express his feelings toward the gods in which he believed, be they few or many, good or bad. One way was by *praying* to them, another way by offering *sacrifice* to them.

XXXI. PRAYER.

To cry for help when we are in danger is our first act; to ask for what we want from those who seem able and willing to give it is both natural and right. Thus man prayed to his gods, and prays still, for to the end of time the deep long cry of mankind to Heaven will continue. And rude and hideous as may be the idol to which the poor savage tells his story of need or sorrow, we must, remember, stand in awe as we think of the soul within him that hungers for its food, even as the body hungers, and that yearns after the unseen God whom we call our Father in Heaven. Of course he prays in his ignorance for many weak and foolish things, to grant which would be really hurtful to him. In this he is like children who ask their parents for something which those parents know is not good for them, and who think themselves badly treated because they are denied it.

As man gets more thoughtful and trustful, he prays for better gifts than the things which perish, and, telling his wants and troubles to the All-wise Being, leaves it to Him to send whatever he may choose.

——"in His decision rest,
Secure whate'er He gives, He gives the best."

XXXII. SACRIFICE.

The reason for offering sacrifices is explained by man's dealings with his fellow-man.

When we feel that we have vexed our friends, or that for some cause they are angry with us, our first desire is to remove the anger by an offering of some kind; while toward those whom we love and feel grateful for their kindness, we show our love and thanks by gifts.

In this way, sacrifices or offerings to idols, and to the seen and unseen powers of good and evil, began, and have continued in different forms among all nations to the present day; one sacrifice being offered from a feeling of thanksgiving, another as a bribe to quiet or appease the gods thought to be angry, and who, being looked upon very often as big men, were supposed to be humored like cross and sulky people.

Of course men would offer the best of what they had, and would pick the finest fruits and flowers as gifts to the gods, or burn upon a raised pile of stones called an altar the most spotless of their flocks. And because the surrender of the nearest and dearest was often thought necessary to allay the anger, or secure the help, or ward off the vengeance of the god, the lives of the dear ones were offered, and this is one of the chief causes of the hideous and horrid rites which curdle one's blood to think about, and of which every land and every age have been the spectators.

The blessed Father of all "is not a God of the dead, but of the living," and a Being who therefore loves not the sacrifice of blood and death. The sacrifice which is sweet to Him is that of hearts which, sorrowful for their sins and for grieving Him by wandering from His fatherly arms, are willing to give up their wrongdoings, and, casting out selfishness, in which so much evil lurks, to do His will on earth as it is done in heaven. Men are only now slowly learning this great truth, although many centuries have passed away since it was first taught, because they have found it easier to profess certain beliefs or pay others to perform certain rites for them, than to strive day by day to obey the commandments of God.

XXXIII. MONOTHEISM, OR BELIEF IN ONE GOD.

Coming much nearer the time when the history of man's religious belief grows clearer, we see that his ideas had become higher and nobler.

It had at first seemed to him as if in heaven above and earth beneath naught but confusion reigned, but as the course of things became more carefully watched, it was seen that order, not disorder; plan, not blind fate, ruled the universe.

The storm which made havoc with the fruit of man's industry swept disease and foul air away; the fire that, uncontrolled, destroyed, was, when controlled, man's useful servant; the night that filled the air with bad spirits, lulled man to welcome rest; the things which had been looked upon as curses, turned out to be blessings, and much that seemed discord in nature was harmony to him who touched the chords aright.

Man had at first worshiped that which was *strongest*, and feared that which seemed likeliest to harm him most; but as he grew in knowledge and wisdom, he came to worship that which was *best*. This arose from the feeling, which I have just described, that something else than crushing force was over all. We have seen that on man's first entrance into life he found it one continued battle against forces of all kinds, and the only law that ruled was the law of might. He who could get a thing and keep it was entitled to it. Besides ability to defend himself by sheer force or cunning, man possessed the power of injuring and of doing wanton cruelty and mischief for its own sake, and of this power all history shows us he made sad use. Lower in this than the beast which slays to satisfy its hunger, man killed his fellow-man to satisfy his lawless ambition, and committed ravages which centuries of labor have been unable to repair. But as the human family increased, it became clear that there would soon be an end to everything, did man continue using to the full this power to hurt, and plunder, and kill. Therefore to enable mankind to live together in peace and to progress, it was needful for them to feel that respect was due to the rights of others, and that it was necessary to do to them as they would wish to be done unto. If a man refused to agree to this, and in malice injured another, he was punished for breaking the rules which must be kept to make what is called *society* possible. But besides the sense of duty towards others, there was another and a deeper sense by which man felt that it was wrong to injure them.

There is something within every one, when called upon to choose between a better and a worse, which speaks in clear and certain tones.

If we are tempted to do wrong, yet know to do right, from whence comes the knowledge? If after each act of kindness, each duty faithfully done, there follows a blessed peace, from whence does it spring? Sun and moon cannot be spoken of as knowing right from wrong, or as helping us to discern the difference. The stars of heaven and the stones of earth know nothing about duties, and are moved or kept still by other laws than the law of love.

God is its source, and none other but He.

"His that gentle voice we hear,
  Soft as the breath of even,
That checks each fault, that calms each fear,
  And speaks forgiven."

Never, I beseech you, stifle Conscience, for when it speaks you are in the path of danger; only when you are safe is it silent, yet none the less watchful, unsleeping. Never, I beseech you, try to displace that judge who never leaves his seat, but sits moment by moment weighing every thought and act in his balance.

For that which we feel and know to be the highest law within us must, we rightly argue, dwell in perfection in Him whose authority thus makes itself heard by us. And since God's laws are the creatures of His love, it follows that to obey them is to dwell in love, and therefore to dwell in God.

So man, footsore and toilworn, came at last to rest in this, and to believe in One God and Father of all, "maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible," and to believe that "to love Him with all the heart is more than all the whole burnt-offerings and sacrifices."

In some such way as I have tried to show you did man arrive at this sublimest of all beliefs. But only a few out of the large human family are thus blessed; the greater number still worship gods many, gods good, bad, and indifferent.

Even where a belief in one God has been reached, He has at first been shaped in the mind after the fashion of a man. To the people dwelling in the cold, bleak North, he was the Thunderer; to the people dwelling further south on the coast that bordered quiet waters and under sunny skies, he was the Beautiful; to the dweller in the plain, strong in soul and rough in dealing, he was a power walking on the wings of the wind, a being with the feelings and passions of a man.

It needed great teachers who walked amidst the groves of beautiful Athens, and a greater still who sat wearied by a well in Samaria, to convey ideas of God which cannot be surpassed.

And yet history tells us that in this as in other things nations have fallen back. They have forgotten God as the children of Israel did when, after receiving His commandment to worship no graven image, they shaped an idol like the sacred bull of the Egypt they had left.

Just as there are savage races still in that Stone Age, which, I have shown you, was the beginning of progress, and which Europe has left thousands of years behind, so there are to be found races that have not risen above the lowest ideas about spirits in lifeless things. *They show us what we were; we represent what, it is hoped, they may become.* In believing this we gain trust that, since God has made nothing in vain, He will give to the poor and wild and ignorant to know in the hereafter, what, through no fault of theirs, has been hidden from them here.

XXXIV. THREE STORIES ABOUT ABRAHAM.

Since the highest belief of any time is the belief of its highest minds, it is clear that in every age there have been men more far-seeing and thoughtful than their fellow-men, who, feeling that this great, solemn life is given for something nobler than eating and money-getting, asked themselves why they were at all; whither they were going; and from whence came what they saw around them. Of the holy lives with which such men enriched the earth, and of the wise and beautiful thoughts in which they have recorded their search after truth, which is but another name for search after God, you will learn by and by; but I want to redeem my promise and tell you a little about one of these men, earliest in historic time, who is thought to have laid hold of and given to us through others a belief in the One God.

Abraham, for he it is whom I mean, was a native of the country called Chaldea. The clear sky of that Eastern land invited the people dwelling in it to the charmful study of the sun, moon, and stars, and they not only worshiped these bodies, but sought to foretell the fate of men from them. An ancient historian tells us that every Chaldean had a signet and staff bearing the sign of the planet or stars that were seen at his birth. Some have said that Ur, the city where Abraham was born, was a chief seat of sun-worship, and that its name means light or fire. We may safely say that Abraham's early years were spent among sun-worshipers, and it may interest you to know that his name and memory are held in high honor, not only by the Jews, but also by the Persians and Mohammedans.

Among the stories about him which are preserved in certain ancient books are the following:

Terah, the father of Abraham, was a maker and dealer in idols. Being obliged to go from home one day, he left Abraham in charge. An old man came in and asked the price of one of the idols. "Old man," said Abraham, "how old art thou?" "Threescore years," answered the old man. "Threescore years!" said Abraham, "and thou wouldst worship a thing that my father's slaves made in a few hours? Strange that a man of sixty should bow his gray head to a creature such as that." The man, crimsoned with shame, turned away; and then came a grave-looking woman to bring an offering to the gods. "Give it them thyself," said Abraham; "thou wilt see how greedily they will eat it." She did so. Abraham then took a hammer and broke all the idols except the largest, in whose hands he placed the hammer. When Terah returned, he asked angrily what profane wretch had dared thus to abuse the gods. "Why," said Abraham, "during thine absence a woman brought yonder food to the gods and the younger ones began to eat. The old god, enraged at their boldness, took the hammer and smashed them." "Dost thou mock thy aged father?" said Terah; "do I not know that they can neither eat nor move?" "And yet," said Abraham, "thou worshipest them, and wouldst have me worship them too." The story adds that Terah, in his rage, sent Abraham to be judged for his crime by the king.

Nimrod asked Abraham: You will not adore the idols of your father. Then pray to fire.

Abraham: Why may I not pray to water, which will quench fire?

Nimrod: Be it so: pray to water.

Abraham: But why not to the clouds which hold the water?

Nimrod: Well, then, pray to the clouds.

Abraham: But why not to the wind, which drives the clouds before it?

Nimrod: Then pray to the wind.

Abraham: Be not angry, O King—I cannot pray to the fire or the water or the clouds or the wind, but to the Creator who made them: Him only will I worship.

On another occasion, "Abraham left a cave in which he had dwelt and stood on the face of the desert. And when he saw the sun shining in all its glory, he was filled with wonder; and he thought, 'Surely the sun is God the Creator,' and he knelt down and worshiped the sun. But when evening came, the sun went down in the west, and Abraham said, 'No, the Author of creation cannot set.' Now the moon arose in the east, and the stars looked out of the sky. Then said Abraham, 'This moon must indeed be God, and all the stars are His host.' And kneeling down he adored the moon. But the moon set also, and from the east appeared once more the sun's bright face. Then said Abraham, 'Verily these heavenly bodies are no gods, for they obey law; I will worship Him whose laws they obey.'"

XXXV. MAN'S BELIEF IN A FUTURE LIFE.

The rude beliefs about spirits and dreams and the customs observed at burials show us that, however shapeless man's idea of another life may be, he has from the earliest times believed that the spirit or *breath*, the ghost (which comes from the same root as *gust*), departs to dwell elsewhere when the body is cold and still in death. The highest and lowest races of men have tried to form some notion of what that blessed state is like where happiness is given to the good, where friends "loved long since and lost awhile," will, with smiling angel-faces, welcome us; or what that dark state may be where misery and wanhope (despair) dwell.

Man, in wondering what becomes of the spirit, has thought that it haunted the place where it once lived, or that it passed into some other body, perhaps into some animal, and then into higher and higher forms, until it reached the dwelling-place of the gods.

He has placed his heaven in some far-off Island of the Blest, or in some sunny land,

> "Deep meadow'd, happy, fair with orchard lawns,
> And bowery hollows crown'd with summer sea,"

or in the west where the sun sets, or in the sun, moon, and stars themselves. The pictures of it have been copied from the earth; and all that he loves here, whether chaste or coarse, he hopes to have in larger measure there, even as he wishes to shut out from thence all that he dreads now.

The best and brightest view of heaven is, leaving the rude idea of the savage far behind, to hold in every place on earth a fit spot whereon to kneel, to feel the sacredness of duty, and then we shall believe that all which we here know to be highest and noblest and best shall be ours in heaven, wherever that heaven may be. The thought that God's worlds are thus linked together is very beautifully touched upon in one of the old Persian sacred books. The soul of a good man is pictured as being met in the other world by a lovely maiden, "noble, with brilliant face, one of fifteen years, as fair in her growth as the fairest creatures. Then to her speaks the soul of the pure man, asking, 'What maiden art thou whom I have seen here as the fairest of maidens in body?' She answers, 'I am, O youth, thy good thoughts, words, and works, thy good law, the own law of thine own body. Thou hast made the pleasant yet pleasanter to me, the fair yet fairer.'" *

And since all of us like to read hymns about heaven, here is one which I expect you have never seen before. It was written thousands of years ago by some great-souled Aryan, and is full of music that cannot die away:

> Where there is eternal light, in the world where the sun is placed, in that immortal, imperishable world, place me, O Soma!
>
> Where king Vaivasvata reigns, where the secret place of heaven is, where these mighty waters are, there make me immortal!
>
> Where life is free, in the third heaven of heavens, where the worlds are radiant, there make me immortal!
>
> Where wishes and desires are, where the place of the bright sun is, where there is freedom and delight, there make me immortal!
>
> Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside, where the desires of our desire are attained, there make me immortal!

XXXVI. SACRED BOOKS.

If this book has taught you nothing else, I hope it has taught you that the different beliefs of mankind about God are worthy of attention.

Few of us will live here for more than sixty or seventy years; and when we take off the time needed for eating and working and sleeping, there is not so very much left wherein to learn a little about the world in which we are sent to dwell. We do wisely to use some spare moments in asking how other eyes have looked upon the beauty and the mystery around, and what it has said to their hearts.

It is not so very long ago that good-meaning men looked upon the various religions of the world as almost beneath notice, or if studied at all, studied as proofs of man's hatred to the good and the true. But wiser and more thoughtful men felt that we ought to try and understand them, and see what kind of answers others have given to the questions about God, and the wide universe, and life and death, which we all ask. These answers may be feeble and dim, but since they are the best that could be had, they demand our respect. We do not make our own religion more true by calling other religions false, nor do we make it worth less to us by admitting the good that may be in them,

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* The whole of this beautiful story is given by Mr. Tylor in his "Primitive Culture," vol. ii. p. 90, a work to which I am much indebted, and which should receive careful attention from every thoughtful person.

And the lesson which even a slight knowledge of the sacred books of other faiths, some older than our own, and still believed in by hundreds of millions of mankind, teaches, is that God has never been without a witness among them. These sacred books, which they look upon as His word to them, are as dear to them as our Bible is dear to us. In them are the precepts which they have been taught to obey, the prayers and hymns which have the full rich meaning age alone can give, and which no new words could bring. It is true that these books contain many silly stories, myths, legends, coarse ideas about God; but from these no ancient book is free, and the errors that they contain do not make less true whatever of truth they hold. A diamond is not less a diamond because we pick it out of a dust heap.

Any account which I might give you of the different sacred writings would be chiefly a list of very long names, and it is better that I should prove the truth of what has been said by quoting some hymns and prayers from them.

The hymn about heaven comes from the very old sacred book of the Brahmans; here is part of another hymn from the same:

> In the beginning there arose the source of golden light.
>
> He was the only born Lord of all that is.
>
> He stablished the earth and this sky; who is the God to whom we shall offer our sacrifice?
>
> He who gives life, He who gives strength; whose blessing all the bright gods desire; whose shadow is immortality; whose shadow is death.
>
> Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice?
>
> He who through His power is the only King of the breathing and awakening world; He whose power these snowy mountains and the sea and distant river proclaim.
>
> He through whom the heaven was established—nay, the highest heaven; He who measured out the light in the air.

This hymn-prayer is from the same book. Varuna, the god addressed, was one of their chief gods, and means the "Surrounder:"

> Let me not yet, O Veruna, enter into the house of clay. Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!
>
> Through want of strength, have I done wrong. Have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!
>
> Whenever we men, O Veruna, commit an offense before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness, have mercy, Almighty, have mercy!

Here are some precepts from one of the sacred books of the Buddhists, which would find a fit place in our own beautiful Book of Proverbs:

> Conquer anger by mildness, evil by good, falsehood by truth.
>
> Be not desirous of discovering the faults of others, but zealously guard against your own.
>
> He is a more noble warrior who subdues himself, than he who in battle conquers thousands. (Compare with this Proverbs xvi. 32.)
>
> To the virtuous all is pure. Therefore think not that going unclothed, fasting, or lying on the ground, can make the impure pure, for the mind will still remain the same.

I believe that Jesus Christ would say to every Brahman and Buddhist who strove to obey these precepts, the words which fell cheeringly upon the Jewish lawyer's ear, "Thou art not far from the kingdom of God."

XXXVII. CONCLUSION.

Histories are often so made up of dates, giving the years when kings began to reign, when they died, and when famous battles were fought, that I dare say this early history of man, which has scarcely a date in it, seems a rather vague and confused story.

But we have been traveling through ages so vast, that I might have confused you still more if I had spoken of years the number of which none of us can grasp, and put down guesswork figures with long rows of ciphers after them.

It is through that twilight time of which I told you in the first pages of this little book that I have sought to take you. I have guessed as little as possible, and brought common sense to interpret the story which bones, flint knives, metal weapons, picture-writings, words, and other things contain, seeing in it a tale of progress, slow but sure, which began at the beginning of time, and will go on until time shall cease to be.

I wish I could have made that story appear as beautiful and fascinating to you as it is to myself, but I thought it better told even roughly than not told at all.

The facts of science are not, as some think, dry, lifeless things. They are living things, filling with sweetest poetry the ear that listens to them, and with fadeless harmony of colors the eye that looks upon them.

They not only give us these higher pleasures which endure, but they bring daily bread and health and comfort to thousands, who but for knowledge of them would have lived pitiful lives.

I am offering you good counsel in advising you to use a certain portion of your time in studying one branch of science. It matters not which you choose so far as wonder, beauty and truth are concerned, for astronomy, botany, chemistry, geology, alike possess these in such abundance that life will be too short to exhaust them.

With the mind thus stored, many an hour, otherwise dull, will be "filled with music;" many a star-lit night, otherwise unheeded, will shine with familiar lights; many a landscape, bald and ugly to the unseeing eye, marked with lines of beauty traced by its Maker's hand. And if God, as I think this story shows, has chosen that man's progress shall largely depend upon himself, how careful should we be to do nothing that will be a hindrance. Our knowledge is no blessing to us, unless we have learned to use it well and wisely, and learned too that with it only, life is not complete. If, dealing with the "things we see," it walk hand in hand with faith in the unseen, these two shall make life beautiful and blessed.

GOD GIVES THEE YOUTH BUT ONCE. KEEP THOU
THE CHILDLIKE HEART THAT WILL HIS KINGDOM BE;
THE SOUL PURE-EYED THAT, WISDOM-LED, E'EN NOW
HIS BLESSED FACE SHALL SEE.

Beacon Lights of Science

THE CHILDHOOD OF RELIGIONS

EMBRACING A SIMPLE ACCOUNT OF

THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF MYTHS AND LEGENDS

By EDWARD CLODD, F.R.A.S.

AUTHOR OF "THE CHILDHOOD OF THE WORLD."

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

A poet who has put many wise and tender thoughts into verses full of music, once wrote some lines on the birthday of a great and good man, whose life's delight was in listening to all that Nature has to tell, and who not long since passed away from earth to learn new lessons in some other part of the wide universe of God.

The poem tells us that as the boy lay in his cradle,

"Nature, the old nurse, took
  The child upon her knee,
Saying: 'Here is a story-book
  Thy Father has written for thee.

"'Come wander with me,' she said,
  'Into regions yet untrod;
And read what is still unread
  In the manuscripts of God.'

"And he wandered away and away
  With Nature, the dear old nurse,
Who sang to him night and day,
  The rhymes of the universe.

"And whenever the way seemed long,
  Or his heart began to fail,
She would sing a more wonderful song,
  Or tell a more marvelous tale."

It is some fragment of the wonderful story "without an end" to which Agassiz (for it is he of whom Longfellow speaks in the poem) listened so gladly, a story as true as it is wonderful and as beautiful as it is true, that I want to tell you, if you too wish to open your young eyes to the sights that ever grow more charmful, and your ears to the sounds that give forth no unsweet notes; otherwise the story is not for you.

To learn well the lessons which Nature is ever willing to teach, we must begin while we are young, for then the memory is "wax to receive and marble to retain." The mind, like a knife, quickly rusts if it be not used. Unless the eye is trained to see, it becomes dim; unless the ear is trained to hear, it gets dulled; and this is why so many, careless to sharpen their wits on the whetstone of outlook and thought, enter into life and pass away from it, never knowing in what a world of beauty, of bounty, and of wonder they have lived.

So I would have you treasure the joy which earth and heaven yield as riches that no moth or rust can corrupt or thief break through and steal; that make the poorest boy who smiles his thanks for the bit of blue sky that roofs the murky court in which he lives, happier, and therefore wealthier, than the richest lord whose sunlit acres of woodland and meadow call from him nothing but a yawn.

I think you will be interested in listening to a few curious stories in which men of old have striven to account for the universe, how it all began to be and what keeps it going. Some of these stories have only come to light during the last few years, and this through the patient labors of learned scholars, who have found them buried in the sacred writings of certain religions of the East. We will then see what our men of science have learned from the story-book of Nature about the earth's history in the ages long, long ago, when as yet no man lived upon it; when no children, with eyes laughter-filled, made nosegays of its flowers, and ran after the jewels which they were told lay sparkling where the rainbow touched the ground; but when God, ever-working, never-resting, since work and rest with Him are one, was fitting it to be the abode of life.

Following the same sure guides into that dim old past, we learn a little of the mighty changes which, wrought by fire and water, have given to the earth's face its ragged outline, and also a little about the strange creatures that lived and struggled and died ages before God's highest creature, man, was placed here. Then after telling how the earliest races of men slowly covered large parts of the earth, the way will be clear for an account of the great parent-nation whose many children have spread themselves over nearly the whole of Europe, over large portions of Asia, and, since its discovery by Columbus, of America. We will learn something about the life these forefathers lived while together in one home, the language they spake, the thoughts that filled their breasts, and how those thoughts live on among us and other peoples in many shapes, both weird and winsome.

For I expect it will be news to some of you that the dear old tales which come now a-days bound in green and gold and full of fine pictures, such as Cinderella, Snow-White and Rosy-Red, Beauty and the Beast, are older than any school histories, and were told, of course in somewhat different form, by fathers and mothers to their children thousands of years ago in Asia, when Europe was covered with thick forests, amidst which huge wild beasts wandered.

I must stay here a moment to say that only a very little of what is now known concerning the matters already spoken of has been gathered from books. Men of science, wistful to learn more of that long before out of which we have come, have deemed none of its relics too trifling for their study. They have searched on the slopes of valleys through which rivers once flowed for the stone tools and weapons wherewith the first men worked and fought, and explored the caverns which from early times gave shelter to man and beast; they have opened great earth-mounds and tombs for remains of the dead laid within them; they have spelled out the picture-words painted on the walls of temples choked with the drifted sand of centuries, the wedge-shaped letters cut on rocks and stamped on sun-dried bricks, also the writing on crumbling papyri, dried palm-leaves, barks of trees and other substances; they have traced words in common use to the roots from which they sprang, and fairy tales and legends to the home of fancy where many of them were born; and thus has come to us, in ways undreamed of by our forefathers, rich treasures of knowledge.

Lastly, though by no means the least, we will open some of the sacred books of India, Persia, China, Arabia, and other lands, to see for ourselves what the wisest and best of the ancients have thought about this wondrous life and what is to come after it. For *thought* rules the world. It makes no noise, but lives on and reigns when all the bustling and the shouting that seemed to stifle it are hushed, and whilst the great works which it guided the hand of man to do have perished, or remain to tell of pomp and glory gone for ever, it is with us in the words of wisdom that "shall not pass away," and to which we do well to give heed.

I have said how much life gains in *joyfulness* if our ears be kept open to the sweet voices of nature, and our eyes awake to its lovesome sights, and I would add how much it gains in *trustfulness* by even a slight knowledge of the religions which are at this day the hope and stay of hundreds of millions of our fellow-creatures. We learn therefrom how very near to his children the All-Father, to use the forceful name by which the old Norsemen called Him, has always been; near now, near in the days that are gone; and that there never was a time when He dwelt apart from men, caring not whether they were vile or holy, but that all age, and place and human life is sacred with His presence. We shall learn, too,—

"That in all ages
Every human heart is human;
That in even savage bosoms
There are longings, yearnings, strivings,
For the good they comprehend not;
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Trust God's right hand in that darkness,
And are lifted up and strengthened,"

so that when we read how poor wild souls, craving after the Power which they feel about them, are not able to rise above the worship of bunches of feathers or piles of stones, we shall know that it is the living God for whom they are feeling, and be sure that He will as must lead to Himself these children "crying for a light."

It gave men larger and grander views of God when they learnt that the earth is one among many bodies circling round the sun, and that the sun himself is one of numberless suns that are strewn as star-dust in the heavens, and it will give each of us, whose nature is made to trust, a larger trust in, and more loving thought of, Him to learn that our religion is one among many religions, and that nowhere is there an altogether godless race.

To use a homely figure, we shall see that the religions of the world are like human faces, all of which have something in common; nose, eyes, mouth, and so on; while all differ, some being more beautiful than others. And we shall also see that wherever any religion exists which has struck its roots deep down into the life of a people, there must be some truth in it which has nurtured them, and which is worth the seeking. For the hunger of the soul of man can no more be satisfied with a lie, than the hunger of his body can be appeased with stones. I am most wishful to impress this upon you, because you will never read the meaning of this world aright if you are content with that half-knowledge of the beliefs of other races, both savage and civilized, which most people have, and which suffices to give only false ideas of those beliefs.

Remember that where ignorance is, there is darkness; but that where knowledge dwells, light abides; and as knowledge of God, which comes from the study of man and his dwelling-place, the world, "grows from more to more," sunnier views of Him make glad the heart, chasing away the false ideas about Him that frightened poor timid, tender souls; that made even strong men shake, and bring their noble powers, tied and bound, before the grim Being they were taught to fear; that caused beauty to disfigure itself, as if ugliness was acceptable to Him, who "hath made everything beautiful in its time."

CHAPTER II.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST ABOUT THE CREATION.

In every land and age man has looked up to the great, silent heaven, with its unresting sun, moon and stars; and upon this earth, with its robe of many folds and colors, and asked, "Did these things make themselves? Had they a Maker? If so, how did He make them, and how long ago? What can He be like?" And the questions have had all kinds of answers framed to meet them, and not a few strange stories woven to explain the hard matter.

It is well known to you that among many beliefs, now found to be wrong, which were held in bygone days, people thought that the earth was a flat and fixed thing, for whose sole benefit the sun shone by day and the moon and stars by night. Now, such a belief as this is no matter for wonderment, because it was the only belief then possible. People must speak of things as they appear, and we still talk of the sun rising and setting, although we are sure he does nothing of the kind. If you had not learnt anything from books and other helps about the roundness of the earth and its movements in space, and had been shut up all your life in some wide plain where no hills broke the long, low line around, and gave you a sight, let us say, of the sea hiding in the distance the hulls of ships, you would have believed the earth to be flat and fixed, and lighted by the sun traveling daily across the sky, because your senses led you to such belief. Neither could you have learnt anything of the vastness and distance of the sun and stars, and you might have made the most simple guesses about these matters, as did some of the wise Greeks. One of them said that the moon was as large as that part of Greece once known as the Peloponnesus, but now called the Morea, and was laughed at for his boldness; while another held that the pale belt of light which is named, from a pretty myth, the Milky Way, and which we know consists of millions of stars, of which our sun is one, was the place where the two halves of the sky are joined together. And it was a very long time before people would believe that there were millions of mankind who were walking with their feet opposite to ours on another part of the earth.

But as the mind of man searched deeper into things many of them were found to be other than they seemed, and thus all truer knowledge as to what they are has been gained by slow and sure correction of that which the senses first told about them. It would fill a bigger book than this to tell through what paths of darkness and danger the master-spirits of old cut their way to light, amidst what silence and fear they worked, and with what trembling they told their discoveries to a trusted few, but the story is one you will do well to study. And now let us look at a few of the old legends about the beginning of things. They are for the most part but little known, and although the forms in which some of them are cast are crude and foolish, they are worth more than a smile. They were very real to those who framed them, and the wise will gladly find in them this truth: that in the presence of the great fact of earth, sea and sky, man has seen a greater fact than they, even a Cause without whom they had never been, a Cause to whom he has given many a different name and paid worship in many a strange fashion.

The spirit in which these early guesses at truth should be read is well enforced in this story, which comes from an ancient book added to one of the Vedas or sacred books of the Hindus.

A father tells his vain-minded son, in whom no sense of wonder dwells, to bring him a fruit of the huge banyan-tree or Indian fig-tree. "Break it," said the father; "what do you see?" "Some very small seeds," replied the son. "Break one of them; what do you see in it?" asked the father. "Nothing, my father," answered the son. "My child," said the father, "where you see nothing there dwells a mighty banyan-tree."

By way of comparing them with the stories which follow, it may be well to set down in simple outline the two accounts of the Creation which are given in the Book of Genesis.

In the *first account*, which is contained in chap. i. 1, to chap. ii. 3, we are told: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

On the *first* day light was created and divided from the darkness, thus causing day and night.

On the *second* day an expanse was formed above the earth, dividing the waters upon the earth from those which were to be stored as rain. (As Genesis vii, 11 shows, this expanse or dome was believed to be full of windows, which were opened whenever it was needful to let the rain through. The notion that the sky is a great roof covering in a flat world is an idea easily framed by the unlearned; the Polynesians, for example, call foreigners "heaven-bursters," as having broken in from another world outside.)

On the *third* day the remainder of the waters were gathered together as seas, and the land was made to bring forth grass, and herb and tree.

On the *fourth* day God made two great lights, the sun and moon: "He made the stars also."

On the *fifth* day He peopled the waters with fishes and the dome above with birds.

On the *sixth* day the work of creation was ended by the earth bringing fourth four-footed beasts and creeping things; man and women, as the last and chiefest, being made "in the image of God," Who looked upon all that He had made, saw that it was good, and on the *seventh* day rested from His work.

The *second account*, which is given in Genesis ii. 4 to the end, speaks of the earth as without water, and plants and trees, because there was no rain and not a man to till the ground.

Then the earth was watered by a mist, and man was made of the dust of the ground by the Lord God, Who breathed into his nostrils the breath of life so that he "became a living soul."

Man was then placed in the garden of Eden with leave to eat of the fruit of every tree except the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Then beasts and birds were made and brought to Adam that he might give them names. Last of all, the Lord God made a woman from a rib taken from Adam's side while he slept.

At this point you may ask, How are we to read these and other Bible stories? What they tell us about the creation, the early state of man, the universe in which we live, the age of the earth, and other kindred matters, differs so very much from what lesson-books on these subjects teach, that we feel puzzled which to believe.

The answer which I will try to give to this question before we pass on to the other legends may save you the irksome work of unlearning much in after years which is often taught upon these matters.

Since that which has to be said about one Bible legend applies to all the rest, we will deal with those already given about the creation.

In bygone years people believed every word of these legends to be true, and there is a large number who still believe this, strangely overlooking the fact that the account given in the first chapter of Genesis of the mode and order in which things were made differs from the account given in the second chapter, and therefore that one of them must be wrong. After a time the Bible story seemed to be contradicted by the witness of those remains of the past which are found deep down in the earth, and although many books have been written with the view of showing that there is no real contradiction, each has failed to do this. For this reason others have cast aside the narratives in Genesis as idle and meaningless tales which common sense and science alike bid us reject. From this you will see that *three* different views are held, upon each of which somewhat must be briefly said.

1. There are those who believe that God made all things in six days, that He fixed the sun and moon in the sky on the fourth day after the shedding forth of light, and between the creation of plants and animals, because they find it thus written in the Bible.

Now it is not wise to accept anything as true *only* on the ground that we find it in a book, because if it turns out that the writer of the book was mistaken, that his knowledge is imperfect and his statements opposed to facts, the foundation upon which our belief rests is taken away, and the belief goes with it. In reading books on history, science and any other subject, we believe that the writers have set down to the best of their knowledge all that can be said upon the matter, and we are glad to learn what they have to tell us, and since very few have either time or talent to search for themselves, to rely thereon. But we are none the less ready, as are the writers themselves, to give up all if it is proved to be wrong, and to welcome the newer knowledge which the ages bring.

That we must apply this to the reading of the Bible I have sought to show in chapter xiii. The unknown authors of Genesis, who it is thought compiled that book from older writings, and to whom the legends of other nations were known, as the likeness between the Jewish, Babylonian and Persian testifies, speak of the earth as made before the sun, and as arched over by a solid firmament. It was to them a flat thing that moved not, and since no voice has ever come from the unseen to instruct man in things which God has given him powers to find out, these writers were not wiser than the wisest of the age in which they lived. But the round earth was none the less moving in its course at the rate of nineteen miles in every second of time, else spring and summer, autumn and winter, had not then been.

If among the different sacred books of the world, for which, as will be seen hereafter, the same claims to be inspired every word are made by those who believe in them, there was one book quite free from mistakes, and into which no blunders could by any means enter, we would gladly learn of it, since the truth-seeking can have but one desire, namely, to know what is true. But none such has ever existed, and never will exist, because every book is the work of man and therefore liable to error. That only is perfect which the finger of the Almighty has written on the rock-ribbed earth.

2. Those who hold that there is no real difference between the statements of the Bible and the facts of science, argue that when God is said to have made the heaven and earth in six days, it is not days of twenty-four hours each that are meant, but "ages" or "periods" of unknown yet vast duration.

We must all admit that it is very dangerous to force any meaning into words which, by unsettling what the user of them intended to convey, destroys their plain intent. They are far too sacred to have tricks played with them, and to give words more than one meaning is to make them mean whatever the fancy invents,

> "For what the lips have lightly said,
> The heart will lightly hold."

There can be no doubt that days are meant as such in Genesis, since to each day a "morning" and an "evening" is given (see chap. i., ver. 5, 8, 13, 19, 23, 31), and this, together with the fact that the appointment of the seventh day of the week as the Jewish Sabbath was based upon the hallowing of that day by God, proves that "periods" and such like words which convey no idea of fixed lengths of time were not in the writer's mind.

The use of the number seven reminds us that certain numbers were accounted sacred by ancient nations, and that the old mystery about them still survives in foolish and unreasoning fears, and in proverbs as to the luck or ill-luck that attends them. The early worship of the sun, moon and five planets may explain the choice of seven as a sacred number among some eastern and western peoples, and so also may the apparent changes in the shape of the moon, known as her *phases*, which every seven days bring with them, and which account for the very early division of time into weeks.

This sacredness seems to have linked itself to the tradition of a creation in seven days and to the frequent use of that number in the Bible; these in their turn linking it to many legends of the Middle Ages, while the stories of seven sleepers, seven wise men, seven wonders of the world, and so on, also show what importance was given to it in olden times.

3. It is not wise or well to cast aside the Bible story. We can afford to be just to the past, and our debt to it is greater than we can pay, since its guesses made possible the sure knowledge of our time. However childish the ancient explanations of things may seem to us, they were the best that could be had. They were the work of honest men who, were they living now, would gladly correct their narratives by the great discoveries of these latter days. And those narratives contain for all time this truth, that every effect has a cause, and that this "mighty sum of things forever speaking" witnesses to a Power able to produce and shape all to its own ends; a Power to which men give the name of God.

Therefore despise not the old because it is old, neither reject the new because it is new, but value each record of the past for the measure of truth which may be therein, since if it have none of that, it will perish, no matter how many millions believe it, nor with what shouts they strive to stifle the voices of those who believe it not.

Now we will pass on to other legends, beginning with the Babylonian, the wild and ugly features of which are in strong contrast to the simpleness and quiet dignity of the story in Genesis. This legend, which is no doubt correctly given, comes to us through a Babylonian priest named Berosus, who lived in the time of Alexander the Great. The legend of the creation in the old Phœnician religion closely resembles it.

There was a time in which all was darkness and water. From these came hideous creatures; winged men, men with the legs and horns of goats; bulls with human heads, and such like monsters. Over all these was a woman, goddess of nature and mother of all beings, whom Belus, the chief of the gods, cut in two, making of one half the earth, and of the other half the sky. This caused the monsters to die, as they could not bear the light, upon seeing which Belus cut off his own head, and the gods then mixed the blood that flowed therefrom with the dust of the earth and formed man, which accounts for his sharing in the divine nature. Belus afterward made the sun, moon, stars, and five planets.

In the ancient religion of the Egyptians there is a legend that the sun wounded himself, and that from the stream of his blood he created all beings.

Persian legend: from the sacred book of the Pârsîs, known as the Zend Avesta. The Eternal Being produced two great gods, one named Ormuzd, King of Light, who remained true to him; the other named Ahriman, King of Darkness, who became the author of evil.

To destroy the evil, Ormuzd was appointed to create the world, which was made to last 12,000 years. He formed the firm vault of heaven and the earth on which it rests, and dwelt at the top of a mountain so high that it pierced the upper sky and reached the source of light. He then made sun, moon and stars to aid him in his battle with the terrible power of darkness; the universe being thus created in six periods; man, as in Genesis, last of all. The beautiful trust that dwelt in the heart of the pure-souled founder of the old Persian faith that good would in the end gain the victory over evil, will appear hereafter in the account of that religion.

Hindu legend: from an important book of the Brahman religion, called the Laws of Manu, the first part of which treats of creation.

The universe was in darkness when Brahma (which means *force*), himself unseen, dispelled the gloom, first producing the waters and causing them to move. From a seed which he had placed in them there came a golden egg, blazing with a thousand beams, and in this egg Brahma gave birth to himself. There he dwelt, and at last split the egg in halves, one of which became the heaven and the other the earth.

(The Finns believed that heaven and earth were made out of a divided egg, the upper half being heaven, the yolk being earth, and the white fluid the all-surrounding ocean.)

Brahma then drew forth mind and created a number of smaller gods and wise men, who in their turn created animals and demons, clouds, mountains and rivers.

You have doubtless heard of the Hindu notion that the earth rests upon animals standing one upon another, four elephants being placed lowest of all, because their legs *reach all the way down!*

Scandinavian legend:

"Once was the age
When all was not,
Nor sound nor sea
Nor cooling wave.
Nor earth there was
Nor sky above,
Nought save a void
And yawning gulf,
But verdure none,"

To the south of this yawning gulf there was a region of flame, and to the north an abode ice-cold and dark. Torrents of venom flowed from the north into the gulf and filled it with ice, but the fire came from the south, and, falling upon the ice, melted it. From the melted drops there arose the giant Ymir, who, wicked himself, had a wicked family of frost-giants. A cow was also formed from the melted ice, and she not only fed the giants with her milk, but out of the stones covered with salt and hoar-frost, licked a man of strength and beauty, whose son became the father of Odin, Vili and Ve. These three slew Ymir, and out of his flesh they formed the earth; from his blood the seas and waters, from his bones the mountains, from his hair the trees, from his skull the heavens, from his brains the floating clouds, and from his eyebrows a wall round the earth to guard them from the giant sons of Ymir, whose anger they feared.

The old religion of the Scandinavians, who are a branch of the great German family, is contained in two books known as the "Eddas," a word thought to mean *Great-Grandmother* or *Ancestress*. The Elder Edda contains the old mythic poems, and the Younger or Prose Edda such pagan legends as that just quoted, mixed with later ideas. Odin, the Alfadir, is therein thus spoken of:

"Gamgleri began his speech: 'Who is first or eldest of all gods?' Har said, 'He hight Alfadir (is called All-Father) in our tongue, but in the old Asgard (or abode of the gods) he had twelve names.'"

. . . "Odin is named Alfadir because he is the father of all the gods, and also Valfadir (Choosing Father) because he chooses for his sons all who fall in combat, for whose abode he has prepared Valhalla," (Hall of the Chosen).

The old Norsemen spoke of death as *Heimgang*: that is, "home-going," a thought always beautiful and tender, but still more so as coming from these wild rovers of the "homeless sea."

Greek legend: from the Theogony, or "Origin of the Gods," said by some to be one of the works of Hesiod, an ancient poet. The Greek priests and wise men revered it greatly.

In the beginning there was huge and formless Chaos, from whom came Gaia, the broad-bosomed earth, and Tartarus, dark and dim, below the earth. Then appeared beautiful Eros, or Love. From Chaos also came night and darkness, from these ether and day, whilst the earth gave birth to Uranus, the all-surrounding, starry heaven, and to the mountains and the sea. Then Gaia and Uranus married, and from them sprang demigods and men.

When you know more of the ancient peoples who worked out their thoughts about earth, sky and living things in such varied shape, and have learned amidst what different scenery each lived; how Frost and Fire had fierce unending battle, and the Ice-Giant his hearthless home where the hardy Norsemen dwelt; how sunshine and shadow made beautiful the well-wooded land of mountains and streams in the bright south where the Greeks dwelt; you will understand why one legend should impress us by its rugged grandeur and another enchant us with its stately grace.

CHAPTER III.

CREATION AS TOLD BY SCIENCE.

You have been taught that the earth is one of a number of *planets* (so called from a Greek word meaning *to wander*) which, with other bodies, travel round the sun, he being the center of what is called the *solar* system (from Latin *sol*, the sun). Astronomy primers will tell you that every star is a sun, the center of a solar system, and that our sun appears so large and bright because he is the star nearest to us.

It is believed that the particles of matter which compose the solar system (and what has now to be said applies to the formation of every other solar system) were once in a gas-like state, and in the vast space over which they were spread, so distant from one another as to be at rest. In the course of countless ages the immense mass became cooler through radiation, or loss of heat into space, and the particles were drawn closer together, and brought into a spinning motion, so that they became a huge self-shining, highly-heated mass, somewhat ball-shaped. The motion was quickened as the particles became more united, but when the force which swept them past the center of the entire mass was greater than the force which dragged them toward it, rings of the outermost portion were thrown off one by one, which continued the wheel-like motion of the mass from which they had been cast. Each ring became broken at the points where the particles had clustered thickest, and these fragments, still spinning, gathered each round its center, and threw off rings in like manner.

The huge ball in the center of the whole became the *sun*, the ring fragments became the *planets* with their twofold motion, one top-like, the other round the sun, and the rings cast from them became their *moons;* each of these bodies being in a molten state. In the case of Saturn not only were eight moons formed, but there remain revolving round him the rings which so add to his beauty as an object in the telescope, and which are said to be made up of countless bodies.

The *comets* and streams of *meteors* which belong to our solar system were probably outlying fragments and smaller masses of the broken rings.

Each body; sun, planet, moon, meteor, became globe-shaped in obedience to a law of the universe known as *attraction* (from Latin words meaning *drawn toward*). It is the law by which the dewdrop, the tear that falls from the eye, the melted lead dropped from the top of a tower where shot is made, become round. The little particles draw closely together, and in so doing arrange themselves around the center, to which they are each *attracted.*

It is an important help to a clear understanding of the history of the earth to know what ground there is for the statement that each body of the solar system was in a molten condition.

Now there are certain forces in nature, such as light, heat, electricity, etc., each of which can produce, or be produced by, the rest. From this it has been concluded that they are different forms or modes of *one* unknown force that cannot be destroyed.

Thus, to borrow an illustration of what is meant: In the case of a church spire struck by lightning, the force leapt from the cloud to the spire-cross as *light;* ran down the metal as *electricity;* melted it as *heat;* then burrowed through the stone-work till it got to metal again, splitting the stone in its course as *motion;* found the metal and ran harmlessly down it as *electricity*, but changing in its course probably the positions one to another of the atoms composing the metal, as *magnetism;* and then burst through the stone-work again as *motion*, so injuring the spire throughout that it had to be pulled down and rebuilt.

Therefore heat is not a substance, a subtle fluid, as was once thought, but a motion among the particles of matter. Bodies do not become heavier when they are heated, but they expand; that is, the heat drives their particles asunder, so that the minute spaces between them are widened and the body takes up more room. Knowing this, a smith, before he puts hoops on casks or tires round wheels, makes them red-hot. The heat expands them, and as they cool they shrink and bind tightly round the cask or wheel. And you know that two pieces of dry wood can be set on fire by being rubbed together, and that two pieces of ice can be melted in the same way, proving that heat is a "mode of motion."

The enormous *heat* of each body in the solar system was produced by the particles striking against one another as they were driven together by the force of *attraction.*

Another proof that the earth was once so hot as to be in a soft or melted state is afforded by its shape. It is not perfectly round, but slightly flattened at each pole, which was caused by its having been a fluid mass, spinning round like a top. In illustration of this, a lump of very soft clay or a mass ot oil floating in liquid of the same density (or like weight bulk for bulk), will, when turned round, become flattened like the earth.

Again, the rocks forming part of the solid outside covering of the earth known as the *crust*, which have been fused together by fire, prove that the most intense heat must once have prevailed.

Every hot body which ceases to receive heat becomes cold; that is, parts with its heat; the larger the body, the longer it takes to cool, the outside cooling before the center. The sun is so vast a body that he is still white hot, giving out heat, light and other forces. The moons being the smallest bodies were the first to cool; then the smaller planets, until we come to huge Jupiter and Saturn, which for aught we know may still be shedding some light and heat upon their moons. As each planet was once a small sun, there was a time, not to be counted by years, when the earth gave forth light and heat, and perchance supported life upon the now airless, sealess moon.

And although the earth's crust had become cool and hard enormous ages back, there is still a vast store of heat below, which shows its power in the volcano belching forth its streams of lava; in the earthquake shaking down large cities and burying people in their ruins; and in the hot springs from which, chiefly in Iceland, jets of boiling water are thrown to a great height. The deepest mines, which, compared to the thickness of the earth, are but as scratchings on a school globe, are so hot that were it not for currents of fresh air the miners could not work in them. This store of heat is slowly but surely slipping away into space, so that finally the earth will become cold to its very core.

In brief, what the sun is the earth was millions of years ago; and what the moon now is the earth will be millions of years hence, when the flowers will bloom and the children romp elsewhere.

When the earth was a molten ball there were zones of vapor round it, which slowly condensed and fell as water into the valleys and cracks and lower levels of the cooling crust, filling them and thereby forming river, sea and ocean.

Of the mode in which, as the cooling went on, there fell from these zones different materials which helped to prepare the earth for the support of the life that was to appear thereon, or of the views held about the thickness of the crust and the nature of the matter beneath it, I cannot here speak. These are among the guesses of the wise, which may or may not be true, and we have already more of well-proved statement than this chapter can contain.

The crust of the earth is made up of rocks of many kinds and ages, all of which have been either laid down by water or melted and mixed together by fire. Of the former, some are composed of grains of various stones, and others largely or wholly of the remains of once living animals and plants: the fire-fused rocks containing no traces of such remains. It is this crust which tells so surely the story of those vast changes of which the earth has been the scene, and which are still going on; how the heat within is rending the surface in one place and upheaving or sinking it in other places; how every little stream and brooklet is doing its work in altering the face of things, carrying soil to the sea, which is with hungry maw eating away the rock-bound coasts and softer fringes of the land; how, as the result of this, new continents and islands are slowly uprising from the ocean, to be one day dowered with the richest gifts of nature, studded with homesteads and cities, and the birthplace of wonders undreamt of which the spirit of man shall reveal; when the ocean will in its turn cover the happy homes of now the sunniest lands. All this is beyond question, for there is no rest in nature, not even in the things which look dullest and deadest; the particles that make up a stone being most likely ever moving, as we know the particles of a magnet are.

Professor Huxley, in describing the surprising movements of little bodies which course through the fluid in the hairs of the common stinging-nettle, just as like little bodies float in our blood, repairing the ceaseless waste of our frames, says that if our ears could catch the murmur of the currents whirling in the numberless cells which make up every tree, "we should be stunned as with the roar of a great city."

By way of illustration that the earth's face is ever changing, a study of its crust and a survey of its sea-depths tell us that our own island has been more than once buried under the waters. Since man first appeared, the greater part of the British Isles, of Central Europe, of North America, and of Northern Asia, have been beneath the sea, and the Caspian and Aral seas united as one great ocean. There is a legend of a lost island named Atlantis, placed by Plato west of the Pillars of Hercules in the Atlantic Ocean, and we know that the Canary Isles and the Azores are the highest peaks of the continent which lies beneath those waters. A name has already been given to a vanished land which once stretched from the eastern coast of Africa. Of this land, which there is good reason for thinking was the birth-place of mankind, Madagascar, Ceylon and other islands to the north-east, perhaps far into the Pacific Ocean, are the unburied parts. The great desert of Sahara was once covered by a sea whose waves dashed against the mountain ranges of Northern Africa, and we shall learn further on that there was a time when those ranges were united to Europe.

No one knows how long a time passed between the molten state of the earth and the appearance upon its surface of the first forms of plant and animal life. That untold millions of years rolled away before the crust was cool enough to allow the steamy vapors above it to fall as water, is certain, and even then ages may have passed before other than the minutest kinds of life began to be. All that men of science can do is to get a rough idea of the time which it has taken to form a given thickness of certain layers of rock, each of which is called a *stratum* (from a Latin word meaning *spread out*).

For example: a very large portion of the earth's crust consists of chalk, which is made up of the shells of exceedingly small creatures that live and die under water, creatures of a kind that are at this moment forming chalk beds at the bottom of our oceans. A layer of chalk one foot thick is not heaped up in less than one hundred years and it probably takes a much longer time, so that, as the chalk beds in some parts of England exceed one thousand feet in thickness, we are on the safe side in reckoning that their formation occupied not less than one hundred thousand years. And as any table of the earth's crust will show you, there are rocks above and below the chalk, for the production of which millions heaped upon millions of years are required.

Such vast lengths of time may startle us to whom but a few years of life here are given, but they count not with Him Who is from everlasting to everlasting, and Who, working through the ages, has caused this earth to yield us that rich variety which "age cannot wither." And that variety too out of few materials; for the bodies we dwell in; the air we breathe; the water we drink; and every animal, tree and flower, are for the larger part formed of three gases, known to us as oxygen, hydrogen and nitrogen, each of which by itself is invisible, tasteless and without smell! Oxygen forms three-fourths of the uppermost crust of the earth.

In reading these names and the names given to other things, always seek the reason why they have been chosen, but at the same time remember that we know nothing as to what things are *in themselves*, and this will save you from many a boastful blunder of thinking that you know all about a substance because you have learnt its name. But in speaking of the few materials out of which such variety has come, there is something more wonderful to be said, and with it I must close this chapter.

It is, I hope, made clear to you, that the sun and all the bodies in his system are composed of the same materials, and by means of an instrument called a *spectroscope*, which enables astronomers to examine the light from the stars, no matter how many years it has been traveling to the earth, they are able to tell what metals are burning in those far-off bodies, and they find that those materials which are most plentiful in the stars are those which enter so largely into the structure of living creatures on the earth.

It is, therefore, no blind guess, but well-proved truth, that matter throughout the universe of God is the same in kind, but in different states. In the sun and his fellow-suns, the stars, it is white hot; on the earth and some other planets (Mars, for example, on which a good telescope clearly shows the division of land and water and the increase of snow at the poles as the winter nears) it is cool enough to sustain life; in the moon and meteors it is cold and barren; while in some of the cloud-like clusters in the sky called *nebulæ* (from Latin *nebula*, a cloud), it is in a gas-like state.

Having said thus much, it would be needful to say a good deal more, but I am only acting as a finger-post to point what I think is the right road in which sound knowledge about this world's history can be gained. You need not think that the lesson will be quickly learned, or that the knowledge will ever be completed here. Science can never tell us all that we should like to know, or lead us beyond the veil "where men grow blind though angels know the rest." But we shall agree that her "marvelous tale" has as much poetry in it as the old legends quoted, and certainly more of fact. The cloud-like mass becomes a cooled globe, a fair and fertile world given man for dwelling-place, truly an Eden (*land of delight*, as that word means) where the soft air was wafted laden with the fragrance of sweet flowers, where the birds warbled love-music, and the stream murmured its thanks for the jewels which the sunlight scattered on its bosom.

CHAPTER IV.

LEGENDS OF THE PAST ABOUT MANKIND.

To the legends already given may be added a few concerning the early state of mankind.

For thousands of years before the rudest kind of picture-writing was invented, the mind of man was busily speculating how that which he saw had come to pass, and not less, but rather more, would he wonder whence and how he himself had come; and out of that wonderment have grown the legends which have been handed down by old-world fathers to their children. These legends of a beginning, of the first man, and of a bright unflecked day whose glory had gone, legends in which a little fact was mixed up with much guessing, came to be looked upon as true every word, and were at last set down not as largely born of the fancy of man, but as history to be believed. And we find them lingering still among tribes and nations, because none readily give up the old for the new and cut themselves adrift from that which their fathers held dear.

Nearly all speak of happy times spent

without labor or care, and then of evil stealing in and beguiling men with a lie. Seeking to explain the mystery of sorrow and pain, of the guilt and hard toil to which none are strangers, they have dreamed of a past when these ills were not. "The Pârsî looks back to the happy rule of King Yima, when men and cattle were immortal, when water and trees never dried up and food was plentiful, when there was no cold nor heat, no envy nor old age. The Buddhist looks back to the age of glorious soaring beings who had no sin, no sex, no want of food till the unhappy hour when, tasting a delicious scum that formed upon the surface of the earth, they fell into evil and in time became degraded. It was King Chetiya who told the first lie, and the people who heard of it, not knowing what a lie was, asked if it were white or black or blue. Men's lives grew shorter and shorter, and it was King Maha Sâgara who, after a brief reign of two hundred and fifty-two thousand years, made the dismal discovery of the first grey hair."

The Tibetans and Mongolians believe that the first human beings were as gods, but desiring a certain sweet herb, they ate of it, and lower feelings were thus aroused within them; their wings dropped off; their beauty faded; and the years of their life were made few and filled with bitterness. Passing by any full account of the Hindu story of a tree of life on a mountain ever bathed in sunshine, where no sin could enter and where dreadful dragons kept the way to the heavenly plants and fruits, and also of the Greek belief that far away there were the Islands of the Blessed with a garden full of golden apples guarded by an unsleeping serpent, we have the Greek myth which tells us that the first men were happy and without work, but with a desire to assert their power, and withal defy or mock the gods. Then Promêtheus shaped a human form out of clay, and stole forbidden fire from heaven wherewith to give it life. This made Zeus angry, and he laid a plan by which the evils that mankind dreaded, and which were sealed within a box guarded by Epimêtheus, the brother of Promêtheus, should be let loose. He ordered the lord of fire to fashion the first woman, who by her charms should bring misery to man. Then the gods enriched her with beauty, cunning and fair speech, naming her Pandôra or All-gifted, and Zeus took her to Epimêtheus who, contrary to the advice of his brother to accept nothing from the gods, made her his wife, so smitten was he with her beautiful face and so beguiled by her smooth words. She had not been long with him before she opened the box, from whence came forth strife and sickness and all other ills that afflict mankind, and then hastily closing it, she shut up hope within, so that no comfort was given to men.

In Persian tradition Ormuzd is said to have promised the first man and woman never-ending bliss if they would remain good. But a demon in the form of a serpent was sent by Ahriman, and they believed the lie he told them that the good gifts came from Ahriman, whom they thereupon worshiped. The demon then brought them fruits, which they ate, and thereby lost their happy state. Driven away, they killed beasts for food and wore their skins, and in the hearts of these unhappy creatures there raged hatred and envy, which cursed them and their children.

The likeness of this legend to that in Genesis which tells how woe befel Adam and Eve when, tempted by a talking serpent, they ate forbidden fruit, is very striking. Both may have preserved the memory of a time when men were driven by great changes of climate, summer's heat giving place to long winter's cold, into untrodden wilds; driven, as they thought, by the anger of an offended God.

The mention of a serpent in both these legends reminds us what a great part that creature has played in many religions as an object of worship; also as an emblem of both good and evil, as among the Persians and other Eastern nations; of wisdom, as among African and other tribes who believe that the souls of some ancestors pass into snakes; of eternity, when coiling itself in the form of a circle, as among the Egyptians and Phœnicians; and of dominion, under the shape of a dragon, as among the Chinese. Crawling on its belly (its name comes from the Latin, *serpo*, to creep) with stealthy, dart-like movement; with glittering eye that held the shuddering looker-on as if spell-bound; and with horrid hiss; no wonder that the strange reptile, so unlike beast or bird, came at last to be regarded in many lands as the symbol of evil, and that over its destruction feasts were held and sacrifices offered. That the legend of dire work wrought by it has found a place in Jewish writings is not a matter for surprise, nor that people should make the common blunder of believing that it was the devil who under such a form beguiled Adam and Eve into disobedience.

Much could be said about the false beliefs to which this legend has given rise, but, happily, they are dying out, and we may pass them by and go on to see what truth underlies the ancient story of the fashioning of man.

In the first account of creation in the book of Genesis, we read that "God created man in his image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them." The apostle Paul told the Greeks that "as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold or silver or stone graven by art and man's device," and since we cannot think of Him Who is a Spirit, Who is everywhere, both in the heart of man and in the desert wilds, as having any form, or length, breadth and hight, it is clear that these words in Genesis cannot be read by us as referring to the *body* of man, which has shape and form, but as referring to the *soul*, which is the man. The word *man* comes from a root which in Sanskrit means the *thinker*; and *soul* has the some meaning; each name an old-world witness to the greatness of the being who is nearer to the God above him than he is to the brutes below him. With these he has very much in common, and the knowledge of this should engender kindness toward them, but a great gulf, as it seems to me, divides the two. Brutes have not, in the strict meaning of the term as we use it, a moral sense, or voice within which speaks to them of the rightness or wrongness of what they do. They show love and hate, revenge, shame and pride, but they cannot commit *sin*, neither sink lower nor rise higher than they are. A hungry lion kills and eats a man, not for the mere love of killing, but to satisfy his hunger, for until the hunger returns, he will harm none of the creatures he preys upon. We do not say that the lion has done *wrong*, or that he *ought* not to have done such a thing, but we say that he has acted according to his *brute nature*, and we have outgrown the practice of past ages when animals and lifeless things were punished as criminals for evils which befel men through them. But when men commit crimes, we say that they *ought* not so to do, and we treat them as beings who have the power to do right as well as the power to do wrong; the power to choose between a better and a worse, and thus rise nobly or fall shamefully.

In the second account of creation in Genesis, we read that "the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life: and man became a living soul."

Now the matter of which the universe has been formed has neither been added to nor lessened, and therefore it follows that at the birth of any living thing there is no bringing in of new matter, but the using over again of the old.

Of the matter of which the earth is composed, the flower, the insect, the bird, the fish and the brute are alike made, and they live and grow and repair their waste by taking into themselves air and light and food. And the body of man is not something different from these, but one with them "of the dust of the ground," and in itself not more wonderfully formed for its purpose than they for their purpose. Whether in the long course of ages it has come through lower forms to be what it is, or was fashioned by itself, we cannot say, for men of science are not agreed about this hard question. Neither does it matter; "that which we are we are," and the query is not *whether* God has worked, giving to each moving thing "a body as it hath pleased him," for of that we are sure; but *how* He has worked, concerning which we may be content to remain ignorant.

It is interesting to note that Science confirms in the main what is said in Genesis i. about the order in which life appeared upon the earth, since the deepest layers of rocks, which of course are the oldest, yield fossils of the lowest forms of life, forms so faint that whether they be the remains of plant or of animal, or of both, is uncertain; and the nearer we come to the surface the higher is the kind of life found to have been, until the highest of all, man himself, is reached, his presence being first shown in rudely chipped stone tools and weapons, and next by his remains. It may be added that the ancient Egyptians believed the first man to have been formed from the slime of the river Nile; the Chinese that he was shaped from yellow clay; the Peruvians that he was created by Divine power as "animated earth;" one of the North American tribes that the Great Spirit formed two figures from clay, who were named "first man" and "companion;" another tribe says that men once lived underground, but that finding a hole through which to creep to the surface, they were tempted by the plentiful food to remain above ground.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY RACES OF MANKIND.

It is believed that the birthplace of man was in some part of the earth where the climate was warm, so that but slight clothing and shelter were needed, and where food and the other gifts of nature were so abundant, that life was no hard struggle.

The exact spot we may never know, but nearly all our present information points, as hinted in chapter iii, to some land now beneath the Indian Ocean. The vast number of stone implements which have been found in Europe and many other parts of the globe were without doubt shaped by the hand of man many thousands of years ago; but although they give some clue to the rude, wild state of those who made them, they throw no light whatever on the question of man's first home. His greatness among all living creatures, from the earliest time of which we have glimpses, is seen in this: that although he was naked and with a bodily frame much weaker than many of the brutes, he was able, armed only with clumsy stone weapons, to slay animals of a huge size. And this because as *brutes* they knew nothing of their own power, wherewith they could have crushed him with ease; while as *man* he had the knowledge whereby so to use his weapons as to subdue and kill them.

Let us see whether the records of changes in Europe throw any light upon man's arrival there.

If we find imbedded in layers of rock the remains of animals and plants which could live only in hot regions, we may fairly conclude what the climate must have been when they flourished.

Now from the nature ot the fossils found in what are called the Tertiary rocks (from Latin *tertius*, third), which compose the *third* great division of the water-laid rocks, it is certain that the climate of Europe was once very warm. Thick jungles and tangled forest growths of plants akin to those in hot countries abounded, amongst which creatures of huge size and vast numbers roamed at will, crunching the young shoots and branches between their enormous teeth; while the river-creeks and swamps were the abode of wallowing crocodiles, sharks and turtles of monster size.

In those rocks no remains of man in bones or stone implements have been found.

After this a season of the bitterest cold, known as the Ice Age, slowly set in, and covered with thick plates of ice the northern parts of the earth. While this was going on, the continent of Europe, which had stretched beyond Ireland, gradually sank beneath the sea, so that a large part of it was changed into frozen straits and many ice-clad islands. In the long course of time the climate again became milder and the land "arose from out the azure main," so that Ireland was re-united to Britain, and Britain to the mainland, which was joined to Africa at different parts, the Mediterranean Sea being thereby divided into two large land-locked basins. Periods of cold and heat followed one another; at one time the woolly-haired rhinoceros, mammoth or maned elephant, cave-bear and other wild beasts lived here, and when warmer times drove them to more northern parts, hippopotamuses, lions, hyenas and such like tenants of hot countries came.

It should be stated that there are seen to be three well-marked divisions of the great reign of cold, and it is not certain whether man had reached Europe before the first and most severe Ice Age set in, although certain relics which tend to prove that he had, have been lately found in caverns. The earliest traces of him are the stone tools and weapons found in ancient river-valleys and mingled with the remains of animals, of a kind long since extinct, that roamed over the northwest when there was dry land between England and France, and when a wide plain over which the North Sea now sweeps stretched from Norfolk to Belgium.

That the makers of these old stone implements must have lived in Britain many hundred thousand years ago is proved by the finding of tools of the rudest shape in the floors of limestone caverns which have been scooped out of the rock by the slow action of water. The limy matter in or beneath which the implements are found imbedded and which is called stalagmite (from Greek *stalagma*, a drop) is formed as follows. Rain water passes through the limestone roof, and by means of the carbonic acid which it has derived from the air and from decayed leaves and the like, eats away particles of the roof through which it trickles and drops them beneath as carbonate of lime or *stalagmite*. Sometimes the dissolved particles cling to the roof and hanging from it form in course of time very beautiful columns called *stalactites*, but with these we have nothing to do.

Now as the rate at which the stalagmite is laid down gives some clue to the age of the relics found beneath it when there is proof that it has not been disturbed, it will be well to enter one of the most famous caverns situate near Torquay, known as "Kent's Hole," and see for ourselves of what age the several deposits doubtless are.

First, there are blocks of limestone, which have fallen from the roof from time to time.

Then black muddy mould, beneath which lies a bed of stalagmite varying from three inches to five feet in thickness. Underneath this are two layers, one only a few inches thick and composed mainly of charred wood; the other some feet in thickness and composed of earth which has been slowly washed in through the cavern's mouth. Then we come to a second bed of stalagmite of a different character to the upper bed, and much thicker than it, reaching in some parts to a depth of twelve feet. Below all these lies a dark red sandy deposit called *breccia* (Italian, meaning a *fragment*) the depth of which is unknown.

In the uppermost layer there were found relics of a time before the Romans invaded Britain, which we may safely put down as 2,000 years old. In the upper stalagmite there were found bones of the rhinoceros, elephant, hyena, etc., and of man, with flakes struck off flints by human hands and also the cores from which they had been struck. Now without going farther down at present, how can we get at the age of this stalagmite? There have been cut into it certain letters and dates, one of which—"Robert Hedges, of Ireland, Feb. 20, 1688"—we may believe is genuine, because it was discovered just fifty years ago, on a huge boss of stalagmite rising up from the floor; and although there are others of earlier date, we will take it as our point of reckoning. It is described by the man who saw it in 1825 as covered over with a thin film of stalagmite, a description which applies to it now, although the water has been dripping on it ever since.

Now the carbonate of lime which has gathered upon that cutting since 1688 does not exceed the *twentieth of an inch* in thickness, and we have to account for a deposit which is in some places *five feet* thick. By an easy sum in multiplication we find that it takes 3,720 years for the water trickling through the roof of Kent's Hole to deposit *one inch* of stalagmite, and therefore 44,640 years to deposit *one foot*. Five feet consequently require two hundred and twenty-three thousand years!

But we have not done yet. There is the layer of charred wood, called the "black band" which yielded hundreds of flint tools, a bone needle, burnt bones, remains of hyenas, bears, oxen, etc. There is the cave earth with relics of a like kind, and then we come to the lower bed of stalagmite, which contained bones of the cave-bear only, and which is in some places more than double the thickness of the upper bed, and requiring at the least five hundred thousand years for its formation!

It is underneath this that in the solid mass called breccia there were found mingled with immense numbers of teeth and bones of the cave-bear, flint implements, which without doubt were shaped by the hand and skill of man. Enormous as these figures are, I have been careful to understate rather than overstate them, for there are proofs that within this same cavern an inch of stalagmite is not laid down by water in less than 5,000 years, at which rate the time needed for the deposit of the upper bed alone is three hundred thousand years!

The thickness of layers of stalagmite is not always a test of the great age of remains found in them or below them, as in some caverns they are formed at a very much quicker rate than in others, and if the proof of man's early presence on the earth rested on this alone, it would be needful to speak with caution. But further proof is at hand in the worked flints found in the river-gravels of England and France, and in the kind of animals with whose remains his own are found, that man lived in Northern Europe toward the close of the later Ice Age, if not earlier, and therefore hundreds of thousands of years ago: although the actual time of his arrival can never be known.

We do not know to what race the men who first trod the soil of Europe belonged. They came with the mammoth, cave-bear, etc., and we cannot tell whither they went. There is, however, some clue to those who followed them. These were dwellers in caves, living chiefly on the flesh of the reindeer, which creature they hunted as far as the northern land of bitter cold, where the snow never melts and the blessed light shines but six months in the year. The manners and customs and general kind of life of the tribes found there at this day, known as the Eskimos, are so very like all that can be learnt about the old cave-men of what is called the Reindeer Period, that there is good reason for believing that the one is descended from the other.

After a time which years fail to reckon, when the waters, ever working "without haste and without rest," had cut a channel between England and France, there came to Europe from the East race after race of people who were far higher than the cave-men. The lowest among them, of whom traces are found along the shores of the Baltic Sea, had tamed the dog, while those who lived in houses built upon piles driven into the bottom of lakes in Switzerland and elsewhere, had learnt to till the soil.

Mankind at first were few in number, but as the mouths to be fed multiplied faster than the food wherewith to fill them, it was needful either that the ground should be tilled or that some should leave in search of food elsewhere, and since man must advance somewhat before he becomes a husbandman, the latter course would be chosen.

So, hunger-driven or forced away by change of climate, and also, it may be, led on by desire to see what the world was like and to find excitement in chasing animals to kill and eat, some would leave, and thus give up a settled kind of life, which tends to peaceful progress, for a roving life. The pressing wants of the body urged them to wander far and wide, and soon long distances would divide the hunters. This would lead to the peopling of the world in many parts, and in the course of long ages to the fixing of wandering tribes wherever food was to be had, and the land seemed fair and fertile.

From this we may understand how the earliest dwellers in Europe were driven thither. They were but rude savages, living by hunting and fishing. Man is first of all a hunter, then he finds out that some of the animals which he kills for food can be made useful to him in other ways, so he tames them. This leads him to follow the more settled life of a shepherd, and when he becomes a tiller of the soil, or farmer, he stays in one place. There the family grows into a tribe and the tribe into a nation.

Thus far I hope to have made clear to you the mode in which mankind slowly overspread various parts of the world, and I have now to give you, in as simple a form as the subject will permit, an account of some ancient peoples who have played a markedly eventful part in the history of mankind.

I shall take you back to the time when man had outgrown his first rude savage state; but, so many are the years, we shall still be a long way beyond the line where the history of nations stands out clearly before us. The story is worth your careful attention, for to know who these peoples were and what they did, is to learn the thoughts of ancestors whose words we speak and to find out how we have become what we are.

The old writers, in speaking of "the world," took for granted that it did not extend beyond the countries of which they knew Now although its real size and shape are well known to us, we are too apt to think only of that part of it where the highest races have lived, and to leave out the other parts with their millions of people still in a savage or half-civilized state. This must be borne in mind in reading what follows, since the limits of this book forbid my stating what is known of the manner of life and religions of the numerous races scattered over the northern regions of Asia, over large tracts of Africa and America, and throughout the many islands of the southern seas. It is certain that the people to be presently described were not the first civilizers, but were young as compared to Egypt and China, and built up much of their future greatness out of the ruins of more ancient cultures. For apart from the rude savages whose early struggles made progress easier to those who came after them, there are found over wide regions of Europe and Asia the traces of a people who have immensely helped the advancement of mankind. I am now speaking of the ancestors of the great Mongol race, of the Tatars (wrongly called Tartars) and of the many tribes of Northern Asia, of Southern India, Malay, and other parts of South-western Asia; also of the Finns, Lapps, Hungarians and smaller remnants, such as the Basque dwellers in the Pyrenees, lingering in out-of-the-way places.

Many of these have preserved the manners, customs and beliefs of a bygone day, and having reached a certain point, seem to have stood still while the rest of the world has moved onward. The history of mankind is made up of struggles between races in which the weaker have been stamped out or enslaved, but these people, whose forefathers were by turns conquerors and conquered, are amongst us, many of them free and independent, still worshiping the heavenly bodies and the spirits of their ancestors as did their forefathers thousands of years ago.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ARYAN OR INDO-EUROPEAN NATIONS.

Thousands of years ago there dwelt probably in Central Asia, scattered over the wide plains which spread east of the Caspian sea and north-west of Hindustan, a number of tribes united together by the same manners and customs, and speaking somewhat different dialects of a common tongue, in short, the offspring of one mother nation.

These tribes consisted of two great branches, from one of which have come the races that have peopled nearly the whole of Europe; that is to say, the Celts (whom Julius Cæsar found in Britain when he invaded it); the Germans and Slavonians; the Greeks and Romans; while from the other branch the Medes, Persians and Hindus, with some lesser peoples in Asia, have sprung.

A learned German has called this "the discovery of a new world." And it is certainly a great revelation to us that the Hindu and the Icelander; the Russian and the Italian; the Englishman and the Frenchman; are children whose forefathers lived in one home. A knowledge of this fact must aid the growth of kindlier feeling between man and man, and lessen the unreasoning dislike which we are apt to nurture against foreigners.

So true is it that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us."

Arya is a Sanskrit word, meaning *noble*, of a *good family*. It is believed to have come from the root *ar*, to plough, which is found in *era*, the Greek word for *earth; earth* meaning that which is *eared* or ploughed. We find the word so used in Tusser, an early English poet, who says,

"Such land as ye break up for barley to sow,
Two *earths* at the least, ere ye sow it, bestow."

That is, plough it twice. And in Isaiah xxx. 24, we read of "the oxen and the young asses that *ear* the ground." *Aryan* was the name given to the tillers of the soil and to householders, and the title by which the once famous Medes and Persians were proud to call themselves. We find King Darius styling himself an Arya of the Aryans. It became a general name for the race who obtained possession of the land, and survives in *Iran*, the modern native name of Persia and in other names of places; even, as some think, in Ireland, which is called *Erin* by the natives. The name *Indo-European* is sometimes used instead of *Aryan*, and it is a better name because it conveys a clearer idea of the races included therein.

We will now inquire more fully into the old life of this interesting people, first treating of them in their common home, which will cause something more to be said about legends of the past; then of their arts and customs; the source from whence comes our knowledge of them; their religion; their myths, from which, as already hinted in the opening pages of this book, most of the myths and legends, and even some beliefs of the chief nations of Europe have come; and lastly, of the breaking-up of the tribes, when the children went forth heaven-guided, to plant the seed from which grew empires that have been the wonders of the world. Such survey will bring us near the time when some great religions had their rise, and of these an account will fitly follow.

(*a*) THE ARYANS IN THEIR UNDIVIDED STATE.

In the Zend-Avesta, or sacred book of the old Persian religion, only fragments of which have been preserved, there are some statements about the country peopled by the Aryans which seem to hold a little truth.

Sixteen countries are spoken of as having been given by Ormuzd for the Aryans to dwell in, each of which became tainted with evil. The first was named Airyanem-Vaêgô and it was created a land of delight, but, to quote the ancient legend "the evil being Ahriman, full of death, made a mighty serpent and winter, the work of the Devas" (or bad spirits.)

The land thus vaguely spoken of is believed to be the highest ground in Central Asia, and to have been the scene of changes which gave rise to a cold climate with but two months of summer in the year. In this Persian legend we have one of the many traditions which have come down from the past concerning disaster and ruin befalling fair lands where men once dwelt in peace. The most widespread of these, being in fact found among all the leading races of the world, is that which tells of a fearful flood which drowned mankind. The sea-shells and fossil fishes imbedded in rocks now many hundreds of feet above the level of the sea could only be accounted for by supposing either that the sea once came up and covered the highest hills, leaving its wrecks behind; or that the mountains had been down in the sea; and as the former seemed the more likely of the two, the tradition took that shape.

I shall have to resist the temptation to relate many of these traditions, but the Chaldæan must be told because of its striking likeness to the record of the Flood in the Book of Genesis. There are in fact two Chaldæan accounts of the Deluge, one of which, belonging to a series of legends on tablets found among the ruins of Nineveh, has of late come to light, and resembles that now given. It is said that the god Ilu (see chapter xi.) warned Xisuthrus of a flood by which mankind would be destroyed, and commanded him to write a history of all things and to bury it in the City of the Sun. He was then to build a ship, and take refuge in it with his relations and friends, and also every kind of beast and bird, with needful food for all. This he did, and when the flood came sailed as he was bidden "to the gods." That he might know whether the waters had abated, he sent out birds three times, and the third time they came back no more, by which he judged that the earth was again dry land. Looking out from a window he found that the ship had stranded upon the side of some mountain, and he thereupon quitted it with his wife and daughter. After worshiping the earth and offering sacrifice to the gods, he was translated to live in their high dwelling-place, and as he arose he bade farewell to those whom he had left in the ship, and told them to return to Babylon and dig up the books which he had buried. This they did, and taught from those books the true religion to the Chaldæans.

The Babylonians and the Jews were members of the same race, and this may explain the likeness between their traditions. Thus the Chaldæan records speak of the building of the Tower of Babel, the legend of which has just been found on another tablet from Nineveh, how the first inhabitants of the earth, glorying in their own strength and size and despising the gods, undertook to raise a tower whose top should reach the sky in the place where Babylon now stands, but when it approached the heaven, the winds helped the gods, and overthrew the work upon its builders; then the gods confused the speech of men, who till that time had all spoken the same language. The Bible gives *ten* patriarchs who lived before the flood, each of whom died at a great age, and the Chaldæan history speaks of *ten* kings whose reigns, added together, amount to 432,000 years, while in Arab, Chinese, Hindu and German legend, *ten* mythical persons are said to have lived before the dawn of history. So strongly runs the likeness between the old traditions, a likeness to be expected, since they are children of one parent. That parent was the busy, wonder-filled mind of man, when it shaped the creatures of its fancy out of the facts around; creatures that have found a home among every people.

You must read elsewhere the story of the Northern giants who were sent to overturn the earth, and who drowned all mankind save an old couple whom the gods told to dance on the bones of the earth (by which of course the *stones* are meant) nine times, whence arose nine pairs of men and women; of the Greek and his wife who, when the flood came, took refuge in an ark, and leaving it when the land was dry, threw stones behind them, which were thereupon changed into men; of the Hindu who saved the life of a fish, for which kind deed the grateful creature rescued him, when the great waters came, by fastening his ship to its horn; and of the South Sea fisherman who by his ill luck caught his hooks in the water-god's hair, which so angered the god that he drowned the world, but, strange to say, spared the fisherman.

Leaving the legends, it would seem that the Aryans had gradually spread themselves over that part of Asia called Bactria; the tribes that afterward settled in Persia and India dwelling, some in the north-east, others in the south-east; while the western part of the country was occupied by the tribes that were to people Europe. We shall see at the end of this chapter in what order they are thought to have left.

THEIR STATE OF CIVILIZATION.

Of the forefathers of the Aryans nothing is known. Remains yielded by every quarter of the globe show that mankind passed through a state when the rudest and roughest tools were gladly used, and there can be little doubt that although the Aryans had learnt the value of metals, they were the offspring of people who had in a far-off past made shift with stone, bone, wood, and such like materials. At the unknown period when the Aryans dwelt on the rich pastures and fertile soil of their high table-land they were far in advance of a savage state. They were not dwellers in tents like the Arabs, nor in wagons like the Scythians, but they had reached the settled life of a people whose dwellings were grouped into villages or small towns, between which roads had been made. Their houses were strongly built, with walls round them. Their chief wealth was in bulls and cows, and they had horses, dogs, pigs, goats, fowls, etc. In fact, the wild stocks of several of our domestic animals still exist in Central Asia, from whence they were brought by the Aryans into Europe. They did not depend entirely for food upon milk and flesh, but tilled the soil a little, sewing barley, and perhaps wheat, which they ground in mills. They had ploughs and other implements, and also weapons of bronze. Gold, silver and copper were known among them, but probably iron was as yet unknown. The arts of weaving and pottery making were practised, and they had small boats moved by oars, but without masts and sails. They had learnt to count as far as one hundred, and to divide the year into twelve months, as suggested chiefly by the movements of the moon. Names were given to the members of families related by marriage as well as by blood. A welcome greeted the birth of children as of those that brought joy to the home, and the love that should be felt between brother and sister was shown in the names given; *bhrâtar* being he who *sustains* or *helps; svàsar*, she who *pleases* or *consoles.* The daughter of each household was called *duhitàr*, from *duh*, a root which in Sanskrit means to *milk*, by which we know that the girls in those days were the *milking maids.* Father comes from a root *pâ*, which means to *protect* or *support;* mother, *mâtar*, has the meaning of *maker.* Thus did the old words carry within them the sense of those duties which each member of the family owed to the rest.

The groups of families which made up a tribe or clan were ruled by a chief, aided by heads of households, and under these the laws were carried out. A king was set over all; one doubtless chosen for his bravery and wisdom, who commanded the army and made peace or war. He was also supreme judge, but any cases upon which he felt it hard to decide were settled by what is called *ordeal* or the judgment of God, as it was believed to be. That the innocence or guilt of an accused person might be arrived at, he had to submit to some test, such as being passed through fire (from which comes our phrase about any one who has been scolded; we say he has been "hauled over the coals"), or thrown into water, and, in the words of the law-book of the ancient Hindus, "he whom the flame does not burn and he who does not float without effort on the water, must be accepted as truthful." Trial by ordeal was common among ancient nations, and was supported by both law and clergy in the dark ages of Europe.

(*c*) SOURCE OF OUR KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE ARYANS.

Ethnology (from Greek *ethnos*, a tribe or nation, and *logos*, a discourse) is the name given to the science which treats of the races of mankind. Our present knowledge strengthens the early belief that man first arose in one part of the earth, but the result of many causes, such as changes in climate, removal to new lands, different food, working through long ages, has been to create wide varieties in his descendants, such as we see between an Englishman and a Negro, and between a Hindu and a Chinaman. In dividing mankind into races, men of science have tried many methods, tracing out likeness in shape and size of skull, in color of skin and hair, in manners, customs and beliefs, in language, etc., but no one of these has succeeded in accounting for all the varieties in the human race.

What immense service one of these methods has been will now appear.

The Aryans, whose manner of life has been sketched in its main features, have left behind them no ruins of temples or tombs, no history stamped on pieces of baked clay or cut on rocks, no weapons or tools of stone, bone or metal, so far as is known, and it is by means of language alone that we can rebuild the villages of the old Aryan land and bring before the mind some picture of life in them thousands of years ago.

When a bone with scratchings upon it is dug from out a cavern floor, there may be room for doubt whether the hand of a man working with stone tool, or the teeth of a brute, have made the marks; but wherever we find *words* there is no doubt that man has used them: and it was through them that the secret about these Aryan forefathers came to light.

There were seen to be so many points of likeness between certain languages which could be accounted for only by supposing those languages to be the offspring of one mother-tongue. This likeness was noticed in the homely words and common names which make up so much of the speech of everyday life; it was most marked in the numerals and pronouns; and, what is of greater importance, in the forms of grammar; the endings of nouns and verbs; the adding of the letter *s* to form plurals, etc.

As language is "a map of the science and manners of the people who speak it," the thing for which a name exists must have been known, and if it be found with the same name among nations widely apart and between whom there has been no meeting for ages, we have fair proof that their ancestors once lived together and used the thing. If we find a common name for *house*, *boat*, *plough*, *grain*, in Sanskrit, Greek, and other leading languages, we may be nearly certain that these things were known to the tribes before they parted whereas if the name for *sea* differs, it follows that the Aryans were an inland race and knew nothing of the wide waters that laved the distant coasts. There is further proof of this in the smallness of their skiffs or canoes, which it is clear were for river use, since, as already stated, they had no masts or sails.

There are certain differences in the words, arising from the changes to which the sounds of a language are liable, one sound being often used in the place of another, as is the case, for example, with children in trying to utter certain words. These changes were found to have taken place upon a large scale in all the Indo-European languages, and their nature is now fully known and set forth in modern grammars. They are grouped together under the title of "Grimm's Law," from the name of their discoverer.

It is true it does not follow that the English and Germans are of the same race because their languages are so much alike, for there are cases in history where a people, without any change in itself, has lost its mother-tongue and spoken the language of its conquerors, but this has taken place only when it has been so entirely subdued as to be civilized by the victors, as for example when the Romans conquered Gaul and well nigh stamped out the Gaulish speech, putting Latin in its place. This, however, does not apply to the Aryan nations in their wars with non-Aryan races.

Before giving a list of the languages known to be offshoots from one parent stem, it may be well to explain that language is everywhere found to be in one of the three following states:

First—When roots, by which is meant sounds from which all languages spring, are used as words without any change of form.

Secondly—When two roots are joined together to form words.

Thirdly—When two roots are joined together, but when they, thus joined, lose their independent form.

The Chinese language, which consists of words of one syllable, is the best living example of language in its *first* stage, and beyond which, it is held by a few learned men, some languages never rise, however long they may live.

The Finnic, Hungarian, etc., languages represent language in its *second* stage.

The Aryan and Semitic languages represent language in its *third* and highest stage.

This example will show the change which the roots of certain languages undergo:

First state . . He is *like God.*
Second state . He is *God-like,*
Third state . He is *God-ly.*

Table of Aryan or Indo-European Languages.

In India:

Sanskrit,	The language in which the Vedas or sacred books of the Brahmans are written, and the parent of the modern dialects of Hindustan.
Zend, . (so-called.)	The language of the ancient Persians and of their sacred book, the Zend-Avesta.

The languages now spoken in Persia, Afghanistan, Kurdistan, Armenia and Ceylon, and the dialects of the *Gypsies* are Aryan, those strange wanderers having without doubt come from India.

In Europe:—

Celtic, .	Once the language of a large part of Europe, but now spoken only in Wales, the Isle of Man, and some parts of Ireland and Scotland.
Teutonic,	Under which name the languages that have given birth to the English, German, Icelandic, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Dutch, etc., are grouped.
Slavonic,	The language spoken in many dialects all over Russia in Europe and part of Austria.
Greek, .	The parent of modern Greek.
Latin, .	The language of ancient Rome (which was in the little province of *Latium*) and the parent of the Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese and Wallachian languages.

No one of these can be pointed out as the source from which the others have come, because although Sanskrit has preserved its words in their most primitive state, each of the others has also kept some form which Sanskrit has lost. It is one of the few *facts* of history that before the Hindus crossed the mountains that lay between Bactria and India, and before the Celts and other tribes left for the west, their common ancestors spoke the same language; a language so firmly settled that Sanskrit, Persian, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Slavonic and Celtic words are simply *alterations* of its words and not *additions* to it. A few plain examples will best make this clear, and close what some of you will call the driest chapter in the book.

	Sanskrit.	*Zend.*	*Greek.*	*Latin.*	*Gothic.*	*Slavonic.*	*Irish.*
Father . .	pitár	patar	patêr	pater	fadar	. . . . .	athair
Mother .	mâtár	mâtar	mêtêr	mater	. . . . .	mati	mathair
Brother .	bhrâtar	brâtar	phratêr	frater	brôthar	brat'	brathair
Sister . .	svásar	qanhar	. . . . .	soror	svistar	sestra	siur
Daughter	duhitar	dughdhar	thugatêr	. . . . .	dauhtar	. . . . .	dear (?)
Me. . . .	me	me	me	me	mik	man	me
House. .	dama	demana	domos	domus	. . . . .	domŭ	daimh
Boat . .	naus	naw	naus	navis	. . . . .	. . . . .	noi or nai
Ox & Cow	go (nom gaus)	gâo	bous	bos	. . . . .	govjado	bó
Horse . .	âsu, asva	aspa	hippos	equus	*Anglo-Saxon.* eoh	. . . . .	ech
Sow . . .	sû	. . . . .	hus	sus	*Old High German.* sû	svinia	suig
Mouse . .	mûsh	. . . . .	mus	mus	mûs	*Polish.* mysz	. . . . .
Two . . .	dwa	dwa	düo	duo	*Mæso-Gothic* twa	*Slavonic.* dwa	dau
Three . .	tri	thri	treis	tres	thri	tri	tri

I have sought to make this matter simple enough that you may see how language is filled with wealth of knowledge about the past, and how sure a guide it is to the manners, customs and beliefs of those who "being dead, yet speak" by it.

(*d.*) THE RELIGION OF THE ARYANS.

In the second part of my former book, "The Childhood of the World," I tried to show by what steps man rose from the worship of sticks and stones and rivers, to a belief in one all-wise and all-good God. It is not needful to go over that ground again, as in learning from whence the Aryan drew his idea of the gods, we shall see to what extent he had got beyond the lower beliefs of his ancestors. He had not reached the highest idea to which man can climb, that God is the unseen life of all and that "there is none other but he," for his belief was shaped from what he saw.

Before the notions about things which the senses give had been corrected by reason and the long experience of mankind, man explained the movements of nature by his own movements. He knew that he moved because he lived and willed to do whatever he did, and that the dead moved not. So he believed that sun, moon, stars, clouds, rivers and the like, had life within them because they moved, and that theirs was a freer, stronger life than his own; obeying a will more powerful than his will. By a short step the thing spoken of as alive came to be looked upon as a person, and where two or more names were given to the same object the idea of two or more persons sprang therefrom. The spread of this idea would be aided by the division of lifeless things thus believed to have a personal life into masculine or feminine gender, of which some languages afford such curious and, to those who are learning them, tedious illustrations.

Although the Aryan addressed the earth as "mother," and invoked her to grant him blessings, he did not regard it as a god. How much there was in it to arouse his sense of wonder it is not hard for us to see, but it appeared to him to depend, like himself, upon some greater powers who could plunge it in darkness or withhold from its thirsty soil the welcome rain. So he looked up to the broad heaven that arched in the earth at every point, and from whence came each morning the light that cheered his life and took away the fear with which the night filled his heart. And there, so it seemed to him, lived and moved in strength and majesty the great lord of all, whom he named *Dyaus*, from a root *div* or *dyu*, which means *to shine*. This was the most ancient of the names by which the Aryans spoke of him who seemed the god of gods, and it is the name by which you and I often speak of the one God in Whom we believe, for it was borne away with other cherished home-words by the tribes when they left their mother-country, and as wherever they went the same heaven was above them, it was not readily forgotten. *Dyaus* is the same as *Zeus* in Greek; *Jovis* and *Deus* in Latin; and *Tiu* in German. From *Deus* comes our word *Deity*, which therefore means the God Who is light, and from *Tiu*, Saxon god of war, comes our *Tuesday*. In the Rig-Veda or chief sacred book of the Brahmans, the hymns of which have preserved the earliest known form of the Aryan religion, the gods are called *deva*, meaning *bright*.

Dyaus, the god of the bright sky and chief deity among the Aryans, was, as will be seen in the chapter on the older Hindu religion, only one of several names by which they invoked the moving powers of nature. The same name was given to different objects in the heavens, and the same object was called by as many names as the fancy of the onlooker invented. As the powers of nature came to be thought of as persons, it was by an easy step that they were called husband and wife, mother and son, brother and sister. It was long ago a beautiful and forceful myth among mankind, and one still found among races in the myth making stage, that heaven and earth are the father and mother of all things. Upon this matter a great light is thrown by the name *Jupiter*. This word means what in the Veda *Dyaus-pitar*, and in the Greek *Zeu-pater*, mean—Heaven-Father! Professor Max Müller, who has the rare gift of putting into sweetest words things that to the common eye look the driest, writes thus about this most interesting fact:

"We have in the Veda the invocations *Dyaus-pitar*, the Greek *Zeupater*, the Latin *Jupiter:* and that means in all the three languages what it meant before these three languages were torn asunder—it means Heaven-Father! These two words are not mere words; they are to my mind the oldest poem, the oldest prayer of mankind, or at least of that pure branch of it to which we belong—and I am as firmly convinced that this prayer was uttered, that this name was given to the unknown God before Sanskrit was Sanskrit, and Greek was Greek, as when I see the Lord's Prayer in the languages of Polynesia and Melanesia, I feel certain that it was first uttered in the language of Jerusalem. We little thought when we heard for the first time the name of Jupiter, degraded it may be by Homer or Ovid into a scolding husband or a faithless lover, what sacred records lay enshrined in this unholy name. We shall have to learn the same lesson again and again in the Science of Religion, viz., that the place whereon we stand is holy ground. Thousands of years have passed since the Aryan nations separated to travel to the North and the South, the West and the East: they have each formed their languages, they have each founded empires and philosophies, they have each built temples and razed them to the ground; they have all grown older, and it may be wiser and better; but when they search for a name for what is most exalted and yet most dear to every one of us, when they wish to express both awe and love, the infinite and the finite, they can but do what their old fathers did when gazing up to the eternal sky, and feeling the presence of a Being as far as far and as near as near can be; they can but combine the self-same words, and utter once more the primeval Aryan prayer, Heaven-Father, in that form which will endure forever, 'Our Father which art in heaven.'"

Besides having common names for their chief gods, the Aryans had words to express the duties which they felt must be fulfilled toward the powers whose smiles they coveted and whose frowns they feared; as *sacrifice, prayer, altar, spirit.*

Sacrifice is the oldest of all rites. Man's first feeling toward the gods was that of fear. They ruled over all things; life and death were in their hands, and therefore it seemed needful to offer them something to win their favor. When he saw that the blessings of heaven outnumbered the ills, fear gave place to love, and *thank-offerings* were made. As the feeling grew that the gods must be better as well as stronger, the desire to have their forgiveness for bad deeds done and for good deeds left undone led to *sin-offerings*.

And as the sense of a common need was stronger than any other tie that bound the family together, the father, as its head, built the altar and laid the gift upon it. These gifts of things which could be seen and touched were a simple, and in fact the only, mode by which man could show the feeling of his heart; but in course of time the first meaning of the gifts was lost and they were looked upon not merely as *showing* something, but as *being* something. The place where they stood was revered; there men raised a temple (so called from the Latin *templum*, which means *a space cut off*), and a class of men grew up who made easy claim to power with the gods which they said was not given to all men. Thus religious rites, which were believed to have certain charms about them, were done by the priests only, and two great evils thereby came about. First, people believed that the priests knew more about the unseen than other men, and so, leaving religion to them, gave up *thinking;* ceased to use the greatest gift which made them men. How frightfully this has kept the world back, we have the saddest proofs even to-day, in our forgetfulness that the voices of God are around us; that His secrets are not with any one class of men, but with them that fear Him, with them that are true to what they feel to be highest and best, whoever they may be. Next, the belief that certain buildings are more sacred than others, and that one kind of work is holier than another, has caused people to think that God is more with the priest than He is with the peasant, and more likely to be present in a church than in a house or shop. The Psalmist knew better than that, for he asked, "Whither shall I go from Thy spirit? or whither shall I flee from Thy presence?" And so did Jesus when he told the people that to the pure in heart there was some showing of God's blessed face, and that not on mountain or in city only, but everywhere He could be worshiped. The earth is a temple, and all honest work is service therein.

Sacrifice was an important part of the Aryan religion. A rude altar of turf or stones was piled upon some high place under the open sky, and the wood laid upon it was kindled by rubbing two dried brenches together. One chief offering to the gods was the fermented juice of the Soma or moon-plant, which, being a strong drink, gave new excitement to those who took it, and was believed to impart power to the gods. It was offered to them in ladles, or thrown into the fire. It was thought to work miracles, and afterward became one of the chief gods among the Hindus. In a Vedic hymn the worshipers say:

"We've quaffed the Soma bright,
And are immortal grown;

We've entered into light,
  And all the gods have known.
What mortal now can harm,
  Or foeman vex us more?
Through thee, beyond alarm,
  Immortal God! we soar."

(See also chapter vii).

Other gifts, such as butter (produce of the valued cow), grains of barley, cakes, etc. were presented, and at solemn seasons animals were offered, the highest sacrifice being that of the horse, which creature was a frequent victim among the Scandinavians. Tacitus tells us that among the Teutons sacred white horses, never ridden by men, were kept in groves, and fed at the public cost.

The Veda gives an insight into the hymns and prayers used at these sacrifices, and the *Vach*, or "Goddess of Speech," who taught the people to worship in spirit as well as in form, is praised in words which are very like those about Wisdom in the eighth chapter of Proverbs:

"I uphold both the sun and the moon, the firmament and fire. I am queen and mistress of riches, I am wise. Listen then to me, for I speak words worthy of belief. Whom I love I make holy and wise. . . . I pervade heaven and earth. I bore the father on the head of this (universal mind), and my beginning is in the midst of the ocean; therefore do I pervade all beings, and touch this heaven with my form. I breathe in all worlds; I am above this heaven, beyond this earth; and what is the great one, that am I."

This brief sketch of Aryan religion, especially the early notions of virtue and divine power abiding in the Soma, shows us a truth which is every day becoming clearer; that the things which are thought to belong only to one religion are common to all religions. The Roman Catholic priest who elevates the consecrated bread called the "host" (from Latin *hostia*, a victim), is after all but an imitator of the old Aryan worshiper who, when he offered the Soma, raised the wooden cup that held it.

(*e*) ARYAN MYTHS.

You know that there is found among every people what is called a *mythology* (from Greek *muthos*, a fable, and *logos*, a word), under which name may be classed all legends and traditions, and also the fairy tales to which boys and girls listen so eagerly. There is common to myth and folk-lore the stories of the loves and quarrels of gods and goddesses, the feasts they ate, and the foes they slew; of heroes fighting with monsters for the rescue of fair maidens from dark dungeons and enchanted castles, of love-sick princes crossing wide seas in quest of the princess whom they wish to marry, and doing many deeds of daring to win her; of brave and cunning dwarfs that kill greedy, cruel and stupid giants; of strange creatures that lived in forest, in stream and underneath the ground—in Northern lands, known as nixies or water-sprites; as trolls or hill-dwarfs; as golden-haired elves that come from Elf-home at moonlight to dance in fairy rings upon the grass and make the air gently tremble with the soft music of their magic harps; in Southern lands, the naiades or water-nymphs, the satyrs and fauns and pigmies—and, all the world over, the beings too many to name, that dwell in wonder-land. Then there are the legends that people the air with the spirits of the dead, with sheeted ghosts, thirsty vampires, witches and the like; that tell of strange powers for good or evil possessed by living and lifeless things, of men changed into bears, and wolves and stones; of maidens changed into swans; of waters of life and death and forgetfulness; of magic horns, lamps, cudgels, table-cloths and necklaces; of flasks that fill the ocean and talismans that open hidden stores of gold and gems; legends accounting for the cross on the ass's back, the marks on the haddock, the bear's stumpy tail, the robin's red breast, the wasp's narrow waist, the echoes among the hills, the saltness of the sea, the spots on the moon, and so on. We must also include as more or less out-growths of myth the great Epics (or poems describing the deeds of heroes) of the Aryan nations; in Norseland the tales of the Volsungs; in England, the tales of King Arthur and his Round Table Knights; in Greece, the Iliad and Odyssey; and the minor stories which are found among many peoples, such as the skill of Tell the archer, and the mistake of the prince who slew the faithful dog Gellert, that had saved his child from the wolf. Now, strange to tell, just as the languages of the English, Russians, Hindus and other Aryan nations have come from one source, so also have many of their myths, legends and fairy tales. It is worth your while to hear how this has been found out.

Much that was passed by in former years as meaningless and unworthy of notice has in our day been looked at with care and found to be full of history and meaning.

Thus it has been with nursery tales, which of all things one might think would be the least likely to throw any light upon the past, or to yield instruction as they yield amusement. For some years learned men have taken down these tales from the lips of old goodies, unlearned peasants, and servants in India, Germany, Russia, Scotland, and elsewhere, and on putting them side by side, have traced a strong likeness running through the whole. Now we are sure that the old grannies in Northern Europe did not learn their tales from Hindu books or story-tellers, and the resemblance can be explained only by supposing that the Ayran tribes carried with them from their one Asian home a common stock of stories as well as a common speech and a common name for the Heaven-Father.

What was the foundation of all these stories we shall presently see; but it cost great labor to get at, because the older form had become overlaid, the gods of the early myths being the heroes of mock history, and these again the giants and knights of fireside tales.

The question was asked if the mythologies of the ancients were merely absurd stories invented to please a low, bad taste, or stories which held within them a pure meaning, hidden, but not departed? For if this better meaning could be found it might tell something of the purpose myths once served to those who framed them, and of the views they had of things.

In looking at the Greek myths, it seemed unlikely that a people who have made the world more beautiful to all of us, whose sweet singers charm us still, and of whose wise teachers the wisest of our time gladly learn, should have been the sons of men who invented out of filthy minds the mass of coarse and horrid stories which make up so much of their mythology; such as those telling of Kronos maiming his father and swallowing his own children; of Tantalus roasting his son and giving the gods his flesh to eat; and of Œdipus killing his father and becoming the husband of his own mother.

The doubt led, as doubts always lead, to inquiry, and the inquiry brought out the truth that the older meaning of these tales had been forgotten by the later Greeks, the wisest among whom were shocked at such stories of the gods, one of them saying, "If the gods do aught unseemly, then they are not gods at all."

They could not trace, as we can, their birthplace, their language, and their legends to the old Aryan home, and accounted for these things in a proud and foolish way. They called every people around them *barbarians*, in mockery of the *barbar* of which their language seemed made up.

The mode by which the meaning of the Greek myths has been found is this: The earliest forms of myth are contained in the Veda; and the older Sanskrit, in which it was written, has preserved the first forms of the words more than the later Sanskrit or any other Aryan language. Therefore Greek words, the meaning of which was wholly or partly hidden, but the kindred forms of which in Sanskrit were known, were compared with them, and then the meaning became clear. For example, in Greek legend, Athênê is said to be the daughter of Zeus, having sprung from his forehead.

Taking this by itself, its meaning is hard to find. But when, as we saw in this chapter, the Greek *Zeus* is found to be the Sanskrit *Dyaus*, we know that something about the *sky* is meant. The Greek *Athene* is probably the Sanskrit *Ahanâ* which means the *dawn*. A hymn in the Veda says of her: "Ahanâ comes near to every house, she who makes every day to be known." Therefore the Greek legend may be said to mean that the dawn springs from the forehead of the sky, or, as we should say in English, rises out of the east.

Now, although such a myth as that of Athênê, with very many others that could be told, are to us but sweet and pretty conceits, they were not so to the Aryans, who, as we have seen, believed all things which moved to have life; sun, moon, star, and uprising, fleet-footed dawn a strong, grand life, and who spoke of them accordingly, meaning what they said, and not composing poetry for men to admire. Language is not the only proof of this; for the accounts which travelers give concerning the nature-myths framed by modern savages, in which dead but moving things are called living persons, show that the mind of man worked then as it works now. And the notions which young children often form about their toys aptly illustrate the mythic age through which every race passes. "To a little child not only are all living creatures endowed with human intelligence, but everything is alive. In his world pussy takes rank with Pa and Ma in point of intelligence. He beats the chair against which he has knocked his head; the fire that burns his finger is 'naughty fire;' and the stars that shine through his bed-room window are eyes, like mamma's and pussy's, only brighter.'"

And it is the same with man in a rude, untaught state, nor does he reach loftier ideas till a long time after his civilization has begun.

How true all this is we can never deeply feel, because it is not possible for us to put ourselves in the place of man in the myth-making stage of his growth. If we could forget all that science has taught us and believe that the sun was alive, we too, as the dreadful night wore away and the light of the stars grew fainter, should look with blended hope and fear to the east, and then, seeing the light-rays creeping up followed by the sun, welcome him as our life and say of him many things, calling him eye of heaven, a face with streaming locks, a god drawn by brilliant horses, a golden bird that died in the flame and rose again from the ashes. We too should speak of him as loving the dawn (an idea which has given rise to many tender myths), and when he sank in the west, and the soft light floated over him, as soothed to sleep or to death by the kisses of his loved one.

A careful study of the Aryan myths shows that they had for the larger part their birth in the ideas called forth by the changing scenery of the heavens in dawn and dusk, in sunrise and sunset, and the myriad shades and fleeting forms which lie between them; the dawn being the source of the richest myths. Of course every myth and legend is not to be thus accounted for, because that which is human and personal takes shape and substance likewise. The mood of mind caused by things sad or joyful in the life of man; the sense of right and wrong, and the knowledge that within us the battle between these two is being fought; these, which are to those who feel deeply more real than even sunrises and sunsets, have had a large share in adding to the legends which make us creep closer to the light and move us now to laughter and now to tears. Then many events of history have been so misunderstood as to become mythical. Fable has been promoted into history; history has been lowered into fable; and history and fable have become mixed and gathered round great names, such as Cyrus, Charlemagne and far greater names than theirs.

Prof. Max Müller shows how easily a myth might grow out of the word *gloaming* (or evening twilight). Supposing that the exact meaning had been forgotten and that a proverb had been preserved in this form, "The gloaming sings the sun to sleep," an explanation would be needed. Nurses would tell their children that the gloaming was a good old woman who came every night to put the sun into his bed and who would be very angry if she found any little children still awake. The children would soon talk among themselves about Nurse Gloaming, and as they grew up would tell their children again of the same wonderful old nurse. It was in this and similar ways that in the childhood of the world many a story grew up which, adapted and decorated by a poet, became part and parcel of what we may call the mythology of ancient nations.

I must now tell you about one very important Aryan myth which has given rise to a group of legends, and even become part of some great religions. All the Aryan nations, and also some other nations with whom they have had intercourse, have among their legends the story of a battle between a hero and a monster. In each case the hero is the victor and sets free treasures which have been stolen and hidden by the monster, and so renders help to men. In Hindu myth it is the combat between Indra and the dragon Vritra; among the Romans it became the fight between Hercules and the three-headed monster Cacus; with the Greeks, among other like tales, it was the battle between Apollo and the terrible snake Python; in old Norse legend, between Sigurd and the coiled dragon Fafnir; and in Christian myth between St. George and the Dragon. We shall see what grave form the battle took in the old Persian religion and how the Satan of later Jewish belief was borrowed therefrom.

Let us now trace the birth and growth of this myth. Since the chief wealth of the Aryans was in their cattle, each man would do his utmost to increase the number of his flocks and herds. The cow was the creature most prized, for her milk fed his household, and every calf that was born made him richer. She was to him what the camel is to the Arab and the buffalo to the Red Indian. And as she was the sign of fruitfulness and welcome gifts, so the bull was the sign of strength. The Aryan's enemy was he who stole the cattle, while he who saved them from the robber's clutch was the true friend.

We have seen where the Aryan looked for the dwelling-place of his gods. As he, in whom was born that same sense of wonder which his savage forefathers had, and which we his children have, lifted his eyes to the heaven whose rains watered the ground he tilled and whose sun ripened his fruits, he saw the clouds moving in their great majesty, filled through and through with the light or hiding it within their dark caverns. Nothing strikes man everywhere so much as the struggle between light and darkness; between the lightning piercing the clouds and letting loose the rain and the slow march of the black powers that hold the rain within their grasp; between the sun's rays and the cloud or fog they strive to rend asunder.

The heaven was to the Aryan a great plain over which roamed bulls and cows, for such the clouds seemed to him to be. Just as the cow yielded him milk, so those cows of heaven dropped upon the earth rain and dew, heaven's milk. The lord of the plain was the sun, he was the strong bull of heaven. Nor were these the only animals that wandered across the wide fields above, for endless as are the forms and shades of color of the clouds so endless were the creatures they were thought to be. The fancy of the mythmaker worked with the freedom with which we in sitting before a fire may picture any number of queer shapes and faces in the red-hot coals.

The Aryan thought that the dark clouds in the sky were the dwelling-place of a wicked monster who had stolen the cows and shut them up in the caverns of the piled-up mountains (the Sanskrit word *parvata* means both *cloud* and *mountain*) and who was drinking up the water needed by the thirsty earth and hiding the treasures of light and heat from men.

Unless the lord of the plains, the bull of bulls, killed this huge black thief (called by different names in the Veda; Vritra, serpent, wolf, black one, etc.), the cows could not be freed and brought back to their pasture. So with the storm-gods riding at his side, Indra (the name given him in the Veda) comes bellowing, the fire (that is, the sun rays or lightning) flashing from him, his horns (or thunderbolts) tossing in anger. He slays the monster, cleaves the rocks asunder, and forthwith the light breaks out or the pent waters are loosed and pour down upon the parched land.

Thus I hope is made clear to you from whence the legends of fights between heroes and monsters have come. It is the victory of light over darkness, but the battle took a more serious shape than that in later ages. The struggle that man saw between the powers of nature was but child's play compared to the deadly conflict between the powers of good and evil as they fought for the mastery over all things; but more of this when we have done with the myths.

The tales of princesses and ladies kept in dark prisons, from which some bold and gallant knight frees them, are later forms of the myths of the sun released from the darkness of the night; of the spring escaped from the chains in which winter had bound him; and of the waters delivered from their cloud-prisons.

This book is only a key to unlock the door to a gallery of wonders where you will find more learned and sure guides than he who now points the way. A mere list of what is to be seen therein would fill a very large book, and I must be content to end this chapter with a few proofs of the pure meaning hidden in Greek and other myths and of some curious likenesses between certain historic tales and nursery legends of East and West.

1. It is said of Kronos (which is a Greek name only) who was a son of Ouranos, with whom the race of gods began, that he swallowed his first five children soon after the birth of each.

Kronos means *time* and Ouranos *the heaven*. *Ouranos* is the same as the sky-god *Varuna* invoked in the Veda, whose name comes from a root *var*, *to veil*, heaven being spread like a veil over the earth.

The Greek myth simply means that Time swallows up the days which spring from it. The German story of the Wolf and the Seven Kids is something like it. "The Wolf swallowed all the kids except the youngest, which was hidden in the clock-case, the meaning being that Night swallows up the days of the week, but cannot eat the youngest because it is hidden, as to-day is, in the clock-case."

Tantalus (from which comes our word *tantalize*, to torment) was said to be king of Lydia, and when Zeus and all the gods came down to a feast which he gave them, he killed his own son and set the roasted flesh before them, to see whether they knew all things that take place. They knew what he had done and brought back the child to life, sending Tantalus to Tartarus, where all are banished who sin against the gods. There he was made to stand up to his chin in water, which sank lower whenever he tried to drink it; while branches of fruit hung over his head, but waved away each time that he sought to grasp them. The meaning is that the fierce sun kills the fruits of the earth, while the punishment means that if he glares too fiercely the water courses flee from him and the fruits wither away.

Saranyû is one of the names in Sanskrit for the *dawn*, and it explains the name *Erinyes* given to the Greek furies or avenging gods. For as the morning brings to light the evil deeds done in the darkness, so the *Erinyes*, winged monsters with serpent locks and eyes with tears of blood, found out, and then punished, the crimes of men.

Among the many names for the sun in the Veda, he is called the golden-handed, from the golden rays shooting like fingers from him. In the course of time a story grew up that at a sacrifice he had cut off his hand and that the priests made a golden one in its stead. He was also called a frog when at rising or setting he seemed to be squatting on the water. Now in one of the West Highland tales there is a story of a frog who wishes to marry a princess, and who, when the princess consents to become his wife, is changed into a handsome man. The old meaning of this tale comes out in a Sanskrit story of Bhekî the frog. She was a beautiful girl and one day when sitting near a well, a king saw her and asked her to be his wife She consented on his promising never to show her a drop of water. One day being faint she asked the king for water; the king forgot his promise, brought her water and she vanished. Both stories grew out of a saying about the sun, such as that Bhekî the sun will die at the sight of water, as we should say that the sun will set when it approaches the water from which it rose in the morning.

From these few examples you will more easily learn how the uncouth features of mythology have been caused by the Aryan tribes, when they became scattered, forgetting the first meaning of the words which they used when together. In looking at the Greek, Norse, German and other myths by the light of the Veda, we find the full, fresh thoughts of the mind of man when there were no bounds to his beliefs and fancies. Nature was the great storehouse from which he drew; the sunlight; the fresh morning air; the floating clouds, wind-driven; the spear-tipped lightning and the heaven-sent rain.

2. And now, as showing how these myths have actually forced their way into history and passed without question for a long time, just as bad coins will now and then pass among good ones, let me say a few words about William Tell.

The story is well known how in the 1307th year after Christ the cruel Gessler set a hat upon a pole as a symbol of the ruling power, and ordered every one who passed by to bow before it. A mountaineer named Tell refused to obey the order and was at once brought before Gessler. As Tell was known to be an expert archer, he was sentenced by way of punishment to shoot an apple off the head of his own son. The apple was placed on the boy's head and the father bent his bow; the arrow sped and went through the apple. Gessler saw that Tell before shooting had stuck another arrow in his belt and asked the reason. Tell replied: "To shoot you, tyrant, had I slain my child." Now although the crossbow which Tell is said to have used is shown at Zurich, the event never took place! One poor man was condemned to be burnt alive for daring to question the story, but the poor man was right. The story is told not only in Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, Russia, Persia, and perhaps India, but is common to the Turks and Mongolians, "while a legend of the wild Samoyedes, who never heard of Tell or saw a book in their lives, relates it, chapter and verse, of one of their marksmen." In its English form it occurs in the ballad of William of Cloudeslee. The bold archer says:

> "I have a sonne seven years old;
> Hee is to me full deere;
> I will tye him to a stake—
> All shall see him that bee here—
> And lay an apple upon his head,
> And goe six paces him froe.
> And I myself with a broad arrowe
> Shall cleave the apple in towe."

The story is an old Aryan sun-myth. Tell is the sun-god whose arrows (light-rays) never miss their mark, and likewise kill their foes.

There is another old tale over which I have cried as a boy. You have heard how the faithful dog Gellert killed the wolf which had come to destroy Llewellyn's child, and how, when the prince came home and found the cradle empty, and the dog's mouth smeared with blood, he quickly slew the brave creature, and then found the child safe and the wolf dead beside it. At Beddgelert, in North Wales, you may see the dog's grave neatly railed round!

Now this story occurs in all sorts of forms in the folk-lore of nearly every Aryan people, and is found in China and Egypt. In India a black snake takes the place of the wolf, and the ichneumon that of the dog, while in Egypt the story says that a cook nearly killed a Wali for smashing a pot full of herbs, and then discovered that amongst the herbs there lurked a poisonous snake.

It is safe to conclude that marvelous things which are said to have happened in so many places never happened anywhere.

But if we must give up these stories as legends, it is not all loss, since it tends to bring the story-tellers closer together, and to show how, under different skins the same hearts are beating, and how the same welcome is given in every age to the tales of brave, of loving, and of faithful deeds which men and women have wrought in this world of ours, and which make the legends possible.

3. But I must forbear, because I am sure you will like to hear a little about some tales that have sometimes dried your tears, and sometimes made you cry.

Let us see whether Cinderella is a British-born lady in disguise, or whether she came from some very old nursery in the East. She must have come therefrom, for we find the framework of the story in the Veda, where Cinderella is a *dawn maiden!*

The aurora in her flight leaves no footstep behind her, but the prince Mitra (one of the Vedic names of the sun), while following the beautiful young girl, finds a slipper which shows her footstep and the size of her foot, so small that no other woman has a foot like it. This sun-myth which tells of a lost slipper, and of a prince who tries to find the foot to which it belongs, and who cannot overtake the chariot in which the maiden rides is the source of the dear old tale. Cinderella, as you will remember, was beautiful only when in the ball-room, or near the shining light. This means that the aurora is bright only when the sun is near, when he is away, her dress is of sombre color—she is *Cinder*ella. The Greek form of the tale says that whilst Rhodopê was bathing, an eagle snatched one of her slippers from her maid and carried it to the King of Egypt, as he sat on his judgment seat at Memphis. The King fell in love with the foot to which the slipper belonged, and gave orders that its owner should be searched for, and when Rhodopê was found, the king married her.

In the Hindu tale a Rajah has an only daughter, who was born with a golden necklace which contained her soul, and the father was warned that if the necklace were taken off and worn by another, the princess would die. One birthday he gave her a pair of golden and jewelled slippers which she wore whenever she went out; and one day, as she was picking flowers upon a mountain, a slipper came off and fell down the steep side into the forest below. It was searched for in vain; but not long after, a prince who was hunting found and took it to his mother, who, judging how fair and highborn the owner must be, advised him to seek for her and make her his wife. He made public the finding of the slipper throughout the kingdom, but no one claimed it, and he had well-nigh despaired when some travelers from the Rajah's country heard that the missing slipper was in the hands of the prince, to whom they made known its owner's name. He straightway repaired to the Rajah's palace, and showing him the slipper, asked for the hand of the princess, who became his wife. After her marriage a jealous woman stole the necklace while she was sleeping, and, to her husband's deep grief, her body was carried to a tomb. But it did not decay, nor did the bloom of life leave her sweet face, so that the prince was glad to visit her tomb; and one day the secret whereby her soul could be restored was revealed to him. He recovered the necklace, placed it round her neck, and with joy brought her back to his palace.

The like framework of a slipper for whose pretty wearer a search is made and who becomes the finder's wife, occurs in the Serbian tale of "Papalluga;" in the German tale of "Aschenputtel;" in the fable of La Fontaine about the "Milkmaid and her Pail;" and other variants of the story, whose birthplace, as we have seen, was in Central Asia "Beauty and the Beast" is also found in Hindu, Greek, Norse and other myth.

In the Greek story, Psychê is married to Cupid, who carries her to a secluded garden, where she sees him at night only. Her jealous sisters tell her that she is wedded to a loathly monster; and wishful to know the truth, she draws near to him with a lamp and finds him the loveliest of the gods. But a drop of hot oil fell on him, and he awoke to blame her and vanish. After hard toil and weary search she found him, and was reunited to him forever. In the German tale, the youngest of three daughters is married to a prince who is a hideous lion by day, and who tells her that he must never see the light. One day a sun-ray falls upon him through the chink of a door, and he is at once changed into a dove and flies away. His bride seeks him, and, aided by the sun, the moon and the north wind, frees him from the spell he is under, and lives with him "happily ever after." In the Gaelic tale the husband is a dog in the day-time; while in the Hindu tale it is a princess who is disguised in the skin of a withered old woman, which she takes off before dawn, but puts on again before the day breaks.

In all these there are common features, varied in detail by the story-teller's art and by the nature of the country and people where each has found a home.

Stories collected from very distant parts abound in which the place where some giant or magician keeps his "soul" or "heart" or "strength" is found out by the wily arts of a woman, who thereby has revenge for evil done to her or to her family. In the Norse tale of the "Giant who had no Heart in his Body," the monster has turned six princes with their wives into stone, whereupon the seventh brother seeks to take vengeance on him. On his way he succors a raven, a salmon and a wolf, for which kind act each creature renders him service. The wolf carries him to the giant's castle, where the seventh princess is confined, who promises to find out where the giant keeps his heart. He more than once refuses to tell her, or tells her falsely, but at last yields, as Samson yielded to Delilah. He says, "Far, far away in a lake lies an island; on that island stands a church; in that church is a well; in that well swims a duck; in that duck there is an egg; and in that egg there lies my heart, you darling." The princess tells this to the prince, who "rides on the wolf's back to the island; the raven flies to the top of the steeple and gets the church-keys; the salmon dives to the bottom of the well and brings up the egg from the place where the duck had dropped it." As soon as the prince has the egg, he squeezes it, when the giant begs for his life, which the prince promises, on condition that he brings back to life the six brothers and their wives. But as soon as this is done, the prince breaks his word, squeezes the egg in two, and the giant dies.

The Hindu tale of "Punchkin" is very like this. A magician turns into stone all the daughters of a Rajah, with their husbands, but saves the youngest daughter, whom he wishes to marry. She has left a son at home, who goes in search of his mother; and finding her in the magician's tower, pursuades her to discover the secret place where the tyrant keeps his heart. The ogre tells her that in the middle of the jungle there is a circle of palm trees, and in the center of the circle six jars full of water, below which is a little parrot in a cage; and if the parrot is killed, he too will die. The prince goes to the place, which is kept by dragons; but an eagle whom he has helped carries him to the water-jars, which he upsets, and then seizes the parrot. He frightens the magician into restoring his victims to life, and then pulls the bird to pieces. "As the wings and legs come away, so tumble off the arms and legs of the magician; and finally, as the prince wrings the bird's neck, Punchkin twists his own head round and dies." In the Arabian story, "the Jinn's soul is inclosed in the body of a sparrow, which is imprisoned in a box placed in other boxes put in chests contained in a marble coffer, which is sunk in the ocean that surrounds the world." The coffer is raised by the aid of a seal ring, the sparrow is taken out and strangled, whereupon, the Jinn's body becomes a heap of ashes, and the hero escapes with the maiden. Space quite forbids my quoting more tales of the same kind, which are found in Bohemian, Gaelic, Serbian, and other folk-lore, not forgetting, what is more remarkable than all, that like features exist in an Egyptian tale which is more than three thousand years old.

In the Jâtaka, a very ancient collection of Buddhist fables which, professing to have been told by Bnddha, narrate his exploits in the five hundred and fifty births through which he passed before attaining Buddhahood, there are found "not a few of the tales which pass under the name of 'Æsop's Fables,'" and of the stories which are like those in other Western folk-lore.

In one of these a holy man, who has attained to a seat in the world of spirits, aids a sick brother by the gift of a magic hatchet, which at bidding brings fuel and makes a fire, and of a magic bowl, whose contents when emptied fill a mighty river; which reminds us of the magic tools in Norse tales; the scissors that cut out silk and satin from the air; the axe that cut the oak which grew bigger at the stroke of every other axe; and the magic salt wherewith the prince, when he frees the princess, makes a great mountain between them and the giant who pursues them. In the Buddhist fables of the ungrateful beast from whose throat the crane removes a bone that stuck there; and of the frightened ass who, clothed in a lion's skin, brays like an ass, we are surprised to find ourselves face to face with familiar tales, part of a vast stock which come to us from far Japan to bleak Iceland, comprising the beast-fables of the world.

In Æsop we read of the fox who will not go into the lion's den, because he sees only the imprint of feet going *in*. In a Hottentot tale it is said that the lion was ill, and that all the beasts went to visit him except the jackal, who would not go, because the footsteps of those who went to see the lion did not turn back. So in a version of the famous old tale of "Reynard the Fox," the cock gets his head out of Reynard's mouth by making him answer the farmer; while in the Hottentot tale, the cock makes the jackal say his prayers, and when the befooled beast folds his hands and shuts his eyes, the clever bird flies away.

Then there are other legends and tales which, like the myths, are born of man's wondering outlook on nature, such as Little Red Riding Hood, who in the German story is cut out of the sleeping wolf by a hunter; Tom Thumb, who was swallowed by the cow, and came out unhurt; Saktidern, swallowed by the fish and cut out again; Jonah, swallowed by a sea-monster which casts him ashore unharmed; all of which are legends telling of the night devouring the sun.

But enough of illustration has been given to show how like to one another are many of the fairy tales, legends and myths of the Indo-European races, and I must end this long chapter with a brief account of the source from whence have come the stories of the "House that Jack built," and of the "Old Woman who couldn't get her Pig over the Stile." There is a poem at the end of the book of Passover services used by the Jews, which some among them regard as a parable of the past and future of the Holy Land. It contains ten verses, each ending with the refrain, "a kid, a kid," and it begins:

> "A kid, a kid my father bought
> For two pieces of money;"

and after telling how a cat came and ate the kid, and a dog came and bit the cat, and a staff came and beat the dog, and so, it concludes thus:

> "Then came the Holy One, blessed be He!
> And killed the Angel of Death,
> That killed the butcher
> That slew the ox,
> That drank the water,
> That quenched the fire,
> That burned the staff,
> That beat the dog,
> That bit the cat,
> That ate the kid
> That my father bought
> For two pieces of money:
> A kid, a kid."

We now bid farewell to the myths and reach a place where the ground is firmer beneath us, where the sky is as full of theme for wonder as it was to the old Aryans. We do not see in the sun a slayer of dragons or a weary traveler; in the lightning a fiery serpent; in the clouds cows with swelling udders to be milked by the wind-god; we see above us the stately, well-ordered march of sun, moon, star and cloud at the command of Him, who "bringeth out their host by number; He calleth them all by names by the greatness of His might, for that He is strong in power," and we know that "these are parts of His ways; but how little a portion is heard of Him! the thunder of His power who can understand?"

(*f*.) THE SEPARATION OF THE ARYAN TRIBES.

At last the time arrived when the mother-country had become too narrow for the growing numbers or when envious hordes burst in upon them, and when some of the children had to leave in search of food and work elsewhere.

It was an eventful period when they set forth to clear a path through the forests and ford the rivers and fight the foes that lay between them and the glorious future into which they were entering. They bore weapons upon their shoulders, but the mightiest weapon which they carried was unseen, even the power which made them men, and through which they or their children would awaken and use the great forces that had long lain safe in Nature's keeping, and also give to the lands over which they spread themselves religion, law and liberty, science, art and song.

There is a noble and stirring description in Charles Kingsley's "Alton Locke" of the departure of a tribe from its old home, which may fitly be quoted here. He speaks of the "tall, bare limbed men, with stone axes on their shoulders and horn bows on their backs;" "herds of gray cattle, guarded by huge lop-eared mastiffs;" "shaggy white horses, heavy-horned sheep, and silky goats," and tells of the path they took: "Westward, through the boundless steppes, whither or why we knew not; but that the All-Father had sent us forth. And behind us the rosy snow-peaks died into ghastly gray, lower and lower, as every evening came; and before us the plains spread infinite, with gleaming salt-lakes, and ever fresh tribes of gaudy flowers. Behind us dark lines of living beings streamed down the mountain slopes; around us dark lines crawled along the plains—all westward, westward ever. . . . Westward ever, who could stand against us? We met the wild asses on the steppe, and tamed them, and made them our slaves. We slew the bison herds, and swam broad rivers on their skins. The Python snake lay across our path; the wolves and wild dogs snarled at us out of their coverts; we slew them and went on. The forest rose in black tangled barriers; we hewed our way through them and went on. Strange giant tribes met us, and eagle-visaged hordes, fierce and foolish; we smote them hip and thigh, and went on, westward ever."

If you look at a map of Asia you will see that the country where the eastern tribes dwelt is hemmed in by lofty mountains, while the region where the other tribes dwelt lies open to the west. Since those to the east could not enlarge their borders in that quarter, they pushed the others toward the land that stretched between them and Europe, which caused the Celtic tribes, who lived most to the west and whose descendants are found in the most westerly parts of Europe, to be the first to leave. These pioneers slowly overspread the face of Europe, and traces of the paths which they took remain in the Celtic names of places where they settled, and especially of rivers on whose banks they dwelt. They have ever been a restless people, but had they been disposed to settle they would have found it no easy task. The races who were already in possession of the soil did not yield without a struggle, while long afterward there poured in from the east the other Aryan emigrants to Europe. So the Celts had at last a hard time of it, and were driven onward by the Germans and Slavonians, who seemed to have traveled by a path north of the Caspian Sea, and by the common forefathers of the Greeks and Romans, who took a more southerly road, which brought them to the lands made famous by their sons.

Thus the old home was slowly cleared of most of its former inmates, and those who stayed behind, the ancestors of the Medes and Persians and Hindus, found wider breathing space, and came down from the higher valleys in the east to the more fertile parts.

Thus is explained the movements of the two branches of the Aryan family of mankind.

With this brief account we must now take leave of the tribes that went to Europe and follow the fortunes of those who remained together for a time. Their separation will lead me to speak of the growth of Hinduism or Brahmanism out of the old Aryan faith; of the rise of Zoroastrianism, the ancient religion of Persia; and of Buddhism.

After an account of these three great Aryan religions, we will cast a brief glance at the religions of China and then say somewhat of the Semitic race, among whom Judaism and Mohammedanism had their birth.

We shall thus have taken a rough survey of most of the living religions of the world, and I hope gained some clearer knowledge of the beliefs of hundreds of millions of our fellow-creatures.

Language, the same witness of which so large a use has been made already, is called in to prove that the Eastern Aryans dwelt together for some time, united by nearly the same speech, by worship of the same gods, and observance of the same rites of their old religion. There are, however, traditions of a state of turmoil and of struggles with the restless tribes around them, who doubtless coveted the richer land where the Aryans had settled; still more of quarrels among themselves which gave rise to bitter hatred and then to separation, one branch moving southward into India. In the Zend-Avesta clear mention is made of this dispute, and although we do not know all the causes which led thereto, we know that religion had much, perhaps most, to do with it.

We saw that the old Aryan faith was an almost pure nature-religion, a worship of the powers which were seen in action around. Out of this there was slowly growing, as the result of man's thought about things and comparison of them with one another, a sense that underneath the *many* there was the *one*, and thus he was being led to the highest of all beliefs, "there is one God, and none other but He."

Among the men whom God sends but rarely, charged with this message of His unity, none stand out in purer outline than Zarathustra (commonly spelt, according to the Greek, Zoroaster). To him was given the great work of reforming, as he said, the faith of his country, and of founding a religion which was the grandest of all the Aryan creeds.

He met with bitter opposition from those who clung to the older and grosser faith, but these were worsted in the struggle; and at last the separation was complete. The tribes who would not accept the new religion had, there is reason for thinking, already crossed the passes of the high mountain range named the Hindu Kush, and after settling in the Punjab, slowly pushed their way along the valley of the Ganges, spreading themselves, in the course of centuries over India.

India is a land of mixed races. There are found among her tangled forests and rugged hills remnants of a savage people whose forefathers were probably the earliest dwellers, makers of the rough stone weapons found in various parts. These were subdued by invaders from the north-west, who were of a race allied to the Finns, Lapps, Mongols, etc., a race which seems to have covered large tracts of land, and to have laid the foundation upon which both the Aryan and Semitic families built their higher culture. They were far above the wild creatures whom they displaced, and therefore no mean foes for the Aryans to meet. The many huge erections of stones, in the form of circles, tables, etc., which India contains, and which are older than the rock-cut temples of the Buddhists, are their handiwork. But they had to yield before the greater force and skill of the Aryans, and when caste was established, to take their place in the lowest class; their language, religion, and customs being more or less altered.

Up to the time of the entrance of the Aryans into India, scarcely a date is at hand to help us, neither does history become much clearer afterward, since the Hindus have been strangely careless in such a matter; unlike the Egyptians, who put down the time when the smallest events of daily life took place.

We will now pass on to some account of the Vedic faith and the religion which sprang therefrom.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ANCIENT AND MODERN HINDU RELIGIONS.

The religion known as Brahmanism or Hinduism includes at this day the many Hindu sects who differ very much from one another, each having its own form of belief and worship, but all revering the Vedas as the inspired word of God, and numbering together about 120 millions of mankind, or one-tenth of the human race. Some however, state their number at 150 millions. Unlike the religions founded by Christ, Zoroaster, and Mohammed, the history of Brahmanism does not gather round a person. A lifetime would not compass the study of its sacred books, and it is a religion very hard to explain, indeed, we know far less about it than we know about the old Aryan religion of which it is the corrupt offspring. It is like a mass of shapely and shapeless things huddled together, which no manner of art could arrange into a well-set whole. It is rich with the profoundest and saddest thought of a deeply religious people, but teaching that it should be the end of every life to shut its ears to the call of duty, to be unmoved by pleasure or by pain, and to sit down to dreamy thinking, it has caused the Hindus to run into the grossest and most loathsome superstitions, and to obey the most foolish, priest-made rules about food and cleansing and such like things.

This must be the case with every religion which strives to dry up the passions and emotions of men, instead of turning them into channels where they may flow to benefit and bless others.

In tracing the history of Brahmanism, we must begin with some account of the religion of the Aryan Hindus, of which a knowledge is obtained from the Vedas.

The discovery of these ancient scriptures has been an immense gain, for without them we should have remained ignorant of the causes which led to the founding of Zoroastrianism and Buddhism, as well as of the nature of the old Aryan religion and from which the Vedic religion differs but little.

Veda means *knowledge, science,* and is a word kindred to our English *wisdom, to wit,* and the many like words. Although it is used in a plural form to include four collections of hymns, there is but one true, ancient Veda, called the *Rig-Veda*, and from that our account of the old Hindu faith will be drawn.

It contains the hymns in which the Aryans who first entered India, praised their gods, and the oldest of such hymns are believed to have been composed 2400 years before Christ, or above 4200 years ago. They exceed one thousand in number, and are of various lengths, from one to more than fifty verses or *ric*, meaning *praise*, hence the name *Rig-Veda*, or *Veda of praise.* Their authors are called *Rishis*, which means *seer* or *sage.*

Some 600 years before Christ every word, every verse and every syllable was counted, and the number agrees with existing copies as nearly as one could expect. The Brahmans have the holiest veneration for the four Vedas, and believe them to be so entirely the work of God as to have existed in His mind before time began. They make a great difference between these writings and all the others, which they call *Smriti*, or *tradition*, or that which is handed down from ancient teachers by one age after another; while the Vedas and Brâhmanas are *Sruti*, or *hearing*, *revelation*, or that which comes direct from God.

The gods chiefly addressed in the Rig-Veda are Agni, fire; Prithîvî, the earth; Maruts, the storm; Ushas, etc., the dawn; Mitra, Sûrya, etc., the sun; Varuna, the all-surrounder; Indra, the sky; and Soma, a name given at a later period to the moon. Vishnu, who afterward became a leading god in the Hindu Trimûrti, or Trinity, is also a name for the sun in the Veda.

As stated in chapter vi., the Aryan did not place the earth in the highest rank; she was only partly divine. It was not so, however, with fire, that thing of mystery and shapeless power, a merciless master, a helpful servant, at whose worship none can be amazed. Agni, god of fire (akin to Latin *ignis*, whence our word *ignite*, to *set on fire*), has more hymns addressed to him than any other god. He it is who lives among men, who is the messenger between earth and heaven, the sole guarding and guiding power left to shelter men and dispel the gloom when the sun has set. His wonderful birth from two pieces of wood rubbed together is sung in glowing language, the ten fingers of the kindler are ten virgins who bring him into being, the two pieces of wood are his father and mother. Because the butter when thrown into the flame makes it mount higher and burn brighter, it was believed to be the gift Agni loved best, and as the flame rose upward it was believed to carry to heaven the gifts heaped upon it. This is one of many hymns to him:

"Agni, accept this log which I offer to thee, accept this my service; listen well to these my songs.

"With this log, O Agni, may we worship thee, thou son of strength, conqueror of horses! and with this hymn, thou high-born!

"May we thy servants serve thee with songs, O granter of riches, thou who lovest songs and delightest in riches.

"Thou lord of wealth and giver of wealth, be thou wise and powerful; drive away from us the enemies!

"He gives us rain from heaven, he gives us inviolable strength, he gives us food a thousandfold.

"Youngest of the gods, their messenger, their invoker, most deserving of worship, come, at our praise, to him who worships thee and longs for thy help.

"For thou, O sage, goest wisely between these two creations (heaven and earth, gods and men), like a friendly messenger between two hamlets.

"Thou art wise, and thou hast been pleased; perform thou, intelligent Agni, the sacrifice without interruption, sit down on this sacred grass!"

In our account of the religion of Zoroaster, we shall see what awe his followers felt toward fire, as the nearest emblem of the divine.

Among the gods of the air, we find hymns in the Veda to the Maruts and others, but it is Indra who receives highest praise. Dyaus, as we have already seen, was one of the names common among the undivided Aryans, but among the Hindu tribes his place was taken by Indra. Indra rose from Dyaus, the sky, who was his father, and from Prithivî, the earth, where she and sky met, therefore Prithivî was his mother. This Vedic myth of Indra as their son is kept in mind at Brahman marriages, when the bridegroom says to the bride, "I am the sky, thou art the earth, come let us marry." It is Indra, you will remember, who slays the demon Vritra, and who is refreshed for his mighty deed by drinking three lakes of *soma*, the water of strength.

Soma means "extract," and the plant from which it is obtained is akin to the common milkweed. The Aryans no sooner found out the strange power in the juice to excite and produce frenzy than they believed it to be divine, since it seemed to give a godlike strength. It was raised to the rank of a god, and called king of heaven and earth, conqueror of all. The hymns to Soma occupy an entire book of the Veda: one of the most beautiful is quoted at page 111 of the "Childhood of the World," and therefore need not be repeated here.

Indra is praised thus in the Rig-Veda:

"He who as soon as born is the first of the deities, who has done honor to the gods by his deeds; he at whose might heaven and earth are alarmed and who is known by the greatness of his strength; he, men, is Indra.

"He who fixed firm the moving earth, who spread the spacious firmament; he, men, is Indra.

"He who having destroyed Vritra, set free the seven rivers: who recovered the cows; who generated fire in the clouds; who is invincible in battle; he, men, is Indra.

"He to whom heaven and earth bow down; he at whose might the mountains are appalled; he who is drinker of the Soma juice, the firm of frame, the adamant armed, the wielder of the thunderbolt; he, men, is Indra. May we envelope thee with acceptable praises as husbands are embraced by their wives."

Among the gods that bring the light, Ushas, the dawn, calls forth the richest songs, for she it is who chases the darkness and makes ready a pathway for the sun, and who awakens in every Brahman's breast the morning prayer which for full four thousand years has gone up from pious Hindus: "Let us meditate on the adorable light of the divine creator; may he rouse our minds!"

Here is a fine, simple hymn to Ushas:

"She shines upon us like a young wife, rousing every living being to go to his work. When the fire had to be kindled by men, she made the light by striking down darkness.

"She rose up, spreading far and wide, and moving everywhere. She grew in brightness, wearing her brilliant garment. The mother of the cows (that is, the mornings), the leader of the days, she shone gold-colored, lovely to behold.

"She, the fortunate, who brings the eye of the gods, who leads the white and lovely steed (of the sun), the dawn was seen revealed by her rays, with brilliant treasures, following every one.

"Thou who art a blessing where thou art near, drive far away the unfriendly; make the pasture wide, give us safety! Scatter the enemy, bring riches! Raise up wealth to the worshiper, thou mighty Dawn.

"Shine for us with our best rays, thou bright Dawn, thou who lengthenest our life, thou the love of all, who givest us food, who givest us wealth in cows, horses and chariots.

"Thou daughter of the sky, thou high-born Dawn, whom the Vasishthas magnify with songs, give us riches high and wide: all ye gods protect us always with your blessings."

(Vasishtha is the name of one of the chief poets of the Veda.)

After these gladsome words the poet thinks of the many dawns that have come and gone and of the eyes that once saw them and now see them no more, and the thought finds words in a sadder song.

Of the many gods yet remaining, I can only speak of Varuna, noblest and best. For he rules over all; he governs the seasons of the year; he sets sun, moon and stars in their courses, and it is of him that the sin-stricken worshipers ask for pardon and deliverence from evil. For he surrounds them all, and his messengers note down the wrongdoings of men and cast sickness and death upon the wicked. *Amhas*, the Sanskrit word for *sin*, is a very forceful one. It comes from a root meaning to *choke* or *throttle*, for the hold which sin has upon a man is as the grasp of the murderer on the throat of his victim.

Professor Max Müller says that "the consciousness of sin is a leading feature in the religion of the Veda, so is likewise the belief that the gods are able to take away from man the heavy burden of his sins. And when we read such words as 'Varuna is merciful even to him who has committed sin,' we should surely not allow the strange name of Varuna to jar on our ears, but should remember that it is but one of the many names which men invented in their helplessness, to express their ideas of the Deity." That Varuna should have appeared to the Hindu as a god to whom sin was hateful and to whom mercy was a delight, proves how nearly he had reached the truth about One who "is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity."

Some of the verses in this hymn bear a strong likeness to one of the grandest Psalms in the Bible, the 139th:

" The great lord of these worlds sees as if he were near. If a man thinks he is walking by stealth, the gods know it all

" If a man stands or walks or hides, if he goes to lie down or to get up, what two people sitting together whisper, King Varuna knows it, he is there as the third."

(So the Psalmist says: "Thou compassest my path and my lying down and art acquainted with all my ways." Verse 3).

" This earth, too, belongs to Varuna the King, and this wide sky with its ends far apart. The two seas (the sky and the ocean) are Varuna's loins; he is also contained in this drop of water.

" He who should flee far beyond the sky, even he would not be rid of Varuna the King. His spies proceed from heaven toward this world; with thousand eyes they overlook this earth. (Compare with this verses 7 to 12 of the same psalm.)

" King Varuna sees all this, what is between heaven and earth, and what is beyond. He has counted the twinklings of the eyes of men. As a player throws the dice, he settles all things.

" May all thy fatal nooses, which stand spread out seven by seven and threefold, catch the man who tells a lie, may they pass by him who tells the truth."

I must not omit a few verses from prayers in which pardon for sin is sought:

" However we break thy laws from day to day, men as we are, O god Varuna,

" Do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious, nor to the wrath of the spiteful!"

Again:

" Wise and mighty are the works of him who stemmed asunder the wide firmaments (heaven and earth). He lifted on high the bright and glorious heaven; he stretched out apart the starry sky and the earth.

'I ask, O Varuna! wishing to know this my sin. I go to ask the wise. The sages all tell me the same: Varuna it is who is angry with thee. . . .

" Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we committed with our own bodies."

The following contains some of the finest verses in the Veda:

" Let me not yet, O Varuna! enter into the house of clay; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

" If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

" Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone wrong; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

" Thirst came upon the worshiper, though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy!

" Whenever we men, O Varuna! commit an offense before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness; punish us not, O god, for that offense!"

There is plenty of proof in the Veda that the ancient Hindus believed in a life after death.

The king of that other world is Yama. He and his sister Yami are said to have been the first pair, and when they reached the abode of bliss to have made ready a place for those who should follow them. In Persian legend Yama appeared as Yima, ruler of the golden age and founder of Paradise.

Life to these Eastern Aryans was a sunny joyful thing, and no sad, thought-filled burden. In their prayers they asked for wealth children, long life, success in war, and yet did not shrink with any needless dread at the fact that life must one day have an end They believed that in some bright place where the gods dwelt they and their loved ones would be gathered under the peaceful sway of Yama. They made offerings to the spirits of their forefathers as a pious duty, and laid the bodies of their dead in the ground "in sure and certain hope" that the soul was safe with Yama. At a later date the body was burned on the altar of Agni, that it might ascend through him to the gods and be reunited to the spirit. There is in the Rig-Veda a hymn of surpassing tenderness and beauty, which is still used at Hindu funeral ceremonies. After some verses, in which Death is asked to harm the suppliants no more, the body was placed in the ground with these soft, sweet words:

"Approach thou now the lap of Earth, thy mother,
The wide-extending Earth, the ever-kindly;
A maiden soft as wool to him who comes with gifts,
She shall protect thee from destruction's bosom.

"Open thyself, O Earth, and press not heavily;
Be easy of access and of approach to him,
As mother with her robe her child,
So do thou cover him, O earth!

"May Earth maintain herself thus opened wide for him;
A thousand props shall give support about him;
And may those mansions ever drip with fatness;
May they be there forevermore his refuge.

"Forth from about thee thus I build away the ground;
As I lay down this clod may I receive no harm;
This pillar may the Fathers here maintain for thee;
May Yama there provide for thee a dwelling."

Such were the hymns and prayers in which the Vedic worshipers addressed their gods as they smeared the sacred grass with soma-juice or poured butter on the fire. The Veda contains a large number of commonplace and foolish hymns, but we judge the book by what in it is best. The power of writing worthy songs of praise to God is a rare gift; as rare to-day as in that far-off time.

The Vedic religion had no temples, no priesthood, no idols. The millions of gods which are the objects of Hindu worship now, the division of men into castes, the horrid practice (now forbidden) of burning women with their dead husbands, the belief that the soul after death enters the body of one animal after another; formed no part of the old religion, the freshness of which faded away under these and like corrupting forces. That religion, traces of which, mixed with devil and serpent-worship, still linger among the dwellers in remote places, on hills and amidst jungles, was followed by a time when the human mind was stirred by the great questions which lay behind the simple nature-worship, when it asked who knew whence and why all things were? One by one Indra and Agni and the rest fell from their high places to lower ones, and became symbols of the supreme soul Brahmă or Brahm.

Of the subtle systems which had birth in those times nothing can be said here, and we will deal with the common belief only.

There came to the front a class of men called Brahmans, who have ever since had the highest honor paid them, and who were quick to claim power over others and to build upon the Vedas a huge system by which to rule every moment of a man's life.

In Vedic times, the inhabitants were of two classes; the fair-skinned Aryans and the dark skinned races whom they had subdued. But the Brahmans pretended that the Veda gave its sanction to a division of the people into castes. It was made to say that when Brahmâ created men, the Brahmans or priests came from his mouth, the soldiers from his arm, traders and farmers from his thigh, and the Sudras (the conquered race in India) from his foot. The Brahmans thus set themselves over all. They laid down rules so strict about prayers and sacrifices and made the favor of the gods to depend on such trifling things, that every one was glad to secure their help to do these duties aright. The people believed that the Brahmans alone knew what foods might be eaten, what air might be breathed, what clothes might be worn, and what was the proper length of the ladle in which the offering was to be put. No wonder that against so dead a creed and against such claims as these Buddha rose in revolt and founded that great religion which crushed Brahmanism for centuries, and which, although it has scarcely any followers in the land of its birth, is still professed by hundreds of millions of human beings. The chief gods of the later Hindu religion, which has traces of the Buddhism overthrown by it, are Brahmâ, Vishnu and Siva, forming the Hindu Trinity or Trimûrti (from *tri*, three, and *murti*, form). Vishnu and Siva had their different worshipers, which gave rise to two large sects, but the Brahmans, who feared that their power would decay as these sects increased, cleverly united those two gods to Brahmâ, and the pious Hindu bows his head alike to each. In the present day Brahmâ, Vishnu and Siva are worshiped as three in one, their symbol being the sacred word *Om*. The words of an ancient Hindu poet have been thus translated:

"In those Three Persons the One God was shown,
Each First in place, each Last,—not one alone;
Of Siva, Vishnu, Brahma, each may be
First, second, third, among the Blessed Three.

Brahmâ is the Creator, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer.

Brahmâ has neither temples nor altars of his own, but images of him are found in the temples of other gods. He is far removed from the worship of men, for as creator of all he remains in calm repose; a motionless majesty, away from the world where life is ever battling with death, and will so remain until the end of present things. He is figured as a four-headed god, bearing in his hands the Vedas, a rosary and vessels for purifying.

Vishnu receives the worship of millions, and has great honor paid him as Krishna, one of the forms in which they believe he came to earth. The *Avatârs* of Vishnu are his descents to this world from time to time to save it when ruin threatened it at the hands of king, giant, or demon, and he then comes under the disguise of man or animal. As such a divine deliverer the brightest memories crowd round him under the myth of Krishna. A mighty demon-king, Kansa, had rule over the world, and when he heard that a child was born who would grow up and destroy him, he ordered a general slaughter of young boys, hoping thus to kill the child. But it was sent to a place of safety and grew up as beautiful Krishna, god of love, and slayer of Kansa. This was the eighth incarnation or avatâr of Vishnu, his ninth being, according to some Hindu writings, as the Buddha; and at his tenth and last, he will make an end to all things, and sleeping on the waters that will cover the world when the tortoise that holds it up sinks under his load, will produce Brahmâ, who will create the world anew.

Siva, whose name does not occur in the Vedic hymns, but whose worship prevailed from remote times in India, called forth a different class of worshipers, for fear and terror brought them to his feet. Flood and earthquake, drought and tempest, and worst of all, dark death, were his work. His queen was Kali, terrible black goddess, in whose honor very loathsome things were once done Siva is figured with a rope for strangling evil-doers, with necklace of human skulls, with ear-rings of serpents and with the sacred river Ganges upon his head. He is called "Ganges-bearer," because when that river descended from heaven he checked the torrent, so that the earth might bear its fall.

Besides these three great gods, there are some of the old Vedic gods who still command reverence, while the lesser gods are to be counted by millions. And we must not forget how large a share of worship has been paid to the bull and cow; a worship which, we can well understand, arose among the undivided Aryans, since it spread into Northern lands, as well as into India. Brahmanism at this day includes the few who believe that nothing exists but spirit, that all else is unreal, that to get united to this spirit and thus freed from the ills of time is the true and only bliss; and the many who go their round of priest-bidden duty month by month; paying worship in June, to the river Ganges, whose sacred waters cleanse from sin and make the low-caste holy; in July, to the famous Jaganâth (Juggernaut); in August, to Krishna, and so on throughout the year; and who expect when they die, not the meeting of friend with friend in the heaven where Yama rules, but an entrance into the body of one animal after another until, made quite pure, their soul is united to the supreme Soul.

This account, meagre as it is, has aleady run to greater length than I had intended. A full statement of the religions of India; land of dazzling marvels, of many races and many sects, some of them, as the Sikhs and the Jainas, important enough to take rank as separate religions; land upon which Greeks, Mohammedans, English and others have set their greedy eyes; would have to tell of strangely mixed beliefs, some loftiest of any that have dwelt in the mind of man, others lowest to which poor wild savage has clung.

Brahmanism is slowly giving way before the higher teaching of Christians and Mohammedans, and of a few earnest men in its midst who are striving to purify it, and to win the Hindus to the simple creed which underlies the world's great religions and which shows itself in doing and not in dreaming.

We must hope that Christian missionaries will cease to feel jealous when Hindus become Mohammedans, that Mohammedans will cease their bitter hate against Christians, and that each will take pains to understand what the religion of the other is. They will then find how much there is upon which they can agree, and so leave each other free to work for the good of mankind.

CHAPTER VIII.

ZOROASTRIANISM; THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF PERSIA.

Of Zoroaster, the founder of the religion of the Pârsîs (or people of Pârs, that is, ancient Persia,) we have no trustworthy account. There are many Greek, Roman and Persian legends of the miracles which he worked and of the temptations which he overcame, but they throw little or no light upon his true history.

He was probably born in Bactria, and his name implies that he became one of the priests who attended upon the sacred fire. We are sure that he lived more than three thousand years ago, because his religion was founded before the conquest of Bactria by the Assyrians, which took place about twelve hundred years before Christ. It has been argued, chiefly from the strong likeness between Jewish and Persian legends, that he was a neighbor of Abraham, but of this the proof is far too slender.

He was a man of mighty mind; one not content to worship powers that ruled the darkness and the light, but that seemed to have no sway over the heaving sea of human passion and sorrow. To him was given the message of One Who was Lord of all, and Who was not to Zoroaster a being like unto man. He was *Ahura* "Spiritual Mighty-One;" *Mazdâ*, "Creator of All." *Ahura-Mazdâ* (afterward corrupted into *Ormuzd*) is thus spoken of in the Zend-Avesta:

"Blessed is he, blessed are all men to whom the living wise God of his own command should grant those two everlasting powers (immortality and purity). I believe thee, O God, to be the best thing of all, the source of light for the world. Every one shall choose thee as the source of light, thee, thee, holiest Mazdâ! * * *

"I ask thee, tell me it right, thou living God! Who was from the beginning the Father of the pure world? Who has made a path for the sun and for the stars? Who (but thou) makes the moon to increase and to decrease? This I wish to know, except what I already know.

"Who holds the earth and the skies above it? Who made the waters and the trees of the field? Who is in the winds and storms that they so quickly run? Who is the Creator of the good-minded beings, thou Wise? Who has made the kindly light and the darkness, the kindly sleep, and the awaking?

"Who has made the mornings, the noons, and the nights, they who remind the wise of his duty?"

In a later part of the Zend-Avesta, Zoroaster asked Ormuzd what was the most powerful spell to guard against evil. He was answered by the Supreme Spirit that to utter the twenty different names of Ahura-Mazdâ protects best from evil, and thereupon Zoroaster asks what these are. He is told that the first is, "I am;" the sixth, "I am wisdom," and so on until the twentieth, which is "I am who I am, Mazdao." Highest of all, Ahura-Mazdâ was said to have below him angels who did his bidding. "Immortal Holy Ones," whose names seem to be echoes of the Vedic gods, and by whose aid good deeds are wrought, and gifts bestowed upon men.

I should say that the feeling between those who clung to the older faith and the followers of Zoroaster grew so bitter that the gods of the Vedic hymns became demons in the Zend-Avesta. In that book Indra is an evil being; in the Vedic belief Ahura is a demon. The Devas of the Veda are the Daevas or evil spirits of the Zend-Avesta, and the converts to the new religion had to declare that they ceased to worship the Devas. It is well nigh certain that Zoroaster believed in one God, and explained the mystery of evil as the work of demons ruled by an archfiend "Angra-Mainyus," the "Sinful-minded," afterward known as Ahriman. In the course of time, as men saw that the powers of good and evil seemed equal, neither being able to conquer, Ahriman was held to be as supreme over evil as Ormuzd was over good. The Supreme mind that had fashioned all was forgotten, and the universe was regarded as a battle-field whereon these two waged unceasing war, not as between Indra and Vritra, for a herd of heavenly cows, but for dominion over all things, Ahriman having, like Ormuzd, ranks of angels who served him.

The thought of evil around him and within him caused Zoroaster to feel heavy at heart, but it did not make him fold his hands in despair. In the Gâthâs or oldest part of the Zend-Avesta, which contains the leading doctrines of Zoroaster, he asks Ormuzd for truth and guidance, and desires to know what he shall do. He is told to be pure in thought, word, and deed; to be temperate, chaste and truthful; to offer prayer to Ormuzd and the powers that fight with him; to destroy all hurtful things (the ancient Persians looked upon ants, snakes, and all vermin, as agents of the evil powers); and to do all that will increase the well-being of mankind. Men were not to cringe before the powers of darkness as slaves crouch before a tyrant, they were to meet them upstanding, and confound them by unending opposition and the power of a holy life.

To such high thoughts, to be sweetened and kept in vigor by pure deeds, did this noble man give utterance, and we may believe that much of truth underlies the sketch which the good Baron Bunsen has drawn of the assembling together of the people at the command of Zoroaster that they might choose between the nature-gods of their fathers and the Lord whom he would have them serve

Bunsen pictures the assembly as gathered on "one of the holy hills dedicated to the worship of fire in the neighborhood of the primeval city of marvels in Central Asia—Bactria, the glorious, now called Balkh." Thus Zoroaster speaks in the Zend-Avesta:

"Now I shall proclaim to all who have come to listen, the praises of Thee, the all-wise Lord, and the hymns of the good Spirit.

"Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your mind what is pure, so that every man may for himself choose his tenets before the great doom. May the wise be on our side!

"Those old spirits who are twins, made known what is good and what is evil in thoughts, words, and deeds. Those who are good, distinguished between the two, not those who are evil-doers.

"When these two Spirits came together, they made first life and death, so that there should be at last the most wretched life for the bad, but for the good blessedness.

"Of these two Spirits the evil one chose the worse deeds; the kind Spirit, He whose garment is the immovable sky, chose what is right; and they also who faithfully please Ahuramazda by good works.

"Let us then be of those who further this world; oh Ahuramazda, oh bliss-conferring Asha! (truth). Let our mind be there where wisdom abides.

"Then indeed there will be the fall of the pernicious Druj (falsehood), but in the beautiful abode of Vohumano (the good spirit), of Mazdâ and Asha, will be gathered forever those who dwell in good report.

"Oh men, if you cling to these commandments which Mazdâ has given, which are a torment to the wicked and a blessing to the righteous, then there will be victory through them."

In this old faith there was a belief in two abodes for the departed; heaven, the "house of the angels' hymns," and hell, where the wicked were sent. Between the two there was a bridge, over which the souls of the righteous alone passed in safety; the wicked fall into the dark dwelling-place of Ahriman. There are also traces of a resurrection and judgment-day, which will be foretold by Sosiosh, son of Zoroaster, who shall come as the Messiah, or Prophet of Ormuzd, to convert the world and slay the arch-fiend Ahriman, or, as another account relates, to purify the earth by fire, consume all evil, and bring forth from the ashes a new heaven and a new earth, wherein righteousness alone shall dwell.

The few rites and ceremonies which Zoroaster imported into his religion were doubtless such as were familiar to the Aryans when together, and were mainly the offering of *Homa* and of *fire*. The Persian *Homa* or *Haoma* is the same as the Hindu *Soma*, and hymns to it occur in the Zend-Avesta. Ormuzd being the source of light, has for symbols the sun, moon, and planets, and also fire, which is regarded as his pure creation, and therefore most sacred of all things upon earth. The offering of fire has continued to the present day, nor is the flame ever suffered to go out. The Zoroastrians had neither temples nor idols, and the fire was kept burning in an inclosed space, the chief rites of worship being performed before it.

The Pârsî still faces some light-giving object, as the sun or fire, when he offers his prayer, and the priests cover their faces when they approach the flame, lest it be defiled by their breath. It is, however, untrue to speak of the Pârsîs as worshiping fire; they simply regard it as an emblem of divine power and honor it accordingly. Life being the gift of Ormuzd and therefore dear to him, no sacrifice of blood was offered in the early centuries of the religion, but many corruptions have since crept in and overlaid this once purest and noblest of all the creeds of Asia.

Since death was the dark deed of Anriman, the dead body has ever been looked upon with horror, and as the Pârsîs believed that the evil demons had secured it, it could not be permitted to pollute the pure elements which Ormuzd had created: earth, fire and water. So it was put on some exposed place; some "Tower of Silence," where birds of prey devoured the flesh, and the sunlight bleached the bones, which were afterward buried in the earth; and such is the practice to this day. But the Zoroastrians had a good hope that the demons had not touched the *pure* soul, which passed away beyond the eastern mountains to the sun-lit paradise of the holy and there entered into rest.

The history of Persia is full of interest. It was the first among the Aryan nations to rise into importance. Under Cyrus, whose name and deeds are spoken of in the Old Testament, it became a mighty empire, whose boundary stretched from the Indus to Asia Minor, and it was during his reign that the Jews were freed from their captivity at Babylon and returned to Palestine. Darius, Xerxes (the Ahasuerus of Scripture), these are names well known to us, and under them and other kings Persia remained powerful for centuries until it was conquered by the Arabs, when the old Zoroastrian faith gave place to Mohammedanism Professor Max Müller remarks: "There were periods in the history of the world when the worship of Ormuzd threatened to rise triumphant on the ruins of the temples of all other gods. If the battles of Marathon and Salamis had been lost and Greece had succumbed to Persia, the state religion of the enpire of Cyrus, which was the worship of Ormuzd, might have become the religion of the whole civilized world.

But this was not to be; and there now remain in Asia only a few hundred thousand Pârsîs, some of whom dwell in the old land, while the greater number have settled in and around Bombay.

Their creed is of the simplest kind; it is to fear God, to live a life of pure thoughts, pure words, pure deeds, and to die in the hope of a world to come. It is the creed of those who have lived nearest to God and served him faithfullest in every age, and wherever they dwell who accept it and practice it, they bear witness to that which makes them children of God and brethren of the prophets, among whom Zoroaster was not the least.

The Jews were carried away as captives to Babylon some 600 years before Christ, and during the seventy years of their exile there, they came into contact with the Persian religion and derived from it ideas about the immortality of the soul, which their own religion did not contain. They also borrowed from it their belief in a multitude of angels, and in Satan as the ruler over evil spirits. The ease with which man believes in unearthly powers working for his hurt prepares a people to admit into its creed the doctrine of evil spirits, and although it is certain that the Jews had no belief in such spirits before their captivity in Babylon, they spoke of Satan (which means *an adversary*) as a messenger sent from God to watch the deeds of men and accuse them to Him for their wrongdoing. Satan thus becoming by degrees an object of dread, upon whom all the evil which befel man was charged, the minds of the Jews were ripe for accepting the Persian doctrine of Ahriman with his legions of devils. Ahriman became the Jewish Satan, a belief in whom formed part of early Christian doctrine, and is now but slowly dying out. What fearful ills it has caused, history has many a page to tell. The doctrine that Satan, once an angel of light, had been cast from heaven for rebellion against God, and had ever since played havoc among mankind, gave rise to the belief that he and his demons could possess the souls of men and animals at pleasure. Hence grew the belief in wizards and witches, under which millions of creatures, both young and old, were cruelly tortured and put to death.

We turn over the smeared pages of this history in haste, thankful that from such a nightmare the world has wakened, and assured that God tempts us not, neither devil nor wicked angel, but that, as Jesus said, "*out of the heart*" proceed evil thoughts and all that doth defile.

CHAPTER IX.

BUDDHISM.

Although Buddhism, which numbers more followers than any other faith, is hundreds of years younger than the old Hindu religion, we know less about it. We miss in it the gladness which bursts forth in the hymns of the Veda, and to turn from them to it is like reading the sad thoughts in the Book of Ecclesiastes after the cheerful songs of praise in the Book of Psalms. But if clouds and darkness are round about it, and our learned men differ as to what much of it really means, this should not surprise us, since a knowledge of it has come to hand only within the last few years. Even Christians are split up into many sects, because they cannot agree as to the exact meaning of many parts of Scripture, although the loving research of centuries has been given to find it out.

We saw in chapter vii. how the Brahmans had coiled their rules round men's souls and bodies, and placed upon them burdens grievous to be borne, without in any way satisfying the cravings of the human spirit. It was against all this that Buddhism revolted, just as in the reign of Henry VIII., the people of England and Germany threw off the shackles of Rome, and made possible the freedom which we now enjoy.

The founder of Buddhism was of princely birth. He was born 628 years before Christ, in Kapilavastu, the royal city of his father, who was ruler of a kingdom north of Oude, in India. He was called *Gautama*, from the tribe to which his family belonged; *Sâkya-Muni*, or "the monk of the race of Sâkya;" *Siddârtha*, a name given him by his father, and meaning "He in whom wishes are fulfilled;" and in later years *Buddha*, or more correctly *the Buddha;* the enlightened; from the root *budh*, to know.

His mother, to whom the future greatness and mighty sway of her boy over men's hearts were made known in a dream, died a few days after his birth. He grew up a beautiful and clever boy, and "never felt so happy as when he could sit alone lost in thought in the deep shadows of the forest," although, as he proved when a young man, no unskilled foe to meet in tournament or war. So sad and serious did he become, that his father feared he would grow up a mere dreamer, and, with the view of calling him to an active life, chose a lovely princess to become his wife. He lived happily with her, but was still given to much thought about life and death. Prof. Max Müller tells us that he used to say, "Nothing on earth is stable, nothing is real. Life is as transitory as a spark of fire, or the sound of a lyre. There must be some supreme intelligence where we could find rest. If I attained it I could bring light to men; if I were free myself, I could deliver the world." His friends tried to divert his thoughts from these matters by gay scenes and courtly splendors, but it was in vain. At this time he met three sights which deepened his sadness, for they told him what awaited him. These were a feeble old man; a fever-sick and mud-stained man; and a dead body. Afterward he met a devotee, and resolved, like him, to retire from the world, and thereby, as he vainly thought, escape all that in it is unreal and sad. One night, as he lay upon his couch, a crowd of dancing girls came and displayed their charms before him, but in vain; and when sleep fell upon him, they, weary and vexed, ceased their dancing, and were soon asleep also. Gautama woke at midnight to find them lying around him; and seeing some tossing heavily, some open-mouthed, and others coiled up, it seemed to him as if nought but loathsome bodies filled his splendid apartment, and that all was vanity. That moment he resolved to leave his palace, and while his servant was saddling the fleetest of his horses, he gently opened the room where his wife was sleeping that he might see his child. The mother had one of her hands over its head, and fearing to waken them, he resolved to go, and not look upon his boy till he had become the Buddha. One legend says that he had scarcely crossed the threshold when the tempter met him and sought to thwart his purpose by promising him rule over all the kingdoms of this world; but Gautama would not yield, yet from that day the tempter ceased not to attack the holy man. He went among the Brahmans to see if their teaching would lighten his burden; he did what they told him, performed their rites and ceremonies, but these brought him no peace. He left them and retired to a small village, where, after practicing the most severe rites, the repute of his sanctity brought to him five disciples, with whom he remained six years. Seeing that such a life led not to perfection, but was useless and selfish, giving nothing and taking all, he returned to more cheerful ways, and, still pursuing his thinking, had his reward. As he sat one day beneath a tree, a great joy came to him, for knowledge burst in upon him by which he became Buddha, the man who knew.

While fasting under the tree during the sacred period of seven times seven days and nights the demon of wickedness attacked him a second time, even using force, but was defeated by the power of the ten great virtues of Buddha, the weapons of the evil one and of his soldiers being changed into beautiful flowers as they fell upon Buddha, and the rocks becoming nosegays as they were hurled at him; whereupon the spirits who had watched over his birth and who now followed his life on earth rent the air with shouts of joy at his victory. Afterward the tempter sent his three daughters, one a winning girl; one a blooming virgin; and one a middle-aged beauty, to allure him, but they could not. Buddha was proof against all the demon's arts, and his only trouble was whether it were well or not to preach his doctrines to men. Feeling how hard to gain was that which he had gained, and how enslaved men were by their passions so that they might neither listen to him nor understand him, he had well nigh resolved to be silent, but at the last deep compassion for all beings made him resolve to tell his secret to mankind that they too might be free, and he thus became the founder of the most popular religion of ancient or modern times. The spot where Buddha obtained his knowledge became one of the most sacred places in India. He first preached at Benares, or, as they say, "turned the wheel of the law," a phrase which may have given rise to the wheels on which some of his words are inscribed and which are set in motion by wind or water. He met with great opposition from the Brahmans, but kept on his way, converting the high and the low until in his eighty-fifth year he died peacefully while sitting under a tree. His remains were burnt amidst great pomp, and quarrels arose for the possession of the fragments. They were at last divided into eight portions, over each of which a *tope* (a Hindu word for a bell-shaped building raised over relics) was built. Of course the usual legends teeming with stories of wonderful miracles grew around his memory, and this notwithstanding that he told his disciples the only true wonder was to "hide their good deeds and to confess before men their sins." The myths and traditions of the Buddhists about the universe and the things therein are absurd in the extreme.

Very soon after his death a general council of his disciples was held to fix the doctrines and rules of the religion. Buddha had written nothing himself, and the council is said to have chosen from his followers those who remembered most of his teaching. It is interesting to note that among these were two men, one of deep earnestness and zeal; the other of most sweet nature, loving Buddha much and most beloved by him; reminding us of two of Christ's disciples, Peter and John.

Two other councils were afterward held for the correction of errors that had crept into the faith, and for sending missionaries into other lands. The last of these councils is said to have been held two hundred and fifty-one years before Christ, so that long before Christianity was founded we have this great religion with its sacred traditions of Buddha's words, its councils and its missions, besides, as we shall presently see, many things strangely like the rites of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Buddhist scriptures are called the "Tripitaka," or "three baskets," being in three parts. The first "pitaka" contains rules of discipline; the second, the discourses of Buddha; and the third treats of philosophy and the subtle doctrines of the religion. The words of Buddha, handed on from age to age, and preserved in the memories of men, were at last set down in writing. They grew, as our Scriptures have grown, much entering into them which Buddha never said, but all the writings at last received as the sacred records of his teaching and religion.

Among the traditions concerning Buddha, there is one which tells of a young mother whose child died and whose dead body, in her great love and sorrow, she clasped to her bosom, and went about from house to house asking if any one would give her some medicine for it. The neighbors thought her mad, but a wise man, seeing that she could not or would not understand the law of death, said to her, "My good girl, I cannot myself give medicine for it, but I know of a doctor who can attend to it." She asked who it was and was sent by the wise man to Buddha. After doing homage to him she said, "Lord and master, do you know any medicine that will be good for my boy?" Buddha replied that he did, and told her to fetch a handful of mustard seed, which must be taken from a house where no son, husband, parent, or slave had died. Then the woman went in search, but no such house could she find, for whenever she asked if there had died any of those, the answer came from one, "I have lost a son;" from another, "I have lost my parents;" and from all, "Lady, the living are few, but the dead are many." At last, not finding any house where death had not been, the truth broke in upon her, and leaving the dead body of her boy in a forest, she returned to Buddha, and told her tale. He said to her, "You thought that you alone had lost a son; the law of death is that among all living creatures there is nothing that abides," and when he had finished preaching the law, the woman became his disciple.

Once upon a time Buddha lived in a village, and in the sowing season, went with his bowl in hand to the place where food was being given by a Brahman, who, seeing him, spoke thus:

"O priest, I both plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, I eat; you also, O priest, should plough and sow, and having ploughed and sown, you should eat."

"I too, O Brahman, plough and sow, and

having ploughed and sown, I eat," said Buddha.

"But we see neither the yoke, nor plough, nor ploughshare, nor goad, nor oxen, of the venerable Gautama. . . .

"Being questioned by us as to your ploughing, speak in such a manner as we may know of your ploughing."

The Buddha replied: "For my cultivation, faith is the seed; penance the rain; wisdom my yoke and plough; modesty the shaft for the plough; mind the string; presence of mind my ploughshare and goad."

Then the Brahman offered him rice boiled in milk from a golden vessel.

In a chapter very popular among the Buddhists of Ceylon, the demon Álavaka is said to have asked Buddha, "What is the best wealth to a man in this world? What thing well done produces happiness? Of savory things, which is indeed the most savory? The life of one who lives in what manner, do they say, is the best?"

Buddha answered: "Faith is the best wealth to a man here. The observing well the law produces happiness. Truth is indeed the most savory of all savory things. The living endowed with wisdom, they say, is the best of all modes of living."

On another occasion, when asked what was the greatest blessing, Buddha said:

"The succoring of mother and father, the cherishing of child and wife, and the following of a lawful calling, this is the greatest blessing.

"The giving alms, a religious life, aid rendered to relations, blameless acts, this is the greatest blessing.

"The abstaining from sins and the avoiding them, the eschewing of intoxicating drink, diligence in good deeds, reverence and humility, contentment and gratefulness, this is the greatest blessing.

. . . "Those who having done these things, become invincible on all sides, attain happiness on all sides. This is the greatest blessing."

There is a discourse of Buddha's which some have called, from the place where it was preached, his "sermon on the mount," but it lacks clearness, nor could it be set down in language easy to grasp. The extracts from Buddhist sacred books just given show how forcefully Buddha could put much meaning into few words, and of this there is rich proof in a book called the "Dhammapada," or "Path of Virtue," which is believed to contain his sayings. For example:

"He who lives looking for pleasures only, his senses uncontrolled, idle and weak, Mâra (the tempter) will certainly overcome him, as the wind throws down a weak tree."

"Let the wise man guard his thoughts, they are difficult to perceive, very artful, and they rush wherever they list; thoughts well guarded bring happiness."

"As the bee collects nectar, and departs without injuring the flower, or its color and scent, so let the sage dwell on earth."

"Like a beautiful flower, full of color but without scent, are the fine but fruitless words of him who does not act accordingly. But like a beautiful flower, full of color and full of scent, are the fine and fruitful words of him who acts accordingly."

"He who lives a hundred years, vicious and unrestrained, a life of one day is better if a man is virtuous and reflecting."

"Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart, it will not come near unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil even if he gathers it little by little."

"Not to commit any sin, to do good, and to purify one's mind, that is the teaching of the Awakened." (This is one of the most solemn verses among the Buddhists).

"Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! Let us dwell free from hatred among men who hate!

"Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! Let us dwell free from greed among men who are greedy!

"Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!"

Buddhism became the State religion of India in the reign of King Asoka (who ascended the throne about two hundred and sixty-eight years before Christ), and continued so for nearly nine centuries, until, from causes by no means clear, it was driven therefrom and has since found its followers mainly among those great races of Asia which are neither Aryan nor Semitic, but which may be roughly classed as Mongol. It is one of the three State religions of China; it is the religion of Tibet, and spreads northward to the confines of Swedish Lapland and southward into Burmah, embracing nearly the whole of Eastern Asia, including Japan, in which island it is, however, not the State religion. The island of Ceylon supplies us with much of our knowledge about Buddha, and is rich in Buddhist architecture. cave-temples, shrines, ruined cities and relics, chiefest among which are a so-called tooth of Buddha, and a famous tree, nearly two thousand two hundred years old, which is a branch of the tree under which he sat when he became the Enlightened. Buddhism as a great *religion* is a very different thing from Buddhism as a *philosophy*, and its marvelous success was surely not owing to Buddha's dreamy speculations about the misery of life, and to his dreary teaching as to the best way of escape therefrom.

We saw that he strove to find in this world of unrest something that was lasting, the knowledge of which might release him from change and decay. Now the great doctrines of the deeper part of his religion are given in what he called "the four sublime truths."

They assert that there is pain; that pain comes through the desire or passion for things that cannot be ours for long; that both the pain and the desire can be ended by Nirvâna, to which in the fourth truth Buddha shows the right way. Many learned men think that by this Buddha meant *nothingness*, ceasing to be, the soul being "blown out" like the flame of a candle.

The four paths to this way are as follows:

He has entered the *first* path who sees the evils arising from separate existence, and who believes in Buddha and in the power of his system alone to obtain salvation, that is, deliverance from separate existence.

He has entered the *second* path who, besides the above, is free from lust and evil to others.

He has entered the *third* path who is further free from all kinds of evil desires, from ignorance, doubt, wrong belief and hatred; while

He has arrived at the *fourth* path who is entirely free from sin ("has cast it away as if it were a burden"), and passions, by which are meant the lust of the flesh, the love of existence, and the defilements of wrong-belief and ignorance.

The four paths have also been summed up in eight steps or divisions: right views, right thoughts, right speech, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection, right meditation.

After these doctrines there follow ten commandments, of which the first five apply to all people, and the rest chiefly to such as set themselves apart for a religious life. They are, not to kill; not to steal; not to commit adultery; not to lie; not to get drunk; to abstain from late meals; from public amusements; from expensive dress; from large beds; and to accept neither gold nor silver.

It is easy to see that the more difficult part of Buddha's teaching, which was largely caused by the love common to Hindus for knotty questions, and by his study of the systems of the Brahmans, might give rise to endless speculations among the learned few, but would never move or draw to itself the unlearned masses of men.

The success of Buddhism was in this: It was a protest against the powers of the priests; it to a large degree broke down caste by declaring that all men are equal, and by allowing any one desiring to live a holy life to become a priest. "Not from birth," said Buddha, "does one become a Vasala (slave), not from birth does one become a Brahman. By bad conduct does one become a Vasala, by good conduct does one become a Brahman." It abolished sacrifices; made it the duty of all men to honor their parents and care for their children, to be kind to the sick and poor and sorrowing, and to forgive their enemies and return good for evil; it spread a spirit of charity abroad which encompassed the lowest life as well as the highest, bidding men

> "Never to blend their pleasure or their pride
> With sorrow of the meanest thing that lives."

This was why the common people heard it gladly. They could not soar into the upper clouds, but needed some faith and hope by which to do the hard work of life; and when life was over, they looked for a paradise where they would be delivered from care and suffering. Toward such the millions of Buddhists look this day, for

> "Whatever crazy sorrow saith,
> No life that breathes with human breath
> Has ever truly longed for death.
> 'Tis life, whereof our nerves are scant,
> Oh life, not death, for which we pant;
> More life, and fuller, that we want."

The teaching of Buddha, like that of Christ, has been changed and overlaid with doctrines foreign to it by the nations who have accepted it, and the forms of worship adapted by Buddhists vary in the different countries, but consist mainly in adoration of the statues of Buddha, and of his relics, he being, in their view, that which any man may become by practice of the four sublime truths and the commandments. In Buddhism as a *philosophy* the being of God is not denied, it is ignored, nothing is said about it: as a *religion*, its millions of followers believe in many gods. We have seen how closely the teaching of Buddha's law of mercy and charity is like to that of Christ's, being in short the fruit of the loving nature of each of these holy men; and another feature hinted at above, is the likeness between certain rites of Buddhism and Christianity. When the Roman Catholic missionaries first met the Buddhist monks they were shocked when they saw that their heads were shaven, that they knelt before images, that they worshiped relics, wore strings of beads, used bells and holy water, and had confession of sin. They believed that the devil, as the father of all mischief and deceit, had tempted these men to dress themselves in the clothes of Catholics and mock their solemn practices; whereas it seems likely that there had been some connection in the past, the younger religion borrowing from the older.

Of the strange mode by which the Tibetans, on the death of the Grand Lama, who is their high priest, and regarded as infallible, like the Pope, elect his successor, into whom they believe his soul passes, space forbids an account. Monasteries for men and nunneries for women still exist, and especially in Tibet, vast numbers of monks are found, while the huge and deserted monasteries and temples cut in the solid rock, and of which hundreds exist in India, show how mightily a system, which had been thought to belong to Christianity only, had formed part of Buddhism two thousand years ago.

CHAPTER X.

THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA.

Although we are still in the East, we leave its gorgeous dazzlements behind, and once within the walls of China come amongst scenes where song gives place to prose, and golden romance to sober fact; where the people's faces, their houses, their junks and their hand-writing, seem made after one pattern.

On the soil of this great country there is crowded nearly half the human race. The manners and customs of the Chinese are those of their ancestors hundreds of years ago. Empires have risen and fallen around them, but they remain the same, nor have the races that have broken through their Great Wall and forced rulers upon them altered their laws or their language. The mariner's compass, printing, gunpowder and other arts were known to them long before they were in use in Europe. Theirs is a land where everything seems topsy-turvy. The soldiers wear petticoats, use fans, and fight the enemy at night with lanterns; the people have fireworks by daylight; white is the color used in mourning; boats are drawn by men and carriages are moved by sails; while visiting cards are four feet long and painted red! In the high honor paid to learning the Chinese teach us a lesson. The lowest among them can rise to the highest offices in the State, these being given, not to the best-born, but to those who have passed with the greatest merit the public examinations; so that knowledge is the road to power.

The ancient inhabitants of China, like the races with whom they are thought to be allied, were worshipers of the powers of nature and of the spirits of their ancestors, and these still largely enter into the religions of China. There is a State worship kept up by the Emperor and his court, in which sacrifices are offered to the heaven and earth, to the spirits of sages, rulers and learned men; also of mountains, fields and rivers; while each household has its family spirits to whom honor and reverence are paid. And behind all this there looms a supreme power, lord of the sky, "ancestor of all things," who is, however, as vague a being to the Chinese as is Brahm to the Hindus.

China has three national religions; Buddhism, which was admitted as a religion of the State sixty-five years after Christ, the Chinese name of Buddha being Fo; Taoism; and Confucianism.

The three religions are often professed by the same person, and there is none of that bitter feeling between the believers in different creeds which exists so much among Christians, Muslims, and others. This is, however, owing to the lack of earnestness; for they who feel deeply concerning what they believe cannot be careless regarding what they think are the errors of others.

Lao-tse, the founder of Taoism, lived between five and six hundred years before Christ, and was an altogether different man from Confucius. He was a thinker, not a worker, seeking to unravel those same problems which perplexed Buddha, and what there is in the Chinese belief of a spiritual kind may have been aided by the teaching of Lao-tse. Confucius is said to have visited him and confessed that he could not understand him. Taoism has become mixed up with magic and other senseless beliefs, and its priests are for the most part ignorant men, so that it has no great hold upon the Chinese.

Their great teacher and lawgiver, whose "writings and life have given the law to the Chinese thought," is K'ung-Foo-Tse, "the master K'ung," whose name has been Latinized into Confucius. He is their patron saint; his descendants are held in special honor; the most famous temple in the empire is built over his grave, while hundreds of other temples to his memory abound, and thousands of animals are sacrificed on the two yearly festivals sacred to that memory. Each one of the thousands who compete in the examinations must know the whole system of Confucius and commit his doctrines to heart.

This man, who was reviled in life, but whose influence sways the hundreds of millions of China, was born five hundred and fifty-one years before Christ, not far from the time when Cyrus became king of Persia and the Jews returned from Babylon, and a few years before the death of Buddha. He lost his father, who was an old man and an officer of State in the kingdom of Loo, now a Chinese province, when he was three years old; but his mother trained him with tender care, and he is said to have shown from an early age great love for learning and for the laws and lore of his country. At the time when Confucius lived, China was divided into a number of petty kingdoms whose rulers were ever quarrelling, and although he became engaged in various public situations of trust, the disorder of the State at last caused him to resign them, and he retired to another part of the country. He then continued the life of a public teacher, instructing men in the simple moral truths by which he sought to govern his own life. The purity of that life, and the example of veneration for the old laws which he set, gathered round him many grave and thoughtful men, who worked with him for the common good. He afterward returned to Loo, and remaining for some years without office, became in his fiftieth year a minister of State, and great success attended his wise rule; but at last the wild excesses of the court upturned his good laws, and he had to resign his place. Poverty and other ills came upon him, few heed-ed his words of wisdom, and after many wanderings, he returned to his native land a despised and poor man. He spent the remainder of his life in editing the sacred books of China, and in writing some additions to them, and passed away in the seventy-third year of his age.

His system can scarcely be called a religion, and yet that is the best name for it, because it teaches men how to live. Four things he is said to have taught: learning, morals, devotion of soul, and reverence. He counseled all to be sincere, just, loving, careful of duty to themselves and others, and observant of ancient laws and rites. He had nothing to say about God or another life. Here and there he speaks in vague words of "heaven," a power whose emblem is the sky, but not of One to whom praises should ascend, and toward Whom the love of children should be felt. This was not because Confucius was an unbeliever, for he, of all men, had reverence for the sacred, unknown power that underlies all things, but because his nature was so beautifully simple and sincere that he would not pretend to knowledge of that which he felt was beyond human reach and thought. This was shown in his reply to a disciple who asked him concerning death. "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"

His life was given to teaching a few great truths, obedience to which he believed would bring happiness to man. He says of himself: "At fifteen years, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decrees of heaven. At sixty, everything I heard I easily understood. At seventy, the desires of my heart no longer transgressed the law."

The sacred books of China are called the *Kings*, and are five in number, containing treatises on morals, books of rites, poems and history. They are of great age, perhaps as old as the earliest hymns of the Rig-Veda, and are free from any impure thoughts. *King* means the warp threads of a web. The name is given as showing that which is woven together; like the use of our word *text*, which comes from the Latin *textum*, "that which is woven."

These books, which were deeply studied by Confucius, teach that there is one Supreme Being, everywhere present, all-seeing, who commands right deeds, pure thoughts and watchfulness over the tongue. "For a blemish may be taken out of a diamond by carefully polishing it; but if your words have the least blemish, there is no way to efface that." "Heaven penetrates to the bottom of our hearts, like light into a dark chamber. We must conform ourselves to it until we are like two instruments of music tuned to the same pitch. Our passions shut up the door of our souls against God."

Such are among the wise words of these most ancient books, restored by Confucius to their rightful place. I should like ample space to quote many of his own pithy sayings, which are given in the first of the four *Shoo*, meaning *writings* or *books*, compiled by his disciples, but a few must suffice.

"The Master said, 'Shall I teach you what knowledge is? When you know a thing, to hold that you know it, and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you do not know it; this is knowledge.'"

"To see what is right and not to do it is want of courage."

"Worship as though the Deity were present."

"He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray."

"If my mind is not engaged in my worship, it is as though I worshiped not."

"Coarse rice for food, water to drink, the bended arm for a pillow—happiness may be enjoyed even with these; but without virtue, both riches and honor seem to me like the passing cloud."

"Grieve not that men know not you; grieve that you know not men."

"A good man is serene; a bad man always in fear."

"There may be fair words and an humble countenance when there is little virtue."

"One of his disciples said, 'If you, Master, do not speak, what shall we, your disciples, have to read?' The Master said, 'Does Heaven speak? The four seasons pursue their courses, and all things are continually being produced; but does Heaven say anything?'"

"In the Book of Poetry are three hundred pieces, but the design of them all may be embraced in that one sentence, 'Have no depraved thoughts.'" (This reminds us of the saying of the later Jewish Rabbis that all the six hundred and thirteen precepts of the Law were summed up in the words, "The just shall live by his faith.")

"If a man in the morning hear the right way, he may die in the evening without regret."

"Tsze-kung said, 'What I do not wish men to do to me, I also wish not to do to men.' The Master said, 'You have not attained to that.'"

Such is the power of words, that those uttered by this intensely earnest man, whose work was ended only by death, have kept alive throughout the vast empire of China a reverence for the past and a sense of duty to the present which have made the Chinese the most orderly and moral people in the world. But to "the mighty hopes that make us men," they are strangers. Theirs is a dull, plodding life, and one can hardly say of them what Pope wrote of the Indian:

> "To be, contents his natural desire,
> He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire."

for their hold on life is slender, and it is a great matter with them to have their coffins ready. They, however, speak of the dead as "ascended to the sky," and have a great horror of being beheaded, in the belief that there can be no hereafter for a headless trunk.

It is only of late years, and that not by the best means, that parts of their vast empire have been entered by foreigners; but we must hope that when the religion of Christ becomes known among them they will feel that it lends just that motive and aim to the life of man which their religions lack, and which is needed to make life complete.

CHAPTER XI.

THE SEMITIC NATIONS.

All that has been said about the common descent of Aryan or Indo-European nations applies to the Semitic nations. Their languages are shown to be even more closely related than the Aryan languages, and afford clear proof of a time when the ancestors of the Semitic peoples lived together, speaking the same tongue and worshiping the same gods. When further research is made we may look for as vivid a picture of old Semitic life as that which we have of old Aryan manners and customs.

Under the name of *Semitic*, or *Shemitic*, meaning people descended from Shem, one of the sons of Noah (a term which by no means truly describes them), there are included the Jews and other Syrian tribes, the Arabs, Assyrians, Babylonians, Phœnicians, and Carthaginians. Of the home from which the old Semitic races migrated we cannot speak with certainty; it may have been in the country watered by the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, or in some part of Arabia.

These nations have filled an important place in human history, but they have never spread themselves over the earth as have the Aryans. They have been great in religion, in science, and in commerce, the cities which they founded, Jerusalem, Nineveh, Babylon, Tyre, and their settlements in Carthage and Spain, reminding us what a splendid and deathless story their records tell.

In the ancient worship of the Semitic races before they separated, there are clear traces that the names of their chief gods had been fixed.

These names mostly express moral qualities; that is, instead of a god of fire, or storm, or sky, we have the Strong, the Exalted, the Lord, the King, etc. One of the highest and oldest names was *El*, meaning strong. "It occurs in the Babylonian inscription as *Ilu*, God, and in the very name of *Bab-il*, the gate or temple of *Il*. We have it in *Beth-el*, the house of God, and in many other names. The same *El* was worshiped at Byblus by the Phœnicians, and was called there 'the son of heaven and earth.' *Eloah* is the same word as the Arabic *Ilâh*, God: *Ilâh*, without the article, means a god in general; with the article *Al-Ilâh* or *Allâh*, it becomes the name of the god of Mohammad, as it was the name of the God of Abraham and of Moses." Another famous name is *Baal* or *Bel*, *the lord*. He was not only a supreme god among the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Phœnicians, but was a frequent object of worship by the Jews.

Then we have the Hebrew *Melech*, king, which is the *Moloch* of the Phœnicians, to whom children were sacrificed by their own parents, a horrible practice which they carried with them to Carthage and other places.

These and other names were common to the undivided Semitic people, but it is thought that the name *Jah*, *Jahveh* or *Jehovah*, was used by the Jews only. Be this as it may, "Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic point to a common source as much as Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin."

But the ancient history of the mighty empires of the East does not form part of my subject, and manuals of Jewish history especially are so numerous, that it is needless to give what must be, at the best, only a meager account.

We must ever feel the deepest interest in the Jews, because while Aryan blood flows in our veins, our Christian religion has come from a Semitic race. The long line of noble men to whom the Jewish nation has given birth from the time of its founder Abraham to the age when Jesus Christ and his apostles lived; the fearless witness which since the days of its captivity it has borne to the lofty truth that "there is One God and none other but He," must ever give to its scattered people a large place in our veneration and our love. Only it must be no blind, but a pure and true veneration, born of careful study of all that they have been and of all they have done. We must treat their history as we treat every other history, and not think that they could be dearer to God than those who, like the Persian Aryans, forsook Him less to worship many gods.

Of the Semitic religions those that concern us in the present day are only the Jewish and the Mohammadan, of which latter some account will now follow.

CHAPTER XII.

MOHAMMADANISM, OR ISLÂM.

This religion, which is the guide in life and the support in death of one hundred and fifty millions of our fellow creatures; which, like Christianity, has its missionaries scattered over the globe, and offers itself as a faith needed by all men; which for hundreds of years has had firm hold upon the sacred places of Palestine so dear to Jew and Christian, is worth careful study. *Islâm*, which is its correct name, comes from a word meaning in the first instance "to be at rest, to have done one's duty, to be at perfect peace," and is commonly held to mean "submission to the will and commandments of God."

Muslim, the name given to its believers (spelt also Moslem, Muslem, etc.), comes from *Islâm*, and means "a righteous man."

While we know very little about the lives of the founders of some religions already sketched, and that little so mixed up with fable and legend as to make it hard work to sift the false from the true, nearly all the facts of Mohammad's life are well known to us, and are supported by the witness of thousands who knew him for many years.

And the value of Islâm, the youngest of the great religions, is, that we are able to see how its first simple form became overlaid with legend and foolish superstition, and thus learn how, in like manner, myth and fable have grown around more ancient religions.

For example: although Mohammad came into the world like other children, wonderful things are said to have taken place at his birth; one legend being that angels took him from the arms of his nurse, drew his heart from his bosom, and then squeezed from it the black drop of sin which is in every child of Adam.

He never claimed to be a perfect man; he did not pretend to foretell events or to work miracles. He said, "My miracle is the Korân, which shall remain forever," and he pointed to those great signs in heaven and earth, greater than the wonders said to have been wrought by men,—the sun, and moon, and stars; the day and the night; the mountains which keep the earth steady (an old Arab notion); the water that slakes man's thirst and the cattle which change the grass into milk, as parts of one great, never-ceasing miracle.

In spite of all this, his followers said of him, while he was yet living, that he worked wonders, and they believed the golden vision, hinted at in the Korân (concerning which Mohammadan tradition tells how, clothed in robe and turban of light, he rode by night upon the lightning to Jerusalem, and then ascending to heaven, passed through the dwellings of the prophets into the presence of the Unseen, where stillness was, and nothing heard, "except the silent sound of the reed wherewith the decrees of God are written on the tablets of fate"), to have been a real event, although Mohammad said over and over again that it was but a dream. When he died, the people would not believe it; the places where he had trod became to them the holiest spots on earth, and the words which he had spoken, the very words of God. Thus it has been with other prophets of the Most High. They have been too great for smaller men to understand, have towered too high for them to measure, and when they have passed away, have been looked upon as gods that "have come down in the likeness of men."

Mohammad has suffered much both from friend and foe. The former, who asked him to do something to prove his high mission, as the Jews asked Jesus for a sign, willingly believed anything they were told of him; the latter thought that nothing too vile or bad could be said of him. A story was invented that he had trained a dove to pick peas from his ear, so that it might be taken for an angel bringing him messages from God! Martin Luther called him "a horrid devil," and to this day most Christians believe that he was a shameless impostor. Mohammad was a man, and therefore not free from sin. Although that sin stained the later years of his life, he was no cheat or false prophet, but from the day when his strong soul burst the bonds of forty years' silence, a preacher of the eternal truth; "La Ellâh Ellâla," "There is no god but God."

"By their fruits ye shall know them." A religion which has fed the heart-hunger of millions of men for nigh thirteen hundred years cannot have been cradled in fraud. It did not grow without a struggle, for if stones and sneers could have killed it, it would have died during Mohammad's life-time.

Mohammad was born at Mekkeh, or, as it is usually spelt, Mecca, in Arabia, five hundred and seventy-one years after Christ. His father, who died before his birth, was of a noble tribe, the Koreish, who were guardians of the famous sacred stone of the Kaabah. As he lost his mother when he was six years old, he was left to the care of relatives. He was a sickly boy, subject to fits, which troubled him in after years: but he had to begin work, tending flocks, at an early age. He was of a nature given to silence and fondness for being alone, caring to have for company only his own thoughts and nature. The grim, lonely desert, and the stars, that shine their brightest in the East, fed his sense of wonder and opened the ear of his soul to any voice that spake the meaning of all that he saw. He could neither read nor write, and so the more used eye and ear, gathering much knowledge of men and things from journeys with his uncle into Syria. Although sweet-natured, faithful and truthful, he was, perhaps owing to the fits that distressed him, often cast down and gloomy; but in his bright moods he would enter with zest into the glad, free life of children, play with them, and tell them gorgeous tales of which the East has so rich a store. He lived a most simple life; his dress and food were of the plainest; he mended his own clothes; waited upon himself; and was ever ready to share his meal with the poor. When he was twenty-four years old, he entered the service of a rich widow, who afterward became his wife and bore him children.

Now we come to the great event of his life. As he neared middle age, his gloom deepened, and he more and more fled from men. It had been his custom for years to spend in prayer and meditation the sacred month during which the Arab tribes laid down their weapons, and in his fortieth year he retired to a small cave on Mount Hira, a huge barren rock standing by itself in the desert, some three miles from Mecca.

Dreams and visions, strange sights and sounds, as he verily believed, came to him there, and one night a voice called to him, "Cry, in the name of thy Lord," and bade him spread the true religion among men by writing.

"Such light had come, as it could, to illumine the darkness of this wild Arab soul. A confused, dazzling splendor, as of life and heaven, in the great darkness which threatened to be death: he called it revelation and (said it was the voice of) the angel Gabriel,—who of us yet can know what to call it? It is the 'inspiration of the Almighty' that giveth understanding." He went home tremblingly and told his wife, who at once hailed him as the prophet of the nation.

The Arabs are to-day what they were hundreds of years ago; lovers of freedom, temperate, good-hearted; but withal crafty, revengeful, dishonest. They are very fond of music and poetry, and the rise of a poet in any tribe is a matter for great rejoicing.

Not much is known about their religion in the days of "Ignorance," as they call the time before Islâm, for until Mohammad came their history is almost a blank. They believed in many gods and worshiped sun, moon, trees and stones, the most famous among the last being the Black stone of the Kaabah, round which three hundred and sixty-five idols were placed. This stone, which travelers tell us is an aerolite (or *air-stone*, as the word means, which has fallen from space upon the earth), is said to have been one of the precious stones of Paradise and to have dropped to the earth with Adam; once white, it has become black through the kisses of sinful men or through the silent tears which it has shed for their sins. Arab legend also tells that the building which incloses it was erected by Abraham and Ishmael. To the place where it stands the Muslims all over the world turn five times every day in prayer to God.

Some of the Arab tribes had strange notions about a future state. They would tie a camel to a man's tomb and leave it without food. If it got away the man was lost forever; but if not, he would find it there at the day of judgment, and could mount on it to Paradise. There had been settlements of Jews among the Arabs from a very early period, and their religion had been embraced by a few. At the time when Mohammad appeared, there were also dotted here and there societies of Jews and Christian sects who had sought refuge in the pathless desert from the cruel power of Rome. But the Christians who had come thither wasted their strength in vain and foolish wrangling. The soul of Christianity, the pure, sweet spirit which they might have kept by learning of Christ, had fled from their midst, and they were quarreling with each other about the structure of the dead and worthless body in which that soul had dwelt. Still earlier than any of these there had come sun-worshipers from Chaldea and Zoroastrians from Persia.

From this we may gather what strangely varied beliefs found a home in Arabia, and also see how the many Jewish and Christian ideas became mingled with Islâm.

There had risen before Mohammad men who preached against the old pagan creeds, but they were only forerunners of this mightier prophet who was nursing his soul in secret, who

"Yet should bring some worthy thing for waiting
souls to see,
Some sacred word that he had heard their light
and life to be."

Mohammad did not claim to preach a new faith, but "the religion of Abraham," who he said "was neither a Jew nor a Christian, but pious and righteous, and no idolater," and whom he placed among the six chief prophets chosen by God to make known His truth. Mohammad said that these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and himself. He made known an Almighty and Allwise God, who had spoken through these prophets, and to the lasting honor of Mohammad he spoke no slighting word of those who came before him. Although his knowledge of Christ was obtained from some childish and false gospels which have long since been treated by Christians as worthless, and although he knew nothing of Christ's holy life and beautiful teaching as given in the Four Gospels, he paid him great honor, and believed that he worked miracles.

Muslims have not treated Christ as we have treated Mohammad, for the devout among them never utter his name without adding the touching words, "on whom be peace," and in the great mosque of El Medineh or Medina, there is a grave kept for him by the side of the prophet, it being a Muslim belief that Christ will one day return to earth to establish everywhere the religion of Mohammad, who will appear shortly before the day of judgment. Mohammad borrowed from the religion of the Jews, of which he had only a hearsay knowledge, the belief in good and bad angels, some of the laws relating to marriage, fasting, etc., and there were certain customs so closely intertwined with the pagan faith of his countrymen that he wisely sought not to remove some of them, but to purify them. He abolished the frightful practice of killing female children and made the family tie more respected, although to this day, its looseness is a great blot upon Islâm. He permitted the worship of the Kaabah stone, and the pilgrimages thereto, to be continued. In like manner the Roman Catholic missionaries, when they came to Northern Europe, made use of the best of what they found in the old Teutonic religion and worked it into their own. Where sacred trees had stood, they raised crosses; where holy wells had been dug and the babbling spring was a deity, they built churches and abbeys· where love and piety had named flower and insect after the "lady" Freyja, goddess of plenty, they put the Virgin Mary in her stead. The goddess Hel, who in a realm of bitter cold received the souls of those who died of old age or disease (for only to those who died in battle was there given endless mirth and feasting in Valhalla with the Alfadir, Odin) was changed from a person to a place where heat, not cold, is the torment. In the bleak North, life without fire is dreary, which explains why Hel was pictured as ruling in a *cold* region.

But we must return to Mohammad, not forgetting to say that Mecca had been a place of very great note long before his time, the Arabs having a tradition that it was the birthplace of their tribes. Near to the Kaabah, there is the well Zemzem, said to be fed by the spring that opened before Hagar's eyes when Ishmael was a-nigh dead with thirst, and when, in a mother's mad despair, she cast him from her that she might not see him die. The legend further relates that they settled on the spot with a tribe who were passing by, and thus arose the sacred city of Mecca.

Mohammad counseled men to live a good life, and to strive after the mercy of God by fasting, charity, and prayer, which he called "the key of paradise."

This is one among many passages in the Korân counselling men to prayer:

"Observe prayer at sunset, till the first darkening of the night, and the daybreak reading—for the daybreak reading hath its witnesses.

"And watch unto it in the night . . . and say, 'O my Lord, cause me to enter (Mecca) with a perfect entry, and to come forth with a perfect forthcoming, and give me from thy presence a helping power.'"

There is preserved a sermon on charity, said to have been preached by Mohammad, which is so beautiful that it deserves a place beside the apostle Paul's sweet words in 1 Corinthians xii., while in reading it, we think of that touching saying by Jesus as to the Eye that sees with approval a gift to the thirsty, although that gift be but "a cup of cold water."

"When God made the earth, it shook to and fro till He put mountains on it to keep it firm. Then the angels asked, 'O God, is there anything in Thy creation stronger than these mountains?' And God replied, 'Iron is stronger than the mountains, for it breaks them.' 'And is there anything in Thy creation stronger than iron?' 'Yes, fire is stronger than iron, for it melts it.' 'Is there anything stronger than fire?' 'Yes, water, for it quenches fire.' 'Is there anything stronger than water!' 'Yes, wind, for it puts water in motion.' 'O our Sustainer, is there anything in thy creation stronger than wind?' 'Yes, a good man giving alms; if he give it with his right hand and conceal it from his left, he overcomes all things. Every good act is charity; your smiling in your brother's face; your putting a wanderer in the right road; your giving water to the thirsty is charity; exhortation to another to do right is charity. A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he has done in this world to his fellow-men. When he dies, people will ask, What property has he left behind him? But the angels will ask, What good deeds has he sent before him?'"

Mohammad commanded his followers to make no image of any living thing, to show mercy to the weak and orphaned, and kindness to brutes; to abstain from gambling, and the use of strong drink.

The great truth which he strove to make real to them was that God is one, that, as the Korân says, "they surely are infidels who say that God is the third of three, for there is no God but one God."

To return to the story of his life. It says very much for the pure motives that swayed him that his own nearest friends were the first to believe in him. Others called him fool, mad poet, star-gazer, but he held on his way, although for some time with scant success, his followers being, up to the fourth year of his mission, few and humble. It is said that he was one day talking with a rich man whom he wished to convert, when a poor blind man came up and asked to be taught by Mohammad, who, cross at being interrupted, spoke roughly to him. But his conscience quickly smote him for his harshness, and the next day's Revelation reproved him. It is thus given in the Korân.

> 'He frowned, and he turned his back,
> Because the blind man came to him!
> But what assured thee that he would not
> Be cleansed by the Faith.
> Or be warned and the warning profit him.
> As to him who is wealthy,
> To him thou wast all attention;
> Yet is it not thy concern if he be not cleansed:
> But as to him who cometh to thee in earnest,
> And full of fears—him dost thou neglect."

Mohammad afterward sought the man, saying, "He is thrice welcome on whose account my Lord hath reprimanded me."

He began to teach abroad in Mecca and other places, but the attacks on him grew so bitter, that he had to leave the city. On his return his wife died. She was a true and noble-natured woman and her memory is held in deep reverence, visits being paid to her tomb every Friday. To add to Mohammed's troubles, poverty came upon him, and a plot being laid to kill him, he had to leave Mecca a second time, and started for Medina, where some of his converts lived. On his way thither he and a friend hid in a cave, over the mouth of which a spider spun its web as they lay inside. When their pursuers came to the cave they felt sure, on seeing the web, that Mohammad was not there. "We are but two," said his friend, full of fear. "There is a third," replied Mohammad, "it is God Himself."

The Muslims date their years from the prophet's flight to Medina, just as we date history from the birth of Jesus Christ. On reaching that city, all was changed. A glad welcome greeted Mohammad and he at once became ruler and lawgiver.

But he ceased to be only the preacher of a creed beautiful and simple, and became a warrior. He was angered against those who had refused to believe in him and, since he could not persuade them, he sought to compel them. So he offered idolaters and Jews either death or conversion to Islám, and urged his followers to battle by promising immediate entrance into Paradise to those who fell in the fight. They flung themselves without fear into the contest, for to them it was God's battle against the unfaithful, and Islám! His will be done.

Mohammad's anger was hottest against the Jews. He had striven hard to win them to his side. He admitted their religion to be divine; he adopted many of their rites and doctrines and made Jerusalem the Kiblah or place toward which men were to turn in daily prayer. But they ridiculed him and cut him to the quick with satire and sneer, so that to the day of his death he was their bitter foe. The Sabbath was changed to Friday, which was the day when the Arabs were used to meet in assembly, and Muslims were commanded to turn their faces toward Mecca. After wars against Arabs, Jews and Christians, in the greater number of which Mohammad was the victor, he had conquered the whole of Arabia and extended his rule to other parts. So great had his power become that he sent messages to kings and princes demanding that they would submit to Islâm.

Toward the tenth year after his flight, he went on his last pilgrimage to Mecca at the head of 40,000 Muslims. On his return to Medina, feeling death near, he dwelt near the mosque that he might take part as long as he could in the public prayers. After calling the people together he asked them, as did Samuel when he bade farewell to the children of Israel, "whether he had wronged any one or whether he owed aught to any one," and then after reading some verses from the Korân, went home to die. He passed away in his sixty-second year amidst the deep grief of the people, and a great tumult arose at the news, for many thought him immortal.

He was a great and true man, and the religion which he set forth met the needs of men in the East as no other religion did in that day, nor is it likely that it will ever cease its hold upon men or that Mohammad will give place to any other prophet.

We must no more blame him for many of the sad errors and vices mixed up with Islám than we should blame Jesus for the evils which have crept into Christianity. Even for the wars that he waged he may have found excuse in the history of the Jews. The Old Testament is reddened, in its books of their history, with the story of the shameful cruelty of which they were guilty, of tender children slaughtered, of whole cities put to the edge of the sword, and all this butchery done, as they would have us believe, in the name and at the command of the Lord, of Whom their ideas were so gross that they more than once offered human sacrifices to Him. And we all know what terrible wars and massacres have taken place in the name of our Christian religion; and how but a very few years ago it was held by many Christians that man could own, and buy and sell his fellow-man.

Brighter and better days have come since then, and Mohammadans, like Christians, do not now seek to spread their faith by violence and bloodshed. I have dwelt upon this because it is needful to see how little of the grosser part of each religion belongs, in most cases, to the idea of its founder.

In addition to what has been said about Islám, Muslims believe that God in different ages made known His will to prophets in scriptures, of which all but four are lost; the Pentateuch (or first five books of the Bible), the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Korân; the Korân only being perfect. Also that there will be, after many strange events, a resurrection and a final judgment, when the souls of both the good and bad will have to pass over a bridge laid across hell, finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. The souls of the good will pass quickly across it, but the wicked will fall into hell headlong. The idea of heaven is that of a place of gross delights; while a never-ending hell will be the fate of all non-believers.

The success of Islám was great. Not one hundred years after the death of the prophet, it had converted half the then known world, and its green flag waved from China to Spain. Christianity gave way before it, and has never regained some of the ground then lost, while at this day we see Islám making marked progress in Africa and elsewhere. Travelers tell us that the gain is great when a tribe casts away its idols and embraces Islám. Filth and drunkenness flee away, and the state of the people is bettered in a high degree

When we hear good-meaning people lament

that negroes should become Mohammadans, let us remember that this was not the feeling of Jesus when his disciples told him that they had forbidden a man who was casting out demons in his name. "And Jesus said, Forbid him not; for he that is not against us is for us." And this, I am sure, he would say to-day of the Mohammadan missionaries, if he were among us.

Along the northern coasts of Africa and nearly to the equator, from Turkey to within the borders of China, and among the larger islands of the East, the faith of Islâm spreads, divided into sects, and numbers millions who offer to Allah their five-fold daily prayer. From every mosque the blind mueddin or crier proclaims at daybreak: "There is no God but God; Mohammad is his prophet. Prayer is better than sleep; come to prayer," and then each pious Muslim falls faceward to the holy city Mecca.

I should add that the wars of Islâm did not leave waste and ruin in their path, but that the Arabs, when they came to Europe, alone held aloft the light of learning, and in the once famous schools of Spain, taught "philosophy, medicine, astronomy, and the golden art of song." The Arabic words used in science—*algebra*, *almanac*, *alcohol*, and others, together with many names of stars, remain among us as proofs of what Arabia has given to Europe.

The Mohammadan Bible is the Kuran or Korân. *Al-Korân* or *The Reading* (as we say, *The Bible*) contains the entire code of Islâm; that is, it is not a book of religious precepts merely, but it governs all that a Muslim does.

I shall not waste limited space in giving the absurd story which the Muslims tell about their Korân, but briefly speak of its contents. It is entirely the work of Mohammad, and is made up of revelations which he believed came to him from the time of his sojourn on Mount Hira. It is regarded not only as inspired every word, but as uncreated and eternal. It consists of one hundred and fourteen Súrahs or chapters, which were dictated by Mohammad to a scribe, and the copies thus made were thrown into a box. A year after Mohammad's death, such portions as remained were collected "from date-leaves, tablets of white stone, bones, parchment leaves," and memories of men, and copied without order of time or subject, the longest chapters being put first.

The titles of the chapters are taken from some chief matter in them, but are mostly unmeaning, affording no clew to the contents, as for example, "The Cow;" "Thunder;" "The Fig;" "The Elephant." Each begins with the words, "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful," and also tells where it was revealed to Mohammad.

The Korân is written in the purest and most elegant Arabic, and suffers much by translation. Teaching the oneness of God, it is largely made up of stories, legends, laws and counsels which show how much use Mohammad made of all that he had heard of Jewish history and lore. Much of it, as we read it, seems utterly unmeaning, other parts of it move us by the beauty of their desert songs of God's majesty and purity.

The Muslims do not touch it with unwashed hands, and never hold it below the girdle round their waist, while to them nothing is more hateful than to see it in the hands of an unbeliever.

They regard this short chapter as equal to one-third of the whole book in value:

> "Say there is one God alone—
> God the eternal;
> He begetteth not and He is not begotten,
> And there is none like unto him."

I have marked many Súrahs with the view of quoting from them, but can give only three or four specimens.

This Súrah, named "the folding up," thus describes the last day:

'When the sun shall be folded up,

"And when the stars shall fall,

"And when the mountains shall be set in motion,

"And when the she-camels with young shall be neglected,

"And when the wild beasts shall be huddled together,

"And when the seas shall boil.

"And when the souls shall be joined again to their bodies,

"And when the leaves of the Book shall be unrolled,

"And when the heavens shall be stripped away like a skin,

"And when hell shall be made to blaze,

"And when paradise shall be brought near,

"Every soul shall know what it has done."

At the end of another Súrah, and one of the latest in point of time, this fine passage occurs:

"God! there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal. Slumber doth not overtake Him, neither sleep; to Him belongeth all that is in heaven and earth. Who is he that can plead with Him but by His own permission? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come unto them, and they shall not comprehend anything of His knowledge but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over heaven and earth, and the upholding of both is no burden unto Him. He is the Lofty and Great."

Again:

"It is God who hath ordained the night for your rest, and the day to give you light: verily God is rich in bounties to most men; but most men render not the tribute of thanks.

"This is God your Lord, Creator of all things; no god is there but He: why then do you turn away from Him?"

Again:

"O my son! observe prayer, and enjoin the right and forbid the wrong, and be patient under whatever shall betide thee: for this is a bounden duty. And distort not thy face at men; nor walk thou loftily on the earth; for God loveth no arrogant vainglorious one.

"But let thy pace be middling; and lower thy voice; for the least pleasing of voices is surely the voice of asses."

And as a last quotation:

"There is no piety in turning your faces toward the east or the west, but he is pious who believeth in God, and the last day, and the angels, and the scriptures, and the prophets, who for the love of God disburseth his wealth to his kindred, and to the orphans, and to the needy, and the wayfarer, and those who ask, and for ransoming; who observeth prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and who is of those who are faithful to their engagements when they have engaged in them, and patient under ills and hardships, and in time of trouble; these are they who are just, and these are they who fear the Lord."

CHAPTER XIII.

ON THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

In the remarks which were made on the right use of legends of the past, I promised to show you why the Bible should be read as we read other books. It is a common notion that the Bible has to be treated in some different way; and owing to that chiefly, it is, although one of the most read, yet the most misread of books and the least understood. The care which has to be applied, the free, full use of the powers of the mind which has to be made to enable us to get at the meaning of any book, is often most strangely withheld by people when reading the Bible.

The fact has already come before you that there are several book-religions in the world, and this will have caused you to ask in what way the book on which our Christian religion is founded differs from the books on which other religions are founded. For it is clear that what Christians believe concerning the Bible, namely, that it is the work of men specially helped by God, Who made use of them to reveal truths needful for us to know and which none of us could ever have found out for himself, and that it is free from the errors and defects which every other book contains; is believed in a still more intense degree by the Brahmans concerning the Veda, by the Muslims concerning the Korân, and so on.

The knowledge of this renders it needful for us to inquire whether our belief is ill or well grounded, whether we have surer proof of its truth than the Brahman has of his, for to neglect this is to confess that we shrink from comparing the Bible with the Veda, fearful lest it might suffer thereby, and the grand truths which it contains become less dear to us.

There are plenty of books within reach which give an account of the contents of the Bible, of the order in which the books which compose it are believed to have been written, of the supposed dates and places, of the names of the authors, and like matters relating to its wonderful history. All these may here be passed by and give place to a few simple facts which are more or less known, but which are much overlooked, and upon which all proof as to the value of the Bible must ever rest.

The first of these is that the Bible was produced like every book; *men wrote it.* It is made up of a number of works of the most varied kind; history, poem, proverb, prophecy, epistle; all written by learned or unlearned men, many of them unknown to one another, since they lived in different lands and centuries apart; each as he wrote his history or poured forth his song little thinking that it would form part of a book which has been precious to millions of men for hundreds of years, which "goes equally to the cottage of the plain man and the palace of the king; which is woven into the literature of the scholar and colors the talk of the street; which mingles in all the grief and cheerfulness of life; which blesses us when we are born; gives names to half Christendom; rejoices with us; has sympathy for our mourning;" a book, every portion of which, strange to say, has been regarded of equal value; whether it be the Book of Esther or the Epistle to the Romans.

And not only did men write it; *men also collected its books together.* The books of the Old Testament were gathered together by the Jews when or by whom among them is not known. That ancient people guarded them with jealous care, using all pains to prevent errors entering into the copies which were made, every verse and letter being counted.

The books of the New Testament were chosen from many others and assumed their present form about the end of the second century after Christ, but men and churches have differed much and still differ as to which books should be left out and which admitted.

Not only did men write the several books of the Bible and collect them into one volume: *men also translated them* into our own and other languages, doing, in the case of our translation a great and noble work, filled with the richness, simplicity and power of our sweet mother-tongue, before cramped and stilted words of Latin birth were brought into it. But grand and lasting as their workmanship was, our translators made many mistakes, some of them wilful ones, (as, for example, when, in their rarely printed "Preface to the Reader," they say they have made use of certain words by the express command of the king), which a body of learned men of our day are now busily employed in correcting. Then the division of the books of Scripture into chapters and verses, some of these, as where Genesis ii. 1–3 is severed from Genesis i., being wrong; and the headings to the chapters, some of which give a false idea of their contents, was each the work of men. The words printed in italics are not in the manuscripts which were translated, but were added by our translators to complete the sense, although in some cases they obscure it.

Now no one asserts that the men who *collected* the books together were inspired by God to do it, so that they could not by any means leave out the right books and put in the wrong books, nor that the men who *translated* the Bible were inspired, so that they could not give a wrong meaning to the Greek or Hebrew in turning it into our own or any other tongue. We must therefore put these on one side and pass to the men who wrote the books, and who, it is commonly believed were inspired by God to do it, and preserved from all error in their work.

Various opinions are held about the nature and extent of this inspiration, some few believing that every word, every syllable and every letter is the direct utterance of God; others, that the writers were kept from error when revealing his will, but not when speaking upon matters of history, science, etc. All debate about this is in vain, because if any manuscripts ever existed, which were the work of men thus helped, we have no true copies of them, since the oldest manuscripts differ in important details. And even if the very handiwork of each writer could be found, the belief that he was inspired would in no way help us to understand what he had written. But it is said the Bible writers claim to speak the very words of God, and it is this which makes it so needful for us to listen to them with obedient heart and trustful soul. Of course such a claim, like the claims of certain men in past and present days to power to forgive sins, is more easily made than proven, and all we can do is to go to the Bible itself and see what is therein said and how far it supports the claim.

The frequent use in the Old Testament of such solemn phrases as "Thus saith the Lord;" "And God said;" "God spake these words and said;" the verses which tell us that "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God;" that "holy men of old spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," form the chief foundation on which the claim is rested.

Upon the use of the phrases quoted, some very instructive facts are given by Sir Samuel Baker in his book on the "Nile Tributaries." He says (pp 129–131) "the conversation of the Arabs is in the exact style of the Old Testament. The name of God is coupled with every trifling incident in life. Should a famine afflict the country, it is expressed in the stern language of the Old Testament: 'The Lord has sent a grievous famine upon the land,' or 'The Lord called for a famine and it came upon the land.' Should their cattle fall sick, it is considered to be an affliction by divine command; or should the flocks prosper and multiply, the prosperity is attributed to divine interference. . . . This striking likeness to the descriptions of the Old Testament is most interesting to a traveler when living among these people. With the Bible in one hand, and these unchanged tribes before the eyes, there is a thrilling illustration of the sacred records; the past becomes the present: the veil of three thousand years is raised, and the living picture is a witness to the exactness of the historical description. At the same time there is a light thrown upon many obscure passages in the Old Testament by the experience of the present customs and figures of speech of the Arabs; which are exactly like those that were practiced at the periods described. . . . Should the present history of the country be written by an Arab scribe, the style of the description would be purely that of the Old Testament, and the various calamities, or the good fortunes that have, in the course of nature, befallen both the tribes and individuals would be recounted either as special visitations of divine wrath or blessings for good deeds performed. If in a dream a particular course of action is suggested, the Arab believes that God has *spoken* and directed him. The Arab scribe or historian would describe the event as the '*voice* of the Lord' having spoken unto the person; or that God appeared to him in a dream, and '*said*,' etc. Thus much allowance would be necessary on the part of a European reader for the figurative ideas and expressions of the people."

When we go to the Bible, we find therein exactly what those who have some knowledge of its wonderful history might expect. It bears the traces of the long years through which it was slowly growing, book by book. In its earlier pages we find legends which, as already shown, are very like to those of nations with whom the Jew were connected by race or came in contact; we find there ideas about God which are coarse and degrading, which became lofty only as the Jews advanced in the thought of Him as pictured in the worthy language of the prophets, and which were altogether different from the ennobling teaching of Jesus and of Paul; we find how deeply human all its writers were; how each differs in his style of telling anything and is marked by it: how fully they shared the common beliefs of their time: nor is it easy to find in what they have said truths which, in one form or another, have not been stated by the writers of some of the sacred books into which we have dipped.

The Bible records the experience of the wisest and best of men of the past in their search after truth, but it is hard to discover proof that the claim to inspiration which is made for them, and which they would perhaps not claim for themselves, is one that cannot be denied. And if it be admitted, the inspiration would be without value unless it was also bestowed upon the men who copied the manuscripts, upon the men who collected them together, upon the men who translated them, and in short, upon every one who in any way has had to do with placing the Bible in the hands of people of any age and clime.

It may appear a graceless thing to write any words which shall seem to lessen the value of a book which for hundreds of years has been so precious to men. But the loss is more seeming than real, since riddance of error leaves room for truth to enter, and it is far better to be quit of false notions in early life than to undergo the painful and weary task of uprooting them in after years. The truths which are enshrined in the Bible are not less true because frail men spake them, nor is that, "inspiration of the Almighty" which "giveth understanding" a less mighty fact because we find that the writers of Scripture had it not different in kind to that which comes to every man who opens his soul to receive it. It dwelt in those earnest ones whose yearnings after the unseen found utterance in Bible, Rig-Veda, Zend-Avesta, Tripitaka, King and Korân, and it dwells in earnest souls to-day, wherever the love of truth abides. And for us, in whatever written or spoken word, or sound of many-voiced nature, we find that which speaks to our heart as true, *there* is for us an inspired truth.

CONCLUSION.

This outline sketch would have been more complete if an account had been given of some religions that have passed away, but of which fragments remain here and there in hoary rite and custom.

For example, there was the religion of Egypt, land of marvel and of mystery: fountain of knowledge at which Assyrian, Greek and Hebrew drank; noted for its discoveries in science, and for the majesty, and withal the delicacy, of its art; for the highly civilized state of its people, whose daily life—the luxury and pleasures of the few—the toil and hardship of the many—is pictured on wall-paintings, preserved from decay by a rainless climate through five thousand years. That religion, standing in awe before the mystery of life, looked upon all life as divine, and had its upper gods of Nature, Space and Time; its sun and river deities; its worship of insect, bird, reptile and beast, chiefest of which was the Apis bull of Memphis; its belief in an immortal life, and a judgment after death, of which the proofs are near us in the mummies of animals and human beings, and in the great sacred book known as the "Ritual of the Dead." Behind the forms of that religion in pompous festivals, minute ceremonies, sacrifices, charms, and months and days each dedicate to the gods, there were secrets which the priests kept to themselves, through which the religion became a priestcraft.

There was the religion of Greece, reveling in sunlight and gladness; its gods most strong and goddesses most fair, dwelling on Mount Olympus, were beings not free from the follies and vices of men, for they spent their lives in fighting, feasting, scheming and love-making. Ruling mankind, they were in their turn ruled by Fate, and therefore inspired neither fear nor respect. In the Greek religion the beautiful was the divine, and he was accounted most godlike who added by his art to all that pleased the eye, or that fell musically upon the ear. Lovely forms filled every nook and corner of that sunny land: the echoes of the nymphs' soft voices were heard among the mountains, they dwelt within the forest-trees, and slept beside the streams. There was no priestly caste, for to pray and sacrifice was the right of every free-born Greek; there were no sacred books, but deep reverence for the poet's words. Rich feasts and festivals, mysteries and oracles, entered largely into the Greek religion, but the cheerfulness of this life did not lend itself to color the ideas of a life to come, which were dim and misty.

There was the religion of Rome, empire once splendid and stately beyond compare; a religion with no luster in its eye, no life in its heart, if heart it had, but as loveless a thing as the soul whom Tennyson so wonderfully describes in his "Palace of Art." It was a worship of law and duty, neither of which we would leave undone, but it was not an obedience to law and a loyalty to duty springing out of love. It was given to the gods as their due, as a man pays his just debts. There were gods many, Jupiter being the chief, and under him deities representing the powers of nature, or ruling over money, trade, the house, etc., and a goodly number had been borrowed from Greece, but they left their souls behind them. A long list of festivals filled the year, and song and dance entered into the honors paid the gods but the true object of worship among the Romans was Rome. That a higher life beat within the souls of some is proved by the noble thoughts of Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, and others which have come down to us.

There was the religion of the Teutons and Scandinavians whose blood is in our veins. Its gods, huge, shaggy giants, took shape and character from the wild, bleak regions of the north. Their virtue was their strength and courage, and their work an unending fight against storm and snow and darkness. And as with the gods, so with the men. To them life was an earnest thing.

war its business, bravery its duty, cowardice its greatest crime. To escape death in bed, since for those thus dying Hela waited in her cold prison-house below, where hunger was her dish, starvation her knife, care her bed, and anguish its curtains; men would be carried into battle, or mimic a violent death by cutting wounds in their flesh, that Odin's Choosers of the Slain might lead them to his hall (Valhalla), where they fought at dawn, and if wounded, were healed by noon, ready for the feast and song. There was, withal, tenderness and warmth within these rough Norsemen's hearts, and when they gave up beautiful Baldur, son of Odin, for Jesus, Son of God, the missionaries of the cross gained their noblest triumph.

In brief, the Egyptians worshiped *nature;* the Greeks, *beauty;* the Romans, *law;* and the Northern races, *courage.*

Then there was the religions of Babylon, Phœnicia, and other mighty nations; of the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru; and there is a valuable field of study in learning about the beliefs and practices existing among the tribes of Africa, America, Polynesia, etc., since they furnish illustrations of those earliest forms of religion out of which have slowly risen the ennobling beliefs of the most advanced races of mankind.

But all this, and very much more, must be passed by.

There is, however, one question which makes itself heard in many parts of this book and to which an answer must be given. It is this: How do the facts brought together herein about the great religions of the world bear on our Christian religion, and what is the relation between them and it? To worthily answer this would fill many pages, and it must suffice to give one or two reasons for replying that our religion, while beyond question the highest of all, takes a place not distinct from, but among all religions, past or present. Its relation to them is not that they are earthborn, while it alone is divine, but it is the relation of one member of a family to other members, who are "all brothers, having one work one hope, and one All-Father."

I know that it is not always easy to think thus of it, because it is dear to us as no other religion ever could be, linked as it is by love toward him who lived the saintliest life, and died the martyr-death, and in following whose example we follow all that is beautiful and divine. But viewing it as one among others, much that otherwise perplexes and even dismays us is taken away, and we cease to wonder that its history is so like that of other religions. We are able to understand why it has grown from small beginnings and been subject to many changes, as they have, if we believe that it also had its rise in the nature of man. We understand how the early disciples of Jesus treasured with loving care the memory of what he had said, and how, as the years rolled on, it seemed good to some of them to commit what they knew or had heard to writings which in course of time took shape as the New Testament. We see how the simple faith of the first Christians became sadly corrupted, how word-mongers and creed-makers stifled it, how, petted in kingly courts and clad in earthly armor, its kingdom became of this world. We read of its victories and defeats; its divisions and their brood of hate, cruelty, and martyrdom; its failure to regain some of the ground lost, and to win to itself races whose religions were gray with age when it was born. And we read too, how, in the good providence of God, it was embraced by the nations descended from those Aryan tribes who traveled into Europe, and to whom He has given so great a part to play in this world's rough story; and how, by that love of man which is its life, it made helpful to the world's good those mighty forces to which it was thus joined.

All this, and very much more that could be added, becomes clear as the noonday if Christianity be regarded as like in kind to other faiths; while treated as altogether unlike, its slow progress and varying fortunes bewilder us, and our trust grows feeble and perishes.

I have said thus much, because neither you nor I are likely to give up our religion and become Muslims or Buddhists, and also because I would have you without fear compare it with theirs, and gladly welcome in each that which we know is common to all, and which makes us "all brothers, because we have one work and one hope and one All-Father."

I have been more careful to collect facts relating to the matter of this book than to ask what they mean, since in every study the mastery of facts and the knowledge of their relation to one another is of the first importance. Conclusions can always wait and always take care of themselves. But now that the end of our story is reached, I must say a few words suggested by what it tells.

1. In all things we see purpose and progress. No race of people has been placed where it is found by chance, for God hath appointed the bounds of its habitation, and when it moves, it is His hand that guides it toward "one far-off, divine event."

Deep down in the earth's crust there are remains of the dim specks of life from which have come forms of life higher and still higher, till the lordliest and the best appeared.

The lichens that rest "starlike on the stone" and tree-trunk, that, with the mosses, cover the wide moorlands and adorn the mountain-side where naught else will grow, these prepare a soil into which the noblest trees of the forest can strike their roots.

The caves and old river-beds disclose the rough stone tools which the common sense of savage man shaped to point and edge, and by the use of which he made possible that which we are to-day in this Age of Iron. And it is the same with man's higher nature. First cringing, awe-struck, before some misshapen stone, or before the dead yet moving powers in cloud and river, then worshiping living creatures, and so on step by step until, with now a stumble and now a fall, he rises from worship of the thing made to worship of its Maker; from reverence, born of fear, for the *strong*, to adoration, born of love, for the *holy*. Every morning there steal up the eastern sky the early rays that gently prepare our waking eyes for the brighter light of the sun, whose glory would dazzle if it burst upon us suddenly, and in like manner, in the dawn of this world's history, God let truth into the minds of men little by little, yet ever pouring forth more as they were able to receive it, and still it increases and will increase, shining "more and more unto the perfect day."

2. What has been said pre-supposes the fact that man is a religious being.

Look where we will, we find that when his bodily wants, be they few or many, have been supplied, there remains a craving which no gift of earth can satisfy, the craving of his heart after God. All men have it, although in some it sleeps, and it is the same in all none the less because it shows itself in different ways. Under various forms we see expressed a sense of need; a belief as in the *savage*, in a will *mightier* than his own; as in the *civilized* man, in a will *holier* than his own; a feeling of duty which, in the lowest races, takes what is to us a brutal shape, but which is none the less such a feeling; as, for example, when the Feejee kills his aged parent under the fear that he may become too feeble to undertake the journey to another world; and lastly, the universal belief that a man's soul or self does not die, but haunts the place it lived in, or betakes itself to some far-off happy land.

Such being the nature of man, we must be careful lest we speak or think meanly of him and thus dishonor his Creator. He who has a low and unworthy idea of his nature will act unworthily; while he who feels how great is the life of a being made in the image of God will not readily blot and blur that image. If any one be told that he cannot choose the right and love the true, and live out the pure, he will feel that if it be so, to try is hopeless work. But we are very sure that it is not so, else how could there dwell within us sorrow and unquiet after doing wrong, if we did not feel that we can do, and ought to do the right? If such chilling unfaith in themselves and in their kind had been in the heart of saintly men whose lives have blessed the world; who, like salt, have kept the mass from decay; how, think you, could they have dared and done? They had faith in man as the fruit of faith in the God who made him they felt that the life of man is not what it will one day become, and this it was that fired them to earnest effort in the service and salvation of their fellows, and to help on the time when earth shall be the paradise it never has been yet.

"Who rowing hard against the stream,
Saw distant gates of Eden gleam,
And did not dream it was a dream."

It is the faith of such men, some of whose lives have been looked at in this book, that you and I must share. Life is full of duty and to do well the work that lies close at hand is to fulfill the purpose for which we were sent here. The weakest and youngest among us is a power for good as well as for evil, and it should be our aim to do our part on the side of ever-increasing human goodness against ever-lessening human badness.

There is but one life, if life it may be called, which seems to me to be God-forsaken; it is the life that is idle or selfish. Those few words express more than one might think, but their meaning has been set to sweeter music than I can command by Leigh Hunt in the story of Abou Ben Adhem, with which I close this book:

"Abou Ben Adhem—may his tribe increase!—
Awoke one night from a deep dream of peace,
And saw amid the moonlight in his room,
Making it rich, and like a lily in bloom,
An angel writing in a book of gold;
Exceeding peace had made Ben Adhem bold,
And to the vision in the room he said,
'What writest thou?' The vision raised its head.
And with a voice made of all sweet accord,
Replied, 'The names of them that love the Lord.'
'And is mine one?' said Abou. 'Nay, not so,'
Replied the angel. Abou spoke more low,
But cheerly still, and said, 'I pray thee, then,
'Write me as one who loves his fellow men.'

The angel wrote and vanished. The next night
He came again with a great wakening light;
He showed the names whom love of God had blest
And lo! Ben Adhem's name led all the rest."

Beacon Lights of Science

THE RELIGIONS

OF THE

ANCIENT WORLD

BY

GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A.

INTRODUCTION.

"Religio est, quæ superioris cujusdam naturæ, quam Divinam vocant, curam cærimoniamque affert."—Cic. *De Inventione*, ii. 53.

1. It is the fashion of the day to speculate on the origins of things. Not content with observing the mechanism of the heavens, astronomers discuss the formation of the material universe, and seek in the phenomena which constitute the subject-matter of their science for "Vestiges of Creation." Natural philosophers propound theories of the "Origin of Species," and the primitive condition of man. Comparative philologists are no longer satisfied to dissect languages, compare roots, or contrast systems of grammar, but regard it as incumbent upon them to put forward views respecting the first beginnings of language itself.

2. To deal with facts is thought to be a humdrum and commonplace employment of the intellect, one fitted for the dull ages when men were content to plod, and when progress, development, "the higher criticism" were unknown. The intellect now takes loftier flights. Conjecture is found to be more amusing than induction, and an ingenious hypothesis to be more attractive than a proved law. Our "advanced thinkers" advance to the furthest limits of human knowledge, sometimes even beyond them; and bewitch us with speculations, which are as beautiful, and as unsubstantial, as the bubbles which a child produces with a little soap and water and a tobacco-pipe.

3. Nor does even religion escape. The historical method of inquiry into the past facts of religion is in danger of being superseded by speculations concerning what is called its "philosophy," or its "science." We are continually invited to accept the views of this or that theorist respecting the origin of all religions, which are attributed either to a common innate idea or instinct, or else to a common mode of reasoning upon the phenomena and experiences of human life. While the facts of ancient religions are only just emerging from the profound obscurity that has hitherto rested upon them, fancy is busy constructing schemes and systems, which have about as

much reality as the imaginations of a novelist or the day-dreams of an Alnaschar. The patient toil, the careful investigation which real Science requires as the necessary basis upon which generalization must proceed, and systems be built up, is discarded for the "short and easy method" of jumping to conclusions and laying down as certainties what are, at the best, "guesses at truth."

4. It is not the aim of the present writer to produce a "Science of Religion," or even to speculate on the possibility of such a science being ultimately elaborated when all the facts are fully known. He has set himself a more prosaic and less ambitious task—that, namely, of collecting materials which may serve as a portion of the data, when the time comes, if it ever comes, for the construction of the science in question. A building cannot be erected without materials; a true science cannot be constructed without ample data.

5. Careful inquiries into the real nature of historical religions are necessary preliminaries to the formation of any general theories on the subject of religion worth the paper upon which they are written. And such inquiries have, moreover, a value in themselves. "The proper study of mankind is man;" and the past history of the human race possesses an undying interest for the greater portion of educated human kind. Of that past history there is no branch more instructive, and few more entertaining, than that which deals with religious beliefs, opinions, and practices. Religion is the most important element in the thought of a nation; and it is by studying their religions that we obtain the best clue to the inner life and true character of the various peoples who have played an important part in the drama of human affairs.

6. In the ensuing pages the religious tenets and practices of eight principal nations of antiquity are passed in review—the nations being those with which ancient history is chiefly concerned—the Egyptians, Assyrians and Babylonians, Iranians, Sanskritic Indians, Phœnicians, Etruscans, Greeks, and Romans.

The religion of the Jews has been omitted, as sufficiently well known to all educated persons. The religions of ancient barbarous races have been excluded, as not having come down to us in any detail, or upon sufficiently trustworthy evidence. The eight nations selected have, on the contrary, left monuments and writings, more or less extensive, from which it has seemed to be possible to give a tolerably full account of their religious beliefs, and one on which a fair degree of dependence may be placed. No doubt, as time goes on, and fresh discoveries are made of ancient documents, or an increased insight obtained into the true meaning of their contents, we shall come to know much more than we know at present on the subject here handled; but it is confidently believed that further research and study will only supplement, and not contradict, the views which are here put forward. The author will gladly see the sketch which he here attempts filled up and completed by others.

CHAPTER I.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

Αἰγύπτιοι . . . θεοσιβέες περισσῶς ἐόντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων.—HEROD. ii. 37.

7. THE religions of the ancient world, if we except Judaism, seem to have been, all of them, more or less polytheistic; but the polytheism grew up in different ways, was carried out to very different lengths, and proceeded upon considerably varying principles. In some places natural objects and operations appear to have presented themselves to the unsophisticated mind of man as mysterious, wonderful, divine; and light, fire, the air, the sun, the moon, the dawn, the cloud, the stream, the storm, the lightning, drew his attention separately and distinctly, each having

qualities at which he marveled, each, as he thought, instinct with life, and each, therefore, regarded as a Power, a Being—the natural and proper object of worship and reverence. Elsewhere, men seem to have begun with a dim and faint appreciation of a single mysterious power in the world without them, and to have gradually divided this power up into its various manifestations, which by degrees became separate and distinct beings. The process in this case might stop short after a few steps had been taken, or it might be carried on almost interminably, until a pantheon had been formed in which the mind lost itself.

8. Where the polytheism grew up out of an analysis, the principle of the division might be either physical or metaphysical; a separation of nature into its parts, or an analysis of the Being presiding over nature into his various powers and attributes. Or these two processes might be combined and intermixed, the pantheon being thus still further enlarged at the expense of some confusion of thought and complexity of arrangement. Again, occasionally, there was a further enlargement and complication, in consequence of the desire to embrace in one system analyses which were really distinct, or to comprise in a single national religion local diversities of arrangement or nomenclature, or even to admit into a system based on one principle elements which belonged properly to systems based upon others. The whole result in such a case was one of extensive complexity, and even contradiction; a tangle was produced which it was scarcely possible to unravel. The system, however, gained in richness and variety what it lost in logical sequence and intelligibility, and continued to have a firm hold on the minds of many when religions of greater internal consistency had lost their power.

9. The Egyptian polytheism was of the character last described. Its most striking characteristics were its multitudinousness, its complexity, and the connection of this latter feature with early local diversities in the names and offices of the gods. Wilkinson, who does not profess to exhaust the subject, enumerates seventy-three divinities, and gives their several names and forms.* Birch has a list of sixty-three "*principal* deities,"† and notes that "others personified the elements, or presided over the operations of nature, the seasons, and events."‡ It is not, perhaps, too much to say, that the Egyptian pantheon in its final form comprised some hundreds of gods and goddesses,§ each known under a different name, and each discharging more or less peculiar functions. We say, "each discharging more or less peculiar functions," since some deities were so nearly alike, came so close the one to the other, that their identity or diversity is a moot point, still disputed among Egyptologists. In other cases the diversity is greater, yet still the features possessed in common are so numerous that the gods can scarcely be considered wholly distinct, and, indeed, are not unfrequently confounded together and blended into a single personage. We hear of Amen-Ra, Amen-Kneph, Ra-Harmachis, Isis-Selk, Phthah-Sokari-Osiris, and the like. There is reason to believe that a main cause of this multiplication of deities, nearly or quite the same, which at first sight seems so strange and unaccountable, is to be found in the originally local character of many of the gods, and the subsequent admission of purely provincial deities into the general pantheon.

10. With a view to educe order out

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* "Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians," vols. iv. and v. For the forms, see his "Supplement," plates 21 to 72.

† See his "Dictionary of Hieroglyphics" in Bunsen's "Egypt," vol. v. pp. 581–583.

‡ "Guide to the British Museum," p. 4.

§ An inscription of Rameses II. speaks of "the *thousand* gods, the gods male, the gods female, those which are of the land of Egypt" ("Records of the Past," vol. iv. p. 31); but this phrase is no doubt rhetorical.

of this multitudinous confusion, attempts were made by the Greeks, and perhaps by some of the later Egyptians themselves, to classify the deities, and divide them into certain ranks or orders, each of which should comprise a certain definite number. Herodotus speaks of a first, a second, and a third order,[*] and assigns positively to the first order eight, and to the second twelve gods, leaving the third rank indeterminate. Some traces of a similar classification are found in some of the native writers;[†] and it is generally agreed that a distinction of ranks was recognized; but when an endeavor is made to specify the gods of each rank, insurmountable difficulties present themselves. It seems clear that even the first eight gods were not established by the general consent of the nation in all parts of Egypt, and probable that in one and the same place they were not always the same at different periods. According to what seems the earliest tradition, the eight names were those of Phthah, Ra, Shu (or Kneph),[‡] Seb, Osiris, Isis, Set, and Horus; according to the latest researches, they were, at Memphis, Phthah, Shu, Tefnu, Seb, Nu (or Nut), Osiris, Isis, and Athor; while at Thebes they were Ammon, Mentu, Tum (or Atum), Shu, Seb, Osiris, Set, and Horus.[§] Others have thought to find them in Ammon, Khem, Maut, Kneph, Sati, Phthah, Neith, and Ra,[||] or in this list with a single change—that of the last name, for which it is proposed to substitute that of Bast or Pasht.[¶] It is evident that, while the chief authorities are thus at variance, no certain list of even the eight great gods can be put forward.

11. The twelve gods of the second order are still more indeterminate. Two lists have been formulated, one by Sir G. Wilkinson, and the other by the late Baron Bunsen, but each includes three deities which are excluded by the other.[*] The formation of such lists is mere guess-work; and the conclusion to be drawn from the attempts made is that, while the Egyptians recognized a gradation of ranks among their deities, and assigned to some a position of decided superiority, to others one, comparatively speaking, inferior, there was no "hard-and-fast line" separating rank from rank, or order from order, nor was any definite number of divinities reckoned in any division.

12. Still, we can easily particularize the principal divinities, the gods which were the chief objects of worship, either in the main centers of population, or throughout the country. There can be no doubt that to this class belong Ammon, Khem, Kneph, Phthah, Ra, Osiris, and Neith. Ammon was the chief god of Thebes, Khem of Chemmis, or Panopolis, Kneph of Elephantine, Phthah of Memphis, Ra of Heliopolis, Osiris of Abydos and Philæ, Neith of Sais. It will perhaps be a better illustration of the Egyptian religion to give a particular though brief account of these seven deities than to waste pages in generalities.

13. Ammon is said to have meant, etymologically, "the concealed god;"[†] and the idea of Ammon was that of a recondite, incomprehensible

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[*] Herod. ii. 43.

[†] As Manetho (ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 19).

[‡] The name given is Agathodæmon, who is thought to represent one or other of these gods.

[§] See Birch's "Egypt from the Earliest Times to B.C. 300," Introduction, pp. x. xi., and compare "Guide to the British Museum," p. 12.

[||] Bunsen's "Egypt's Place in Ancient History." vol. i. pp. 366–367.

[¶] Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii. pp. 284–286 (32d edition).

[*] Bunsen's list consists of—
Chons *Bast *Ma Savak
Thoth *Athor Tafné Seb
Tum Shu Mentu Netpe;
Wilkinson's of—
*Ra Khons Shu Savak
Seb *Anouke Tafné *Seneb
Netpe Tum Thoth Mentu.
The peculiar names are marked with an asterisk.

[†] Manetho ap. Plutarch, "De Isid. et Osir." s. 9; Iamblich, "De Mysteriis," viii. 3.

divinity, remote from man, hidden, mysterious, the proper object of the profoundest reverence. Practically, this idea was too abstract, too high-flown, too metaphysical, for ordinary minds to conceive of it; and so Ammon was at an early date conjoined with Ra, the Sun, and worshiped as Ammon-Ra,* a very intelligible god, neither more nor less than the physical sun, the source of light and life, "the lord of existences and support of all things."†

14. Khem was the generative principle, the power of life and growth in nature. He was rudely and coarsely represented as a mummied figure, with phallus in front, and forms an unsightly object in the sculptures. He presided primarily over the vegetable world, and was the giver of fertility and increase, the lord of the harvest, and the patron of agriculture. But the human species and the various kinds of animals were also under his charge, and from him obtained continuance. He is called, "the king of the gods," "the lifter of the hand," "the lord of the crown," "the powerful," ‡ and further bears the special title of Kamutf, "bull of his mother," in allusion to the relation which he bore to Nature.

15. Kneph was the divine spirit or soul considered as forming the scheme of creation. His name is by some connected etymologically with the Egyptian word for "breath," § which is *nef;* and curious analogies are traced between him and the third Person of the Holy Trinity in the Christian system.‖ As "the Spirit of God" at the time of the creation "moved upon the face of the waters," so Kneph is represented as the deity who presides over the inundations. As the heavens were made by the "breath of God's mouth," so Kneph is called, "the god who has made the sun and moon to revolve under the heaven and above the world, and who has made the world and all that is in it."* Some representations exhibit him as a potter with his wheel; and the inscriptions accompanying them assign to him the formation of gods and men. It is perhaps as a procreating principle that he is figured commonly with the head of a ram. Kneph was worshiped chiefly in Upper Egypt, at Elephantine and the Cataracts; but he was acknowledged also at Thebes, at Antæopolis, and elsewhere.

16. Phthah, whom the Greeks identified with their Hephaistos, and the Romans with their Vulcan, was a creator of a more vulgar type than Kneph or Khem. He was an artisan god, the actual manipulator of matter, and direct maker of the sun, the moon, and the earth. He is called, "the father of the beginnings," "the first of the gods of the upper world," "he who adjusts the world by his hand," "the lord of the beautiful countenance," and "the lord of truth." † He is also defined by an ancient writer ‡ as "the god who creates with truth." We find him represented under three quite different forms, as a man walking or sitting, as a mummied figure, accompanied by "the emblem of stability," and as a pigmy or dwarf. A figure of this last description provoked the ridicule of Cambyses, the Persian conqueror of Egypt, who "entered the grand temple of Phthah at Memphis, and made great sport of the image." § Forms of Phthah are found consisting of two figures placed back to back, and even of three figures placed at an angle. These seem, however, to represent combinations of Phthah with other nearly allied gods, and are called commonly "figures of Phthah-Sokari," or of "Phthah-Sokari-Osiris."

17. Ra was the Egyptian sun-god, and was especially worshiped at Heli-

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* See "Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 21, 31, etc.; vol. iv. pp. 11, 16, etc.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 129, l. 12.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. viii. p. 142.

§ Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," vol. i. p. 375.

‖ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 236.

* Bunsen, vol. i. p. 377.

† "Records of the Past," vol. viii. pp. 5–15; Birch, "Guide to the British Museum," p. 13

‡ Iamblichus, "De Mysteriis," viii. 3.

§ Herod. iii. 37.

opolis. Obelisks, according to some,[*] represented his rays, and were always, or usually, erected in his honor. Heliopolis was certainly one of the places which were thus adorned, for one of the few which still stand erect in Egypt is on the site of that city. The kings for the most part considered Ra their special patron and protector; nay, they went so far as to identify themselves with him, to use his titles as their own, and to adopt his name as the ordinary prefix to their own names and titles. This is believed by many to have been the origin of the word Pharaoh,[†] which was, it is thought, the Hebrew rendering of Ph' Ra = "the sun." Ra is sometimes represented simply by a disk, colored red, or by such a disk with the *ankh*, or symbol of life, attached to it; but more commonly he has the figure of a man, with a hawk's head, and above it the disk, accompanied by plumes, or by a serpent. The beetle (scarabæus) was one of his emblems. As for his titles, they are too numerous to mention: the "Litany of Ra"[‡] alone contains some hundreds of them.

18. Osiris was properly a form of Ra. He was the light of the lower world, the sun from the time that he sinks below the horizon in the west to the hour when he reappears above the eastern horizon in the morning. This physical idea was, however, at a later date modified, and Osiris was generally recognized as the perpetually presiding lord of the lower world, the king and the judge of Hades or Amenti. His worship was universal throughout Egypt,[§] but his chief temples were at Abydos and Philæ. Ordinarily he was represented in a mummied form as the god of the dead, but sometimes he appears as a living man, standing or walking. He carries in his two hands the crook and the flagellum or whip, and commonly wears on his head the crown of Upper Egypt, with a plume of ostrich feather on either side of it. A special character of goodness attaches to him. We find him called, "the manifester of good," "full of goodness and truth," "the beneficent spirit," "beneficent in will and words," "mild of heart," "and fair and beloved of all who see him."[*]

19. Neith, or Net, the goddess of Sais, was identified by the Greeks[†] with their Athéné (Minerva), but does not appear to have been really a goddess of wisdom. She was the female correspondent of Khem, the conceptive element in nature, as he was the generative. Her titles are, "the mother," "the mistress of heaven," "the elder goddess."[‡] She is represented in the form of a woman standing, and wearing on her head the crown of Lower Egypt. In her left hand she carries a scepter, sometimes accompanied by a bow and two arrows; in her right she bears the *ankh*, or symbol of life. One of the signs with which her name is written resembles a shuttle; from which fact, combined with her carrying a bow and arrows, she has been called, "the goddess of war and weaving."[§] Her worship was not very widely spread, nor is she often mentioned in the inscriptions.

20. No part of the Egyptian religion was so much developed and so multiplex as their sun worship.[‖] Besides Ra and Osiris there were at least six

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[*] Zoega, "De Obeliscis;" Plin. "H. N." xxxvi. 8, s. 14.

[†] So Wilkinson (in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 181, note 1) and others. But the derivation from *Ph'ouro*, "the king," is perhaps as probable.

[‡] See "Records of the Past," vol. viii. pp. 105–128.

[§] Herod. ii. 42, with Wilkinson's note.

[*] "Records of the Past," vol. iv. pp. 99–103; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 320.

[†] Plat. "Tim." p. 22, A; Cic. "De Nat. Deor." iii. p. 248.

[‡] Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," vol. i. p. 386; Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 285.

[§] Birch, "Guide to Museum," p. 13.

[‖] Birch goes as far as to say, that "most of the gods were connected with the sun, and represented that luminary in its passage through the upper or lower hemisphere" ("Guide," p. 11); but this seems to be an exaggeration.

other deities who had a distinctly solar character. These were Shu, Aten, Horus or Harmachis, Tum or Atum, Khepra, and Mentu. Shu was the sun's light, Aten the sun's disk, Har, or Har-em-akhu (Horus or Harmachis), the sun at his rising; Tum (or Atum) the same luminary at his setting; Khepra was the life-giving power of the sun; while Mentu was a provincial sun-god, adopted into the general pantheon. Athor, moreover, the mother of Ra, and Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, were in some sort sun-goddesses, and bore upon their heads the disk of Ra, to mark their close connection with the great luminary.

21. Compared with the worship of the sun, that of the moon was quite secondary and insignificant. Two gods only, Khons and Thoth, had, properly speaking, a lunar character.* Of these Khons was the moon-god simply, while Thoth combined with his lunar aspect, somewhat curiously, the character of "the god of letters." He was represented with the head of an ibis; and the ibis and cynocephalous ape were sacred to him. Both he and Khons commonly bear on their heads a crescent and disk, emblematic respectively of the new and the full moon.

22. Other deities of some importance in the religious system were Maut, the consort of Ammon, who represented matter or nature; Sati, the consort of Kneph, a sort of Egyptian Juno; Sekhet, the consort of Phthah, usually represented as lion-headed, or cat-headed; Seb, the Egyptian Saturn; Hanhar (Onuris), the Egyptian Mars; Sabak or Savak, the crocodile-headed god; Anuke, a war goddess; Nebta (Nephthys), sister of Osiris and Isis; Nut or Netpe, goddess of the firmament; and Ma, goddess of truth. The Egyptians had also gods of taste and touch, of silence, of writing, of medicine, of the harvest, etc. Almost any fact of nature, almost any act of man, might be taken separately and personified, the personification becoming thenceforth a god or goddess.

23. A class of deities possessing a very peculiar character remains to be noticed. These are the malevolent deities. Set or Sutech, the great enemy of Osiris, a god with the head of a griffin or giraffe; Bes, according to some,* the god of death; Taouris the wife of Bes; and Apap, or Apepi, the great serpent, generally represented as slain by Horus.† All these were distinctly malignant and evil deities; their representations were, in every case, more or less hideous and grotesque; they were all feared and hated, but nevertheless worshiped; their figures were worn as charms, and even temples were built in their honor.

24. While the entire pantheon of Egypt was thus multiform and manifold, practically the deities who received worship in each several town and district were but few. Local triads were almost universally recognized, and in each place its special triad monopolized, so to say, the religious regards of the inhabitants.‡ At Memphis, the established triad consisted of Phthah, Sekhet, and Tum; at Thebes, of Ammon-Ra, Maut, and Khons; at Heliopolis of Ra, Nebhept (= Athor), and Horus; at Elephantine of Kneph, Sati, and Anuke; at Abydos, of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; at Ombos, of Savak, Athor, and Khons; at Silsilis, of Ra, Phthah, and the Nile god, Hâpi or Neilus. Sometimes a fourth god or goddess was associated with the principal three, as Bast at Memphis, Neith at Thebes, Nephthys at Abydos, and Hak at Elephantine; but the fourth was always quite subordinate. Occasionally a

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* Representations of Osiris are found as Osiris-Aah (Birch, "Guide to Museum," p. 15), or "Osiris, the moon-god;" but these are purely abnormal.

* So Wilkinson ("Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 431). Others regard Bes as simply a name of Set or Typhon (Birch, "Dictionary of Hieroglyphics," p. 581).

† Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," "Supplement," pl. 42.

‡ "Egypt from the Earliest Times," "Introduction," p. xi.; Wilkinson. "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. pp. 230–233.

city recognized more than one triad; for instance, Silsilis held in honor, besides Ra, Phthah, and Hapi, a triad consisting of Set, Thoth, and Netpe; and another comprising Ammon, Ra, and Savak.

25. Another peculiar feature of the Egyptian religion, and one which, though it may have had some redeeming points,* must be pronounced on the whole low and degrading, was the worship of live animals. In the first instance, certain animals seem to have been assumed as emblems of certain gods,† from some real or fancied analogy; after which, in course of time, the animals themselves came to be regarded as sacred; specimens of them were attached to the temples, kept in shrines, and carefully fed and nurtured during life, and at death embalmed and buried in sacred repositories, while the entire species had a sacred character assigned to it universally or partially. Animals of these kinds it was unlawful to kill, either in Egypt generally, or within the limits within which they were honored; if they died, their death was mourned, and they were carefully buried by those who found them, or to whom they belonged, with more or less ceremony.‡ Of animals universally sacred the principal were cows and heifers, which were sacred to Athor; cynocephalous apes and ibises, which were sacred to Thoth; cats, which were sacred to Bast; hawks, which were sacred to Ra; and perhaps asps, though this is uncertain.§ Sheep, especially rams, were generally regarded as sacred, being emblems of Kneph; and dogs, though not assigned to any special deity, held a similar position.

26. The worship of other animals had a more local character. Lions, emblems of Horus and Tum, were sacred at Leontopolis; crocodiles, emblems of Savak, at Crocodilopolis and in the Fayoum generally; wolves or jackals, emblems of Anubis, at Lycopolis; shrew-mice, emblems of Maut, at Buto and Athribis; hippopotami emblems of Set and Taouris, at Papremis; antelopes at Coptos; ibexes and frogs at Thebes; goats at Mendu; vultres at Eileithyia; fish at Latopolis; ichneumons at Heracleopolis; and other animals elsewhere. Each town was jealous for the honor of its special favorites; and quarrels broke out between city and city, or between province and province, in connection with their sacred animals, which led in some cases to violent and prolonged conflicts, in others to a smoldering but permanent hostility. It is difficult to say how much of the religious sentiment of the nation was absorbed by these unworthy objects; but there is no just ground for believing that the animal worship, absurd as it may have been, interfered seriously with the reverence and respect which were paid to the proper deities.

27. The worst, and most pronounced form of the animal worship has still to be mentioned. In some instances the belief was, not that a particular class of animals had a sacred character, but that a deity absolutely became incarnate in an individual animal, and so remained till its death. Animals to which this was supposed to have happened were actual gods, and received the most profound veneration that it was possible to pay. Such were the Apis bulls, of which a succession was maintained at Memphis, in the temple of Phthah, incarnations, according to some, of Phthah,* according to others of Osiris,† which were among the objects of worship most venerated by the Egyptians. Such, again, were the Mnevis bulls of Heliopolis, incarnations of Ra or

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* The sacred character of cows and heifers secured a continual increase in the stock of cattle; that of cats and ichneumons, of ibises, hawks, and vultures, preserved those useful animals, of which the two former kept the houses free from mice and snakes, while the three latter were admirable scavengers.

† As the vulture of Maut, the ibis of Thoth, and the ram of Kneph, etc.

‡ Herod. ii. 66, 67, with Wilkinson's notes.

§ So Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. v. p. 243.

* See Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," "Introduction," p. xii.

† Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 428, note 2.

Tum, and the Bacis or Pacis bulls of Hermonthis, incarnations of Horus. These beasts, maintained at the cost of the priestly communities in the great temples of their respective cities were perpetually adored and prayed to by thousands during their lives, and at their deaths were entombed with the utmost care in huge sarcophagi, while all Egypt went into mourning on account of their decease.

28. The external manifestation of religion in Egypt was magnificent and splendid. Nowhere did religious ceremonial occupy a larger part in the life of a people. In each city and town, one or more grand structures upreared themselves above the rest of the buildings, enriched with all that Egyptian art could supply of painted and sculptured decoration, dedicated to the honor and bearing the name of some divinity or divinities. The image of the great god of the place occupied the central shrine, accompanied in most instances by two or three contemplar gods or goddesses. Around were the chambers of the priests, and further off court after court, some pillared, some colonnaded, and all more or less adorned with sculpture and painting, the entrance to them lying through long avenues of sphinxes or obelisks, which conducted to the propylæa, two gigantic towers flanking the main doorway.* A perpetual ceremonial of the richest kind went on within the temple walls; scores of priests, with shaven heads and clean white linen garments,† crowded the courts and corridors; long processions made their way up or down the sphinx avenues, incense floated in the air, strains of music resounded without pause, hundreds of victims were sacrificed; everywhere a holiday crowd, in bright array, cheerful and happy, bore its part in the festival, and made the courts re-echo with their joyous acclamations. The worship was conducted chiefly by means of rhythmic litanies or hymns, in which prayer and praise were blended, the latter predominating.* Ceremony followed ceremony. The calendar was crowded with festivals; and a week rarely passed without the performance of some special rite, some annual observance, having its own peculiar attractions. Foreigners beheld with astonishment the almost perpetual round of religious services, which engaged, or at any rate seemed to engage, the main attention of all ranks of the people.

29. Belief in a future life was a main principle of the Egyptian religion. Immediately after death, the soul, it was taught, descended into the lower world (Amenti), and was conducted to the "Hall of Truth," where it was judged in the presence of Osiris, and of his forty-two assessors, the "Lords of Truth," and judges of the dead. Anubis, the son of Osiris, who was called "the director of the weight," brought forth a pair of scales, and after placing in one scale a figure or emblem of Truth, set in the other a vase containing the good deeds of the deceased, Thoth standing by the while, with a tablet in his hand, whereon to record the result.† If the good deeds were sufficient, if they weighed down the scale wherein they were placed, then the happy soul was permitted to enter "the boat of the sun," and was conducted by good spirits to the Elysian fields (Aahlu), to the "Pools of Peace," and the dwelling-places of the blest. If, on the contrary, the good deeds were insufficient, if the scale remained suspended in the air, then the unhappy soul was sentenced, according to the

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* These towers have been compared, with some reason, to those which commonly adorn the western façade of our cathedrals. (Fergusson, "History of Architecture," vol. i. p. 117.)

† Herod. ii. 37.

* See the "Litany of Ra," and the "Hymns" to Osiris, Amen, Amen-Ra, and Ra-Harmachis, published in "Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 105–134; vol. iv. pp. 99–104; vol. vi. pp. 99–101; and vol. viii. pp. 131–134.

† Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. v. pp. 314, 315. Representations of the scene are frequent in the tombs, and in the many copies of the "Ritual of the Dead."

degree of its ill deserts, to go through a round of transmigrations in the bodies of animals more or less unclean; the number, nature, and duration of the transmigrations depending on the degree of the deceased's demerits, and the consequent length and severity of the punishment which he deserved, or the purification which he needed. Ultimately, if after many trials sufficient purity was not attained, the wicked soul, which had proved itself incurable, underwent a final sentence at the hands of Osiris, judge of the dead, and, being condemned to complete and absolute annihilation, was destroyed upon the steps of Heaven by Shu, the Lord of Light.* The good soul, having first been freed from its infirmities by passing through the basin of purgatorial fire guarded by the four ape-faced genii, was made the companion of Osiris, for a period of three thousand years, after which it returned from Amenti, re-entered its former body, rose from the dead, and lived once more a human life upon the earth. This process was gone through again and again, until a certain mystic cycle of years became complete, when, to crown all, the good and blessed attained the final joy of union with God, being absorbed into the divine essence from which they had once emanated, and so attaining the full perfection and true end of their existence.

30. With their belief in a future life, and their opinions regarding the fate of good and bad souls, were bound up in the closest way their arrangements with respect to dead bodies, and their careful and elaborate preparation of tombs. As each man hoped to be among those who would be received into Aahlu, and after dwelling with Osiris for three thousand years would return to earth, and re-enter their old bodies, it was requisite that bodies should be enabled to resist decay for that long period. Hence the entire system of embalming, of swathing in linen, and then burying in stone sarcophagi covered with lids that it was scarcely possible to lift, or even to move. Hence if a man was wealthy, he spent enormous sums on making himself a safe and commodious, an elegant and decorated tomb; either piling a pyramid over his sarcophagus, or excavating deep into the solid rock, and preparing for his resting-place a remote chamber at the end of a long series of galleries. With the notion, probably, that it would be of use to him in his passage through Amenti to Aahlu, he took care to have the most important passages from the sacred book entitled the "Ritual of the Dead," either inscribed on the inner part of the coffin in which he was to lie, or painted on his mummy bandages, or engraved upon the inner walls of his tomb.* Sometimes he even had a complete copy of the book buried with him, no doubt for reference, if his memory failed to supply him with the right invocation or prayer at the dangerous parts of his long journey.

31. The thought of death, of judgment, of a sentence to happiness or misery according to the life led on earth, was thus familiar to the ordinary Egyptian. His theological notions were confused and fantastical; but he had a strong and abiding conviction that his fate after death would depend on his conduct during his life on earth, and especially on his observance of the moral law and performance of his various duties.†

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* Birch, "Guide to Museum," pp. 14, 15.

* Bunsen, "Egypt's Place," vol. v. pp. 127–129.

† See Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 46:—"The Egyptian enjoyed all the pleasures of existence, and delighted more in the arts of peace than war. In his religious belief the idea of a future state, and probably of the transmigration of souls, was ever present to his mind, while—and his long life was one preparation for death—to be devoted or pious to the gods, obedient to the wishes of his sovereign, affectionate toward his wife and children, were the maxims inculcated for his domestic or inner life. Beyond that circle his duties to mankind were comprised in giving bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, oil to the wounded, and burial to the dead. On the exercise of good works he rested his hopes of passing the ordeal of the future and great

32. The better educated Egyptian had a firmer grasp of the truths of natural religion. Below the popular mythology there lay concealed from general view, but open to the educated classes, a theological system which was not far removed from pure "natural theology." The real essential unity of the divine nature was taught and insisted on. The sacred texts spoke of a single being, "the sole producer of all things in heaven and earth, himself not produced of any," "the only true living God, self-originated," "who exists from the beginning," "who has made all things, but has not himself been made." * This being seems never to have been represented by any material, even symbolical form.† It is thought that he had no name, or, if he had, that it must have been unlawful to pronounce or write it.‡ Even Ammon, the "concealed God," was a mere external adumbration of this mysterious and unapproachable deity. He was a pure spirit, perfect in every respect, all-wise, all-mighty, supremely, perfectly good.

33. Those who grasped this great truth understood clearly that the many gods of the popular mythology were mere names, personified attributes of the one true Deity, or parts of the nature which he had created, considered as informed and inspired by him. Num or Kneph represented the creative mind Phthah the creative hand, or act of creating; Maut represented matter, Ra the sun, Khons the moon, Seb the earth, Khem the generative power in nature, Keith the conceptive power, Nut the upper hemisphere of heaven, Athor the lower world or under hemisphere; Thoth personified the divine wisdom, Ammon the divine mysteriousness or incomprehensibility, Osiris the divine goodness. It may not be always easy to say what is the exact quality, act, or part of nature which is represented by each god and goddess; but the principle was clear and beyond a doubt. No educated Egyptian priest certainly, probably no educated layman, conceived of the popular gods as really separate and distinct beings. All knew that there was but one god, and understood that when worship was offered to Khem, or Phthah, or Maut, or Thoth, or Ammon, the one god was worshiped under some one of his forms, or in some one of his aspects. Hence, in the solemn hymns and chants, which were composed by the priests to be used in the various festivals, the god who is for the time addressed receives all the highest titles of honor, and even has the names of other gods freely assigned to him, as being in some sort identical with them. Thus in one hymn, Hâpi, the Nile god, is invoked as Ammon and Phthah; * in another, Osiris as Ra and Thoth; † while in a third Ra is Khem and Ammon, Tum and Horus and Khepra all in one,‡ and though spoken of as "begotten of Phthah," § is "the good god," "the chief of all the gods," "the ancient of heaven," "the lord of all existences," the support of all things." ‖

34. It is not altogether easy to say what the educated Egyptian believed with respect to evil. The myth of Osiris represented him as persecuted by his brother, Set or Sutech, who murdered him and cut up his body into several pieces, after which he was made war upon by Horus, Osiris' son, and in course of time deposed and thrust down to darkness.¶ In the latter mythology Set and Bes, Taouris and Apepi were distinctly

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judgment, and reaching the Aahlu or Elysian fields, and Pools of Peace of the Egyptian paradise."

* Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. i. p. 522. Similar phrases are frequent in all the religious inscriptions. (See "Records of the Past," vol. ii. pp. 129–132; vol. iv. pp. 99–100; vol. vi. 100, etc.)

† Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 178.

‡ *Ibid.*

* "Records of the Past," vol. iv. p. 107, ll. 4 and 11.

† *Ibid.* p. 103, par. 24, *ad fin.*

‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 130, 131, and 133.

§ *Ibid.* p. 129, l. 20.

‖ *Ibid.* ll. 2–12.

¶ Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. pp. 329–333.

malignant beings, personifications, apparently, of an evil principle; and from the inscriptions and papyri of this period, we should gather that the Egyptian religion was dualistic, and comprised the idea of a constant and interminable struggle between the powers of light and darkness, of good and evil; a struggle in which there was some superiority on the part of good, but no complete victory, not even a very decided preponderance. On the other hand, as we go back and examine carefully the more ancient monuments and the earlier writings, we find less and less trace of this antagonism; we find Set or Sutech spoken of as "great," "glorious;"* we find that the kings identify themselves with him,† build him magnificent temples, and make him numerous offerings.‡ It is doubtful whether at this time any notion existed of evil or malignancy attaching to Set. If it did, we must suppose the early creed to have been that "the bad was a necessary part of the universal system, and inherent in all things equally with the good;" § and so, that divine honors were due to the gods representing the principles of disorder and evil no less than to those representing the opposite principles. The change of view with regard to Set may have been connected to some extent with national rivalries, for Set was, beyond a doubt, the special god of the Hyksos,‖ the foreign conquerors of Egypt, whom after-ages detested, and also of the Khita or Hittites,¶ with whom the Pharaohs of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties were engaged in constant hostilities.

35. It has been maintained by some that the religion of the educated Egyptians comprised a recognition of the doctrine of the Trinity. The learned Cudworth in the seventeenth century undertook to prove that a doctrine closely resembling the Christian had been taught by the Egyptian priests many centuries before Christ,* and some moderns have caught at his statements, and laid it down that the doctrine of the Trinity may be traced to an Egyptian source. But there is really not the slightest ground for this assertion. Cudworth's arguments were long ago met and refuted by Mosheim;† and modern investigation of the Egyptian remains has but confirmed Mosheim's conclusions. The Egyptians held the unity of God; but their unity had within it no trinity. God with them was absolutely one in essence, and when divided up, was divided, not into three, but into a multitude of aspects. It is true that they had a fancy for triads; but a triad is not a Trinity. The triads are not groups of persons, but of attributes; the three are not coequal, but distinctly the reverse, the third in the triad being always subordinate; nor is the division regarded as in any case exhaustive of the divine nature, or exclusive of other divisions. Moreover, as already observed, the triad is frequently enlarged by the addition of a fourth person or character, who is associated as closely with the other three as they are with each other. Cudworth's view must therefore be set aside as altogether imaginary; and the encomiast of the Egyptian religion must content himself with pointing out that a real monotheism underlay the superficial polytheism, without requiring us to believe that even the wisest of the priests had any knowledge of the greatest of all Christian mysteries.‡

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* "Records of the Past," vol. iv. p. 29.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 76; vol. viii. p. 75.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 27; vol. viii. pp. 27–31.

§ So Wilkinson, "Ancient Egyptians," vol. iv. p. 423.

‖ Birch, "Egypt from the Earliest Times," p. 75; "Records of the Past," vol. viii. p. 3.

¶ "Records of the Past," vol. iv. pp. 31, 32.

* See the "Intellectual System of the Universe," ch. v. p. 413.

† In the Latin translation of Cudworth's great work, notes to p. 413.

‡ See Latin translation of Cudworth's great work, p. 28.

CHAPTER II.

THE RELIGION OF THE ASSYRIANS AND BABYLONIANS.

"Bel boweth down, Nebo stoopeth."—ISAIAH xlvi. 1.

"Merodach is broken in pieces."—JER. l. 2.

36. THE Babylonian and Assyrian polytheism differed from the Egyptian, in the first place, by being less multitudinous,* and in the second, by having far more than the Egyptian, an astral character. The Mesopotamian system was, moreover, so far as appears, what the Egyptian was not, a belief in really distinct gods. The great personages of the pantheon have for the most part their own peculiar offices and attributes; they do not pass the one into the other; they do not assume each other's names; they do not combine so as to produce a single deity out of several. We have no indication in the literary remains of Babylon or Assyria of any esoteric religion, no evidence on which we can lay it down that the conceptions of the educated upon religious subjects differed seriously from those of the lowest ranks of worshipers.† Berosus, who was a Chaldæan priest, and who should, therefore, if there was any such system, have been well acquainted with it, has in his extant fragments nothing monotheistic, nothing to distinguish his religious views from those of the mass of his countrymen. According to all appearance, the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians was thus a real polytheism, a worship of numerous divinities, whom it was not thought necessary to trace to a single stock,‡ who were essentially on a par the one with the other, and who divided among them the religious regards of the people.

37. An account of the Assyrian and Babylonian religion must thus be, in the main, an account of their pantheon. From the character of their gods, from the actions and attributes assigned to them, from the material representations under which they showed them forth, we must gather the tone of their religious thought, the nature of the opinions which they entertained concerning the mysterious powers above them and beyond them, whom they recognized as divine beings.

38. In each country, at the head of the pantheon stood a god, not the origin of the others, nor in any real sense the fountain of divinity, but of higher rank and dignity than the rest, *primus inter pares*, ordinarily named first, and assigned the titles of greatest honor, and forming the principal or at least the highest object of worship both to the kings and people. This deity is, in Assyria, Asshur; in Babylonia, Il or Ra. Some critics* are of opinion that the two gods are essentially one, that the Assyrian Asshur is neither more nor less than Il or Ra localized and regarded as the special god of Assyria, the protector of the Assyrian territory and the tutelary divinity of the Assyrian kings. But this view is not generally accepted and seems to rest upon no sure foundation. There is a marked difference of character and position between the Babylonian Il and the Assyrian Asshur. Il in the Babylonian system is dim and shadowy; his attributes are, comparatively speaking, indistinct; and his very name is not of frequent occurrence.† Asshur in the Assyrian system is, of all the gods, by far

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* It is true that the inscriptions speak in a vague way of "four thousand," and even of the "five thousand gods" ("Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 128; Rawlinson, "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 155, note 9). But, practically, there are not more than about twenty deities who obtain frequent mention.

† The late Mr. Fox Talbot expressed in 1873 a somewhat different opinion. (See the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. p. 35.) But it does not appear to me that he made out his case.

‡ See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 142.

* As M. Lenormant. (See his "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii. p. 182.)

† In the six Assyrian volumes of "Records of the Past," I find the name of Il (or El), only four times (vol. v. pp. 21, 129; vol. vii. pp. 95, 96). In two of these places it seems to stand for Bel, who is called Bel-El sometimes (*Ibid.* vol. xi. p. 24).

the most pronounced and prominent figure. No name occurs so often as his; no god has attributes so clearly marked and positive. On these grounds it has been generally held, that the two are not to be identified, but to be kept distinct, and to be regarded as respectively peculiar to the two nations. We proceed, therefore, to speak of them separately.

39. Il (or Ra) was, as already remarked, a somewhat shadowy being. There is a vagueness about the name itself, which means simply "god," and can scarcely be said to connote any particular attribute. The Babylonians never represent his form, and they frequently omit him from lists which seem to contain all the other principal gods.* Yet he was certainly regarded as the head of the pantheon, and in the most ancient times must have been acknowledged as the tutelary deity of Babylon itself, which received its name of Bab-il (in Accadian, *Ka-ra*), meaning "the Gate of Il," from him. He seems to have had no special temple, being probably worshiped in all temples by the few persons who were his votaries. His name was, occasionally, but not very frequently, used as an element in the personal appellations of Babylonians.†

40. Asshur, the Assyrian substitute for Il or Ra, was primarily and especially the tutelary deity of Assyria and of the Assyrian monarchs. The land of Assyria bears his name without any modification; its inhabitants are "his servants" or "his people;" its troops "the armies of the god Asshur;" its enemies "the enemies of Asshur." As for the kings, they stand connected with him in respect of almost everything which they do He places them upon the throne, firmly establishes them in the government, lengthens the years of their reigns, preserves their power, protects their forts and armies, directs their expeditions, gives them victory on the day of battle, makes their name celebrated, multiplies their offspring greatly, and the like. To him they look for the fulfillment of all their wishes, and especially for the establishment of their sons, and their sons' sons, on the Assyrian throne to the remotest ages. Their usual phrase when speaking of him is, "Asshur, my lord." They represent themselves as passing their lives in his service. It is to spread his worship that they carry on their wars. They fight, ravage, destroy in his name. Finally, when they subdue a country, they are careful to "set up the emblems of Asshur," and to make the conquered people conform to his laws.‡

41. The ordinary titles of Asshur are, "the great lord," "the king of all the gods," "he who rules supreme over the gods." He is also called, occasionally, "the father of the gods," although that is a title which belongs more properly to Bel. He is figured as a man with a horned cap, and often carrying a bow, issuing from the middle of a winged circle, and either shooting an arrow, or stretching forth his hand, as if to aid or smite. The winged circle by itself is also used as his emblem, and probably denotes his ubiquity and eternity, as the human form does his intelligence, and the horned cap his power. This emblem, with or without the human figure, is an almost invariable accompaniment of Assyrian royalty. The great king wears it embroidered upon his robes. carries it engraved upon his seal or cylinder, represents it above his head in the rock-tablets whereon he carves his image, stands or kneels in adoration before it, fights under its shadow, under its protection returns victorious, places it conspicuously upon his obelisks. And in all these

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* As, for instance, that of Agu-kak-rimi in the inscription published in vol. vii. of the "Records," pp. 7, 8, where ten "great gods" are enumerated, viz.: Anu and Anunit, Bel and Beltis, Hea and Davkina, Zira (Zir-banit?), Sin, Shamas, and Merodach, but no mention is made of Il.

† "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 15; vol. ix. p. 99; etc.

* "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 17; vol. iii. pp. 86, 93, 95, 96; vol. v. pp. 14, 15, etc.; vol. ix. pp. 5, 8, 9, etc.

representations, it is remarkable how he makes the emblem conform to the circumstances in which he is himself engaged at the time. Where he is fighting, Asshur, too, has his arrow upon the string, and points it against the monarch's adversaries. When he is returning home victorious, with the disused bow in his left hand, and his right hand outstretched and elevated, Asshur, too, has the same attitude. In peaceful scenes the bow disappears altogether. If the king worships, the god holds out his hand to aid; if he is engaged in secular acts, the Divine presence is thought to be sufficiently marked by the circle and the wings without the human figure.*

42. In immediate succession to Asshur in Assyria and Il in Babylonia, we find in both countries a triad, consisting of Anu, Bel, and Hea or Hoa. These three are called, *par excellence*, "the great gods." † In execrations they are separated off from all the other deities, and placed together in a clause which stands at the head of the list of curses. In invocations their names follow, for the most part, immediately after the name of Asshur; and this is their usual and proper position in all complete lists of the chief gods.‡ Anu and Bel in the Babylonian system are brothers, both being sons of Il or Ra; but this relationship is scarcely acknowledged in Assyria. Hoa in both countries stands apart, unconnected with the other two, and, indeed, unconnected with any of the other gods, except with such as are his offspring.

43. It has been conjectured § that in this triad we have a cosmogonic myth, and that the three deities represent Anu, the primordial chaos, or matter without form; Hoa, life and intelligence, considered as moving in and animating matter; and Bel, the organizing and creating spirit, by which matter was actually brought into subjection, and the material universe arranged in an orderly way. But it may be questioned whether the veil which hides the esoteric meaning of the Assyrian religion has been as yet sufficiently lifted to entitle such conjectures to much attention. Our own belief is that Anu, Bel, and Hoa were originally the gods of the earth, of the heaven, and of the waters, thus corresponding in the main to the classical Pluto, Zeus or Jupiter, and Poseidon or Neptune, who divided between them the dominion over the visible creation. But such notions became, in course of time, overlaid to a great extent with others; and though Hoa continued always more or less of a water deity, Anu and Bel ceased to have peculiar spheres, and became merely "great gods," with a general superintendence over the world, and with no very marked difference of powers.

44. Anu is commonly spoken of as "the old Anu," "the original chief," "the king of the lower world," and "the lord of spirits and demons." There is one text in which he seems to be called "the father of the gods," but the reading is doubtful. We cannot identify as his any of the divine forms on the Assyrian or Babylonian monuments, nor can we assign to him any emblem, excepting that of the single upright wedge, which represents him on the Chaldæan numeration tablets. This single wedge has the numerical power of sixty, and sixty appears to have been assigned to Anu as his special number. Though a "great god," he was not one toward whom much preference was shown. His name is scarcely ever found as an element in royal or other appellations; the kings do not very often mention him; and only one monarch speaks of himself as his special votary.*

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* See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. pp. 234, 235.

† "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 121; vol. ix. pp. 100, 106, etc.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 83; vol. v. p. 29; vol. vii. p. 7; vol. ix. p. 23, etc.

§ See Lenormant, "Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne," vol. ii. pp. 182, 183.

* Tiglath Pileser I. (See "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 24.) Yet even he is still more devoted to Asshur.

45. The god Bel, familiarly known to us both from Scripture[*] and from the Apocrypha,[†] is one of the most marked and striking figures in the pantheon alike of Babylonia and of Assyria. Bel is "the god of lords," "the father of the gods," "the creator," "the mighty prince," and "the just prince of the gods." He plays a leading part in the mythological legends, which form so curious a feature in the Babylonian and Assyrian religion. In the "History of Creation" we are told that Bel made the earth and the heaven; that he formed man by means of a mixture of his own blood with earth, and also formed beasts; and that afterward he created the sun and the moon, the stars, and the five planets.[‡] In the "War of the Gods," we find him contending with the great dragon, Tiamat, and after a terrible single combat destroying her by flinging a thunderbolt into her open mouth.[§] He also, in conjunction with Hoa, plans the defense when the seven spirits of evil rise in rebellion, and the dwelling-place of the gods is assaulted by them.[||] The titles of Bel generally express dominion. He is "the lord," *par excellence*, which is the exact meaning of his name in Assyrian; he is "the king of all the spirits," "the lord of the world," and again, "the lord of all the countries," Babylon and Nineveh are, both of them, under his special care; Nineveh having the title of "the city of Bel," in some passages of the inscriptions. The chief seat of the worship of Bel in Babylonia was Nipur, now Niffer, and in Assyria, Calah, now Nimrud. He had also a temple at Duraba (Akkerkuf).

46. Hea or Hoa, the third god of the first triad, ranks immediately after Bel in the complete lists of Assyrian deities. He is emphatically one of the "great gods," and is called, "the king," "the great inventor," and "the determiner of destinies." We have already remarked that he was specially connected with the element of water; and hence he is "the king of the deep," "the king of rivers," "the lord of fountains," and, to a certain extent, "the lord of the harvest." In the legend of creation he is joined with Bel, in the office of guardian, and watches over the regularity of the planetary courses.[*] In the "War of the Gods," he and Bel plan the defense, after which Hea commits the executions of the plans made to his son, Marduk or Merodach.[†] In the flood legend, Hea naturally plays an important part. It is he who announces to Hasis-adra, the Babylonian Noah, that a deluge is about to destroy mankind, and commands him to build a great ship, in order that he may escape it.[‡] It is he again who opposes the wish of Bel to make the destruction complete, and persuades him to let Hasis-adra and his family come out safe from the ark.[§] In the tale of Ishtar's descent into Hades, Hea's counsel is sought by the moon-god; and by a skillful device he obtains the restoration of the Queen of Love to the upper world.[||] Indeed, throughout the whole of the mythology we find all clever inventions and well-laid plans ascribed to him, so that his history quite justifies his title of "lord of deep thoughts." Hea is probably intended by the Oë of Helladius,[¶] and the Oannes of Berosus,[**] who came up out of the Persian Gulf, and instructed the first settlers on the Lower Tigris and Euphrates in letters, science, religion, law, and agriculture.

47. In direct succession to the three gods of the first triad, Anu, Bel, and Hea or Hoa, we find a second still more widely recognized triad, comprising the moon-god, the sun-god, and the god of the atmosphere. There is

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[*] Isaiah xlvi. 1; Jer. l. 2; li. 44.

[†] See the history of "Bel and the Dragon."

[‡] Berosus ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 3.

[§] "Records of the Past," vol. ix. pp. 137–139.

[||] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 164.

[*] "Records of the Past," vol. ix. p. 118.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 165.

[‡] *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 135, 136.

[§] *Ibid.* p. 142.

[||] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 147–149.

[¶] Ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." cclxxxix. p. 1594.

[**] Berosus ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." l. s. c.

great difference of opinion with respect to the name of the last god of these three, which is never spelt phonetically in the inscriptions, but only represented by a monogram. He has been called Iva (or Yav), Vul, Bin, Yem (or Im), and recently Rimmon.[*] Without presuming to decide this vexed question, we propose to adopt provisionally the rendering "Vul," as the one likely to be most familiar to our readers, from its employment by Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. George Smith, and Mr. Fox Talbot. We shall speak therefore of the second triad as one consisting of Sin, Shamas, and Vul, the gods respectively of the moon, the sun, and the atmosphere.

48. It is very noticeable that in Assyria and Babylonia the moon-god took precedence of the sun-god. Night probably was more agreeable to the inhabitants of those hot regions than day; and the cool, placid time when they could freely contemplate the heavens, and make their stellar and other observations, was especially grateful to the priestly astronomers who had the superintendence and arrangement of the religion. Sin, the moon, is thus one of the leading deities. He is called, "the chief of the gods of heaven and earth," "the king of the gods," and even "the god of the gods."[†] These seem, however, to be hyperbolical expressions, used by his votaries in the warmth of their hears, when in the stage of religion which Professor Max Müller has designated "Henotheism."[‡] Sin more properly was "the brilliant," "the illuminator," "he who dwells in the sacred heavens," "he who circles round the heavens," and "the lord of the month." Again, for some recondite reason, which is not explained, he was selected to preside over architecture, and in this connection he is "the supporting architect," "the strengthener of fortifications," and, more generally, "the lord of building."

49. A close bond of sympathy united Sin with the two other members of the second triad. When the seven spirits of evil made war in heaven, and directed their main attack upon Sin, as the chief leader of the angelic host, Shamas and Vul instantly came to his aid, withstood the spirits, and, fighting firmly side by side with him, succeeded in repulsing them.[*] The three are frequently conjoined in invocations, execrations, and the like.[†] In offerings and festivals, however, Sin is united with Shamas only, the place of Vul being taken by a goddess who is entitled "the divine mistress of the world."[‡]

50. Sin was among the gods most widely and devoutly worshiped, both in Babylonia and Assyria. He had temples at Ur, Babylon, Borsippa, Calah, and Dur-Sargina. The third month of the year, called Sivan, was dedicated to him. In a month not so dedicated we find sacrifice to the moon prescribed on nine days out of the thirty.[§] His name was widely used as an element in royal and other appellations, as, for instance, in the well-known name, Sennacherib, which in the original is *Sin-akhi-irib*, or "Sin has multiplied brothers."

51. Shamas, the sun-god, occupies the middle position in the second triad, which is either "Sin, Shamas, Vul," or "Vul, Shamas, Sin," though more commonly the former. His titles are either general or special. In a general way he is called, "the establisher of heaven and earth," "the judge of heaven and earth," "the warrior of the world," and "the regent of all things," while, with direct refer-

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[*] "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. v. p. 441; "Records of the past," vol. v. p. 29; vol. vii. pp. 165, 170; vol. ix. pp. 23, 27, etc.

[†] In the Inscription of Nabonidus. (See "Records of the Past," vol. v. pp. 146, 147.)

[‡] "Contemporary Review," Nov. 1878, pp. 722.

[*] See "Records of the Past," vol. v. pp. 164–166.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 57, 93, etc.; vol. v. pp. 7, 122, 123; vol. ix. pp. 23, 100, etc.

[‡] "Records of the Past," vol. vii. pp. 159, 162, etc.

[§] See the calendar referred to in the last note, where sacrifices to Sin are prescribed for the 1st, 2d, 13th, 14th, 18th, 20th, 21st, 22d, and 29th days of the month.

ence to his physical nature, he is "the lord of fire," "the light of the gods," "the ruler of the day," and "he who illumines the expanse of heaven and earth."

52. The kings regard him as affording them especial help in war. He is "the supreme ruler, who casts a favorable eye on expeditions," the "vanquisher of the king's enemies," "the breaker-up of opposition." He "casts his motive influence" over the monarchs, and causes them to "assemble their chariots and their warriors," he "goes forth with their armies," and enables them to extend their dominions; he chases their enemies before them, causes opposition to cease, and brings them back with victory to their own country.

53. Besides this, in time of peace, he helps them to sway the scepter of power, and to rule over their subjects with authority. It seems that, from observing the manifest agency of the material sun in stimulating all the functions of nature, the Assyrians and Babylonians came to the conclusion that the sun-god exerted a similar influence over the minds of men, and was the great motive agent in human history.[*]

54. The worship of Shamas was universal. The seventh month, Tisri, was dedicated to him, and in the second Elul, he had, like the moon-god, nine festivals. His emblem appears upon almost all the religious cylinders, and in almost all lists of the gods his name holds a high place. Sometimes he is a member of a leading triad, composed of himself together with Sin and Asshur.[†] In the mythological legends he is not very frequently mentioned. We find him, however, defending the moon-god, in conjunction with Vul, when the seven spirits make their assault upon heaven;[‡] and in the deluge tablets we are told that it was he who actually made the Flood.[*] But otherwise the mythology is silent about him, offering in this respect a remarkable contrast to the Egyptian, where the sun is the principal figure.

55. Vul, the god of the atmosphere, who completes the second triad, has, on the whole, a position quite equal to that of Sin and Shamas, whom he occasionally even precedes in the lists.[†] Some kings seem to place him on a par with Anu, or with Asshur, recognizing Anu and Vul, or Asshur and Vul, as especially "the great gods," and as their own peculiar guardians.[‡] In a general way he corresponds with the "Jupiter Tonans" of the Romans, being the "prince of the power of the air," the lord of the whirlwind and the tempest, and the wielder of the thunderbolt. His most common titles are "the minister of heaven and earth," "the lord of the air," and "he who makes the tempest to rage." He is regarded as the destroyer of crops, the rooter-up of trees, the scatterer of the harvest; famine, scarcity, and even their consequence, pestilence, are assigned to him. He is said to have in his hand a "flaming sword," with which he effects his ravages; and this "flaming sword," which probably represents lightning, seems to form his emblem on the tablets and cylinders, where it is figured as a double or triple bolt. But Vul has also a softer character; as the god of the atmosphere he gives the rain; and hence he is "the careful and beneficent chief," "the giver of abundance," and "the lord of fecundity." In this capacity, he is naturally chosen to preside over canals, the great fertilizers in Mesopotamia; and thus we find among his titles, "the lord of canals," and "the establisher of works of irrigation."[§]

56. To the eight "great gods,"

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[*] "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 160.

[†] This is the position which he holds regularly in the Inscriptions of Asshurbanipal, the son of Esarhaddon. (See "Records of the Past," vol. i. pp. 58, 71, 77, 93–5, 99, 100, 103, etc.).

[‡] See above, p. 16.

[*] "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 138.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 100.

[‡] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 46; vol. v. pp. 24–26.

[§] "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. pp. 164, 165.

whose functions have been here described, may be added most conveniently in this place, six goddesses. It was a general, though not a universal rule, in the Assyrian and Babylonian mythology, that each god should have a wife. From this law the heads of the respective pantheons, Il and Asshur, were exempt;* but otherwise almost all the principal deities are united in pairs, one of whom is male and the other female. Anu has a wife, Anata or Anat, who is a pale and shadowy personage, the mere faint reflex of her husband whose name she receives, merely modified by a feminine inflection. Bil or Bel has a wife, Bilat, known to the classical writers as Beltis or Mylitta,† a term standing to Bil as Anat to Anu, but designating a far more substantial being. Beltis is "the mother of the gods," "the *great* goddess," "the great lady," "the queen of the lands," and "the queen of fecundity." She corresponds to the Cybele of the Phrygians, the Rhea of the Greeks, and the "Magna Mater" or "Bona Dea" of the Romans. Occasionally, she adds to this character the attributes of Bellona and even Diana, being spoken of as presiding over war and hunting. The wife of Hoa has been called Dav-kina; but the first element of the name seems now to be read more generally as Nin, while the second is rendered by *azu*.‡ Ninazu is said to have been "queen of Hades" and "the lady of the house of Death."§ Her special office was to watch and soothe the last hours of the dying.‖ To the wife of Sin no proper name is given; but she is frequently associated with her husband under the appellation of "the great lady." The wife of Shamas is Gula or Anunit, who was, like Beltis, a "great goddess," but had a less distinctive character, being little more than a female Sun. Finally, Vul had a wife called Shala or Tala, whose common title is *sarrat*, "Queen," but who is a colorless and insignificant personage.

57. On the second of the two great triads which hold so high a place in the Assyrian and Babylonian pantheons, there follows a group of five gods, with an unmistakably astral character. These are Nin or Bar, Merodach or Marduk, Nergal, Ishtar, and Nebo, who correspond respectively to the planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury. Nin, or Bar, who presided over the most distant of the visible planets, Saturn, was more an object of worship in Assyria than in Babylonia. He has been called "the Assyrian Hercules,"* and in many respects resembles that hero of the classical nations. Among his titles are found, "the lord of the brave," "the warlike," "the champion," "the warrior who subdues foes," "the reducer of the disobedient," "the exterminator of rebels," "the powerful lord," "the exceeding strong god," and "he whose sword is good." He presides in a great measure both over war and hunting. Most of the Assyrian monarchs represent themselves as going out to war under his auspices, and ascribe their successes mainly to his interposition. He is especially useful to them in the subjection of rebels. He also on some occasions incites them to engage in the chase, and aids them strenuously in their encounters with wild bulls and lions.† It is thought that he was emblematically portrayed in the winged and human-headed bull, which forms

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* In one place I observe a mention of a "goddess Assuritu" ("Records," vol. i. p. 60), who might seem to be a feminine form of Asshur. But the original reads, "Asshur va Ishtar Assuritu," which shows Assuritu to be a mere title of Ishtar. (See G. Smith's "Annals of Asshurbanipal," p. 17.)

† Herod. i. 131, 199; Hesychius ad. voc. Βήλθης.

‡ "Records of the Past," vol. ix. pp. 131, 132. Professor Sayce reads the name as Ninkigal (*Ibid.* p. 146).

§ See Professor Sayce's note on the passage last quoted.

‖ "Records," vol. v. p. 146. Compare vol. iii. p. 141.

* Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 214; "Records of the Past," vol. v. pp. 7, 21, 23, etc.

† See "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 21.

so striking a feature in the architectural erections of the Assyrians.

58. As Nin was a favorite Assyrian so Merodach was a favorite Babylonian god. From the earliest times the Babylonian monarchs placed him in the highest rank of deities, worshiping him in conjunction with Anu, Bel, and Hea, the three gods of the first triad.[*] The great temple of Babylon, known to the Greeks as the Temple of Bel,[†] was certainly dedicated to him; and it would therefore seem that the later Babylonians, at any rate, must have habitually applied to him the name of Bel, or "lord," which in earlier times had designated a different member of their pantheon. Merodach's ordinary titles are, "the great," "the great lord," "the prince," "the prince of the gods," and "the august god." He is also called, "the judge," "the most ancient," "he who judges the gods," "the eldest son of heaven," and in one place, "the lord of battles."[‡] Occasionally, he has still higher and seemingly exclusive designations, such as, "the great lord of eternity," "the king of heaven and earth," "the lord of all beings," "the chief of the gods," and "the god of gods."[§] But these titles seem not to be meant exclusively. He is held in considerable honor among the Assyrians, being often coupled with Asshur,[||] or with Asshur and Nebo,[¶] as a war-god, one by whom the kings gain victories, and obtain the destruction of their enemies. But it is in Babylonia, and especially in the later Babylonian Empire under Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar, that his worship culminates. It is then that all the epithets of highest honor are accumulated upon him, and that he becomes an almost exclusive object of worship; it is then that we find such expressions as: "I supplicated the king of gods, the lord of lords, in Borsippa, the city of his loftiness,"[*] and "O god Merodach, great lord, lord of the house of the gods, light of the gods, father, even for thy high honor, which changeth not, a temple have I built."[†]

59. In his stellar character, Merodach represented the planet Jupiter, with which he was supposed to have a very intimate connection. The eighth month (Marchesvan) was dedicated to him.[‡] In the second Elul he had three festivals—on the third, on the seventh, and on the sixteenth day.[§]

60. Nergal, who presided over the planet Mars, was essentially a war-god. His name signifies "the great man," or the "great hero;"[||] and his commonest titles are "the mighty hero," "the king of battle," "the destroyer," "the champion of the gods," and "the great brother." He "goes before" the kings in their warlike expeditions, and helps them to confound and destroy their enemies. Nor is he above lending them his assistance when they indulge in the pleasures of the chase. One of his titles is "the god of hunting,"[¶] and while originally subordinated to Nin in this relation, ultimately he outstrips his rival, and becomes the especial patron of hunters and sportsmen. Asshur-bani-pal, who is conspicuous among the Assyrian kings for his intense love of field sports, uniformly ascribes his successes to Nergal, and does not even join with him any other deity. Nergal's emblem was the human-headed and winged lion, which is usually seen, as it were on guard, at the entrance of the royal palaces.

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[*] See the Inscription of Agu-kak-rimi, published in the "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 3, lines 5 and 6.

[†] Herod. i. 181-183; Strab. xvi. p. 1049: Arrian, "Exp. Alex." vii. 17.

[‡] "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 29.

[§] *Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 112, 119, 122; vol. ix. pp. 96, 106.

[||] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 20; vol. iii. pp. 53, 55; vol. v. p. 41; vol. x. p. 53, etc.

[¶] *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 25, 27, 45, etc.

[*] "Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 120.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 142.

[‡] *Ibid.* vol. vii. p. 169.

[§] *Ibid.* pp. 159, 160 and 1

[||] Sir Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 655.

[¶] Sir H. Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," l. s. c.

61. Ishtar, who was called Nana by the Babylonians,[*] corresponded both in name and attributes with the Astarté of the Phœnicians and Syrians. Like the Greek Aphrodité and the Latin Venus, she was the Queen of Love and Beauty, the goddess who presided over the loves both of men and animals, and whose own amours were notorious. In one of the Izdubar legends, she courts that romantic individual, who, however, declines her advances, reminding her that her favor had always proved fatal to those persons on whom she had previously bestowed her affections.[†] There can be little doubt that in Babylon, at any rate, she was worshiped with unchaste rites,[‡] and that her cult was thus of a corrupting and debasing character. But besides and beyond this soft and sensual aspect, Ishtar had a further and nobler one. She corresponded, not to Venus only, but also to Bellona; being called "the goddess of war and battle," "the queen of victory," "she who arranges battles," and "she who defends from attack." The Assyrian kings very generally unite her with Asshur, in the accounts which they give of their expeditions;[§] speaking of their forces as those which Asshur and Ishtar had committed to their charge; of their battles as fought in the service of Asshur and Ishtar, and of their triumphs as the result of Asshur and Ishtar exalting them above their enemies. Ishtar had also some general titles of a lofty but vague character; she was called, "the fortunate," "the happy," "the great goddess," "the mistress of heaven and earth," and "the queen of all the gods and goddesses." In her stellar aspect, she presided over the planet Venus; and the sixth month, Elul, was dedicated to her.[*]

62. Nebo, the last of the five planetary deities, presided over Mercury. It was his special function to have under his charge learning and knowledge. He is called "the god who possesses intelligence,"[†] "he who hears from afar," "he who teaches," and "he who teaches and instructs,"[‡] The tablets of the royal library at Nineveh are said to contain "the wisdom of Nebo."[§] He is also like Mercury, "the minister of the gods," though scarcely their messenger, an office which belongs to Paku. At the same time, as has often been remarked,[‖] Nebo has, like many other of the Assyrian and Babylonian gods, a number of general titles, implying divine power, which, if they had belonged to him alone, would have seemed to prove him the supreme deity. He is "the lord of lords, who has no equal in power," "the supreme chief," "the sustainer," "the supporter," "the ever ready," "the guardian of heaven and earth," "the lord of the constellations," "the holder of the scepter of power," "he who grants to kings the scepter of royalty for the governance of their people." It is chiefly by his omission from many lists, and by his humble place,[¶] when he is mentioned together with the really "great gods," that we are assured of his occupying a (comparatively speaking) low position in the general pantheon. The planetary gods had in most instances a female complement. Nebo was closely associated with a goddess called Urmit or Tasmit, Nergal with one called Laz, and Merodach with Zirpanit or Zir-

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[*] "Records of the Past," vol. iii. pp. 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, etc.; vol. v. pp. 72, 83, 102, etc.

[†] "Records of the Past," vol. ix. pp. 125–128.

[‡] See Herod. i. 199; of Baruch, vi. 43, and Strabo, xvi. p. 1058.

[§] "Records of the Past," vol. i. pp. 69–86; vol. iii. p. 45, etc.

[*] "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 169.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. v. pp. 113, 122, etc.

[‡] "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 177.

[§] "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 58.

[‖] Sir H. Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 661; "Ancient Monarchies," l. s. c.

[¶] Nebo's place varies commonly from the fifth to the thirteenth, and is generally about the seventh. Nebuchadnezzar, however, puts him third. ("Records of the Past," vol. v. p. 122.)

banit. Nin, the son of Bel and Beltis, is sometimes made the husband of his mother,[*] but otherwise has no female counterpart. Ishtar is sometimes coupled with Nebo in a way that might suggest her being his wife,[†] if it were not that that position is certainly occupied by Urmit.

63. Among other Assyrian and Babylonian deities may be mentioned Nusku, a god assigned a high rank by Asshur-bani-pal;[‡] Makhir, the goddess of dreams,[§] Paku, the divine messenger,[‖] Laguda, the god of a town call Kisik;[¶] Zamal, Turda, Ishkara, Malik, deities invoked in curses;[**] Zicum, a primeval goddess, said to be "the mother of Anu; and the gods,"[††] Dakan,[‡‡] perhaps Dagon, Martu, Zira, Idak, Kurrikh, etc. Many other strange names also occur, but either rarely, or in a connection which is thought to indicate that they are local appellations of some of the well-known deities. No more need be said of these personages, since the general character of the religion is but little affected by the belief in gods who played so very insignificant a part in the system.

64. The Assyrians and Babylonians worshiped their gods in shrines or chapels of no very great size, to which, however, was frequently attached a lofty tower, built in stages, which were sometimes as many as seven.[§§] The tower could be ascended by steps on the outside, and was usually crowned by a small chapel. The gods were represented by images, which were either of stone or metal, and which bore the human form, excepting in two instances. Nin and Nergal were portrayed, as the Jews, perhaps, portrayed their cherubim, by animal forms of great size and grandeur, having human heads and huge outstretched wings.[*] There was nothing hideous or even grotesque about the representations of the Assyrian gods. The object aimed at was to fill the spectator with feelings of awe and reverence; and the figures have, in fact, universally, an appearance of calm placid strength and majesty, which is most solemn and impressive.

65. The gods were worshiped, as generally in the ancient world, by prayer, praise, and sacrifice. Prayer was offered both for oneself and for others. The "sinfulness of sin" was deeply felt, and the Divine anger deprecated with much earnestness. "O! my Lord," says one suppliant, "my sins are many, my trespasses are great; and the wrath of the gods has plagued me with disease, and sickness, and sorrow. I fainted, but no one stretched forth his hand; I groaned, but no one drew nigh. I cried aloud, but no one heard. O Lord, do not Thou abandon thy servant. In the waters of the great storm, do Thou lay hold of his hand. The sins which he has committed, do Thou turn to righteousness."[†] Special intercession was made for the Assyrian kings. The gods were besought to grant them "length of days, a strong sword, extended years of glory, pre-eminence among monarchs, and an enlargement of the bounds of their empire."[‡] It is thought that their happiness in a future state was also prayed for.[§] Praise was even more frequent than prayer. The gods were addressed under their various titles, and their benefits to mankind commemorated. "O Fire!" we read on one tablet,[‖] "Great Lord, who art exalted above all the earth! O! noble son of heaven, exalted above all the earth.

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[*] Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 169.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 176.

[‡] "Records of the Past," vol. i. pp. 57, 58, 71, 77, 94, 95, etc.; vol. ix. pp. 45, 61, etc.

[§] *Ibid.* vol. ix. p. 152.

[‖] *Ibid.* vol. v. p. 165.

[¶] *Ibid.* vol. ix. pp. 3 and 15.

[**] *Ibid.* p. 101.

[††] *Ibid.* p. 146, and note.

[‡‡] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 40; vol. v. p. 117; vol. vii. pp. 11, 27, etc.

[§§] As at Borsippa (Birs-i-Nimrod), where a portion of each stage remains.

[*] Ezek. x. 8–22.

[†] "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 136.

[‡] *Ibid.* p. 133.

[§] Fox Talbot in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. i. p. 107.

[‖] "Records of the Past," vol. iii. pp. 137-138.

O Fire, with thy bright flame, thou dost produce light in the dark house! Of all things that can be named, thou dost create the fabric; of bronze and of lead, thou art the melter; of silver and of gold, thou art the refiner; of . . . . thou art the purifier. Of the wicked man, in the night-time, thou dost repel the assault; but the man who serves his God, thou wilt give him light for his actions." Sacrifice almost always accompanied prayer and praise. Every day in the year seems to have been sacred to some deity or deities, and some sacrifice or other was offered every day by the monarch,[*] who thus set an example to his subjects, which we may be sure they were not slow to follow. The principal sacrificial animals were bulls, oxen, sheep, and gazelles.[†] Libations of wine were also a part of the recognized worship,[‡] and offerings might be made of anything valuable.

66. It is an interesting question how far the Assyrians and Babylonians entertained any confident expectation of a future life, and, if so, what view they took of if. That the idea did not occupy a prominent place in their minds; that there was a contrast in this respect between them and the people of Egypt, is palpable from the very small number of passages in which anything like an allusion to a future state of existence has been detected. Still, there certainly seem to be places in which the continued existence of the dead is spoken of, and where the happiness of the good and the wretchedness of the wicked in the future state are indicated. It has been already noticed, that in one passage the happiness of the king in another world seems to be prayed for. In two or three others, prayer is offered for a departing soul in terms like the following: "May the sun give him life, and Merodach grant him an abode of happiness,"[*] or, "To the sun, the greatest of the gods, may he ascend; and may the sun, the greatest of the gods, receive his soul into his holy hands."[†] The nature of the happiness enjoyed may be gathered from occasional notices, where the soul is represented as clad in a white radiant garment,[‡] as dwelling in the presence of the gods, and as partaking of celestial food in the abode of blessedness. On the other hand, Hades, the receptacle of the wicked after death, is spoken of as "the abode of darkness and famine," the place "where earth is men's food, and their nourishment clay; where light is not seen, but in darkness they dwell; where ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings, and on the door and the doorposts the dust lies undisturbed."[§] Different degrees of sinfulness seem to meet with different and appropriate punishments. There is one place—apparently, a penal fire—reserved for unfaithful wives and husbands, and for youths who have dishonored their bodies. Thus it would appear that M. Lenormant was mistaken when he said, that, though the Assyrians recognized a place of departed spirits, yet it was one "in which there was no trace of a distinction of rewards and punishments."[‖]

67. The superstitions of the Assyrians and Babylonians were numerous and strange. They believed in charms of various kinds;[¶] in omens,[**] in astrology, in spells, and in a miraculous power inherent in an object which they called "the Mamit." What the

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[*] See the fragment of a Calendar published in the "Records of the Past," vol. vii. pp. 159–168.

[†] *Ibid.* pp. 137, 159, and 161; "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 271.

[‡] "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 124; vol. vii. p. 140.

[*] "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. p. 32.

[†] *Ibid.* p. 31.

[‡] "Records of the Past," vol. iii. p. 135.

[§] "Transactions," etc., vol. i. p. 113.

[‖] "Records of the Past," vol. i. p. 143.

[¶] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 142.

[**] Among the remains of Assyrian and Babylonian literature are tables of omens derived from dreams, from births, from an inspection of the hand, or of the entrails of animals, and from the objects a traveler meets with on his journey. Dogs alone furnish eighteen omens (*Ibid.*, vol. v. pp. 169–170).

Mamit was is quite uncertain.* According to the native belief, it had descended from heaven, and was a "treasure," a "priceless jewel," infinitely more valuable than anything else upon the earth. It was ordinarily kept in a temple, but was sometimes brought to the bedside of a sick person, with the object of driving out the evil spirits to whom his disease was owing, and of so recovering him.

68. Among the sacred legends of the Babylonians and Assyrians the following were the most remarkable. They believed that at a remote date, before the creation of the world, there had been war in heaven. Seven spirits, created by Anu to be his messengers, took counsel together and resolved to revolt. "Against high heaven, the dwelling-place of Anu the king, they plotted evil," and unexpectedly made a fierce attack. The moon, the sun, and Vul, the god of the atmosphere, withstood them, and after a fearful struggle beat them off.† There was then peace for awhile. But once more, at a later date, a fresh revolt broke out. The hosts of heaven were assembled together, in number five thousand, and were engaged in singing a psalm of praise to Anu, when suddenly discord arose. "With a loud cry of contempt" a portion of the angelic choir "broke up the holy song," uttering wicked blasphemies, and so "spoiling, confusing, confounding the hymn of praise." Asshur was asked to put himself at their head, but "refused to go forth with them."‡ Their leader, who is unnamed, took the form of a dragon, and in that shape contended with the god Bel, who proved victorious in the combat, and slew his adversary by means of a thunderbolt, which he flung into the creature's open mouth.§ Upon this, the entire host of the wicked angels took to flight, and was driven to the abode of the seven spirits of evil, where they were forced to remain, their return to heaven being prohibited. In their room man was created.*

69. The Chaldæan legend of creation, according to Berosus, was as follows:—

"In the beginning all was darkness and water, and therein were generated monstrous animals of strange and peculiar forms. There were men with two wings, and some even with four, and with two faces; and others with two heads, a man's and a woman's, on one body; and there were men with the heads and horns of goats, and men with hoofs like horses; and some with the upper parts of a man joined to the lower parts of a horse, like centaurs; and there were bulls with human heads, dogs with four bodies, and with fishes' tails; men and horses with dogs' heads; creatures with the heads and bodies of horses, but with the tails of fish; and other animals mixing the forms of various beasts. Moreover, there were monstrous fishes and reptiles and serpents, and divers other creatures, which had borrowed something from each other's shapes, of all which the likenesses are still preserved in the temple of Belus. A woman ruled them all, by name Omorka, which is in Chaldee Thalath, and in Greek Thalassa (or 'the sea'). Then Belus appeared, and split the woman in twain; and of the one half of her he made the heaven, and of the other half the earth; and the beasts that were in her he caused to perish. And he split the darkness, and divided the heaven and the earth asunder, and put the world in order, and the animals that could not bear the light perished. Belus, upon this, seeing that the earth was desolate, yet teeming with productive powers, commanded one of the gods to cut off his head, and to mix the blood which flowed forth with earth, and form men therewith and beasts that could bear the light. So man was made, and was intelligent, being a partaker of the

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* See a paper by Mr. Fox Talbot in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. pp. 35–42.

† "Records of the Past," vol. v. pp. 163–166.

‡ *Ibid.* vol. vii. pp. 127, 128.

§ *Ibid.* vol. ix. pp. 137–139.

* "Records of the Past," vol. vii. p. 127.

Divine wisdom. Likewise Belus made the stars, and the sun and the moon, and the five planets."*

70. The only native account which has been discovered in part resembles this, but in many respects is different. So far as at present deciphered, it runs thus:—

"When the upper region was not yet called heaven, and the lower region was not yet called earth, and the abyss of Hades had not yet opened its arms, then the chaos of waters gave birth to all; and the waters were gathered into one place. Men dwelt not as yet together; no animals as yet wandered about; nor as yet had the gods been born; not as yet had their names been uttered, or their attributes [fixed]. Then were born the gods Lakhmu and Lakhamu; they were born and grew up . . . . Asshur and Kisshur were born and lived through many days . . . . Anu (was born next).

* * * * *

"He (Anu ?) constructed dwellings for the great gods; he fixed the constellations, whose figures were like animals. He made the year into portions; he divided it; twelve months he established, with their constellations, three by three. And from among the days of the year he appointed festivals; he made dwellings for the planets, for their rising and for their setting. And, that nothing should go wrong, nor come to a stand, he placed along with them the dwellings of Bel and Hea; and he opened great gates on all sides, making strong the portals on the left and on the right. Moreover, in the center he placed luminaries. The moon he set on high to circle through the night, and made it wander all the night until the dawning of the day. Each month without fail it brought together festal assemblies; in the beginning of the month, at the rising of the night, shooting forth its horns to illuminate the heavens, and on the seventh day a holy day appointing, and commanding on that day a cessation from all business. And he (Anu) set the sun in his place in the horizon of heaven."*

The following is the Chaldæan account of the Deluge, as rendered from the original by the late Mr. George Smith:†—

"Hea spake to me and said:—'Son of Ubaratutu, make a ship after this fashion . . . . for I destroy the sinners and life . . . . and cause to enter in all the seed of life, that thou mayest preserve them. The ship which thou shalt make, ... cubits shall be the measure of the length thereof, and . . . . cubits the measure of the breadth and height thereof; and into the deep thou shalt launch it.' I understood, and said to Hea, my Lord—'Hea, my Lord, this which Thou commandest me, I will perform: [though I be derided] both by young and old, it shall be done.' Hea opened his mouth, and spake—'This shalt thou say to them . . . . (hiatus of six lines) . . . . and enter thou into the ship, and shut to the door; and bring into the midst of it thy grain, and thy furniture, and thy goods, thy wealth, thy servants, thy female slaves and thy young men. And I will gather to thee the beasts of the field, and the animals, and I will bring them to thee; and they shall be enclosed within thy door.' Hasisadra his mouth opened and spake, and said to Hea, his Lord—'There was not upon the earth a man who could make the ship . . . . strong [planks] I brought . . . . on the fifth day . . . . in its circuit fourteen measures [it measured]; in its sides fourteen measures it measured . . . . and upon it I placed its roof and closed [the door]. On the sixth day I embarked in it: on the seventh I examined it without: on the eighth I examined it within; planks against the influx of the waters I placed: where I saw rents and holes, I added what was required. Three measures of bitumen I poured over the outside: three measures of bitumen I poured over the inside . . . . (five lines obscure and mutilated) . . . . Wine in receptacles I collected, like the waters of a river; also [food], like the dust of the earth, I collected in boxes [and stored up]. And Shamas the material of the ship completed [and made it] strong. And the reed oars of the ship I caused them to bring [and place] above and below. . . . . All I possessed of silver, all I possessed of gold. all I possessed of the seed of life, I caused to ascend into the ship. All my male servants, all my female servants, all the beasts of the field, all the animals, all the sons of the people, I caused to go up. A flood Shamas made, and thus he spake in the night: 'I will cause it to rain from heaven heavily. Enter into the midst of the ship, and shut thy door.'"

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* Berosus ap. Euseb. "Chron. Can." i. 2; Syncell. "Chronographia," vol. i. p. 53.

* "Records of the Past," vol. ix. pp. 117–118.

† Mr. Smith's paper, read on Dec. 3, 1872, was first published in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," in 1874. It was afterward revised, and republished in the "Records of the Past," vol. xii. pp. 135–141. The translation is taken mainly from this second version.

72. The command of Shamas is obeyed, and then "The raging of a storm in the morning arose, from the horizon of heaven extending far and wide. Vul in the midst of it thundered: Nebo and Saru went in front: the throne-bearers sped over mountains and plains: the destroyer, Nergal, overturned: Ninip went in front and cast down: the spirits spread abroad destruction: in their fury they swept the earth: the flood of Vul reached to heaven. The bright earth to a waste was turned: the storm o'er its surface swept: from the face of the earth was life destroyed: the strong flood that had whelmed mankind reached to heaven: brother saw not brother; the flood did not spare the people. Even in heaven the gods feared the tempest, and sought refuge in the abode of Anu. Like dogs the gods crouched down, and cowered together. Spake Ishtar, like a child—uttered the great goddess her speech: 'When the world to corruption turned, then I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil. When I in the presence of the gods prophesied evil, then to evil were devoted all my children. I, the mother, have given birth to my people, and lo! now like the young of fishes they fill the sea.' The gods were weeping for the spirits with her; the gods in their seats were sitting in lamentation; covered were their lips on account of the coming evil. Six days and nights passed; the wind, the flood, the storm overwhelmed. On the seventh day, in its course was calmed the storm; and all the tempest, which had destroyed like an earthquake, was quieted. The flood He caused to dry; the wind and the deluge ended. I beheld the tossing of the sea, and mankind all turned to corruption; like reeds the corpses floated. I opened the window, and the light broke over my face. It passed. I sat down and wept; over my face flowed my tears. I saw the shore at the edge of the sea; for twelve measures the land rose. To the country of Nizir went the ship: the mountain of Nizir stopped the ship: to pass over it was not able. The first day and the second day the mountain of Nizir, the same; the third day and the fourth day the mountain of Nizir, the same; the fifth and sixth the mountain of Nizir, the same; in the course of the seventh day I sent out a dove, and it left. The dove went to and fro, and a resting-place it did not find, and it returned. I sent forth a swallow, and it left; the swallow went to and fro, and a resting-place it did not find, and it returned. I sent forth a raven, and it left; the raven went, and the corpses on the water it saw, and it did eat: it swam, and wandered away, and returned not. I sent the animals forth to the four winds: I poured out a libation: I built an altar on the peak of the mountain: seven jugs of wine I took; at the bottom I placed reeds, pines, and spices. The gods collected to the burning: the gods collected to the good burning. Like

sumpe (?) over the sacrifice they gathered.' "

73. One more example must conclude our specimens of the legends current among the Assyrians and Babylonians in ancient times. As the preceding passage is myth based upon history, the concluding one shall be taken from that portion of Assyrian lore which is purely and wholly imaginative. The descent of Ishtar to Hades, perhaps in search of Tammuz, is related as follows * :—

"To the land of Hades, the land of her desire, Ishtar, daughter of the Moon-good Sin, turned her mind. The daughter of Sin fixed her mind to go to the House where all meet, the dwelling of the god Iskalla, to the house which men enter, but cannot depart from—the road which men travel, but never retrace—the abode of darkness and of famine, where earth is their food, their nourishment clay—where light is not seen, but in darkness they dwell—where ghosts, like birds, flutter their wings, and on the door and the door-posts the dust lies undisturbed.

"When Ishtar arrived at the gate of Hades, to the keeper of the gate a word she spake: 'O keeper of the entrance, open thy gate! Open thy gate, I say again, that I may enter in! If thou openest not thy gate, if I do not enter in, I will assault the door, the gate I will break down, I will attack the entrance, I will split open the portals. I will raise the dead, to be the devourers of the living! Upon the living the dead shall prey.' Then the porter opened his mouth and spake, and thus he said to great Ishtar: 'Stay, lady, do not shake down the door; I will go and inform Queen Nin-ki-gal.' So the porter went in and to Nin-ki-gal said: 'These curses thy sister Ishtar utters; yea, she blasphemes thee with fearful curses.' And Nin-ki-gal, hearing the words, grew pale, like a flower when cut from the stem; like the stalk of a reed, she shook. And she said, 'I will cure her rage—I will speedily cure her fury. Her curses I will repay. Light up consuming flames! Light up a blaze of straw! Be her doom with the husbands who left their wives; be her doom with the wives who forsook their lords; be her doom with the youths of dishonored lives. Go, porter, and open the gate for her; but strip her, as some have been stripped ere now.' The porter went and opened the gate. 'Lady of Tiggaba, enter,' he said: 'Enter. It is permitted. The Queen of Hades to meet thee comes.' So the first gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the great crown was taken from her head. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the crown that is on my head.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon its removal.' The next gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the ear-rings were taken from her ears. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the ear-rings from my ears.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The third gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the precious stones were taken from her head. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the gems that adorn my head.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The fourth gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the small jewels were taken from her brow. 'Keeper do not take off from me the small jewels that deck my brow.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The fifth gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the girdle was taken from her waist. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the girdle that girds my waist.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon its removal.' The sixth gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the gold rings were taken from her hands and feet. 'Keeper, do not take off from me the gold rings of my hands and feet.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon their removal.' The seventh gate let her in, but she was stopped, and there the last garment was taken from her body. 'Keeper, do not take off, I pray, the last garment from my body.' 'Excuse it, lady, the Queen of the Land insists upon its removal.'

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* The translation of Mr. Fox Talbot, as given in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. iii. pp. 119–124, and again in "Records of the Past," vol. i. pp. 143–149, is here followed.

"After that Mother Ishtar had descended into Hades, Nin-ki-gal saw and derided her to her face. Then Ishtar lost her reason, and heaped curses upon the other. Nin-ki-gal hereupon opened her mouth, and spake: 'Go, Namtar, ... and bring her out for punishment, . . . afflict her with disease of the eye, the side, the feet, the heart, the head (some lines effaced) . . . .

"The Divine messenger of the gods lacerated his face before them. The assembly of the gods was full. . . . The Sun came, along with the Moon, his father, and weeping he spake thus unto Hea, the king: 'Ishtar has descended into the earth, and has not risen again; and ever since the time that Mother Ishtar descended into hell, ... the master has ceased from commanding; the slave has ceased from obeying.' Then the god Hea in the depth of his mind formed a design; he modeled, for her escape, the figure of a man of clay. 'Go to save her, Phantom, present thyself at the portal of Hades; the seven gates of Hades will all open before thee; Nin-ki-gal will see thee, and take pleasure because of thee. When her mind has grown calm, and her anger has worn itself away, awe her with the names of the great gods! Then prepare thy frauds! Fix on deceitful tricks thy mind! Use the chiefest of thy tricks! Bring forth fish out of an empty vessel! That will astonish Nin-ki-gal, and to Ishtar she will restore her clothing. The reward—a great reward—for these things shall not fail. Go, Phantom, save her, and the great assembly of the people shall crown thee! Meats, the best in the city, shall be thy food! Wine, the most delicious in the city, shall be thy drink! A royal palace shall be thy dwelling, a throne of state shall be thy seat! Magician and conjurer shall kiss the hem of thy garment!'

"Nin-ki-gal opened her mouth and spake: to her messenger, Namtar, commands she gave: 'Go, Namtar, the Temple of Justice adorn! Deck the images! Deck the altars! Bring out Anunnak, and let him take his seat on a throne of gold! Pour out for Ishtar the water of life; from my realms let her depart.' Namtar obeyed; he adorned the Temple; decked the images, decked the altars; brought out Anunnak, and let him take his seat on a throne of gold; poured out for Ishtar the water of life, and suffered her to depart. Then the first gate let her out, and gave her back the garment of her form. The next gate let her out, and gave her back the jewels for her hands and feet. The third gate let her out, and gave her back the girdle for her waist. The fourth gate let her out, and gave her back the small gems she had worn upon her brow. The fifth gate let her out, and gave her back the precious stones that had been upon her head. The sixth gate let her out, and gave her back the ear-rings that were taken from her ears. And the seventh gate let her out, and gave her back the crown she had carried on her head."

So ends this curious legend, and with it the limits of our space require that we should terminate this notice of the religion of the Assyrians and Babylonians.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT IRANIANS.

'Αριστοτέλης φησὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχὰς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα.—DIOG. *Laert. Proem, p.* 2.

74. THE Iranians were in ancient times the dominant race throughout the entire tract lying between the Suliman mountains and the Pamir steppe on the one hand, and the great

Mesopotamian valley on the other. Intermixed in portions of the tract with a Cushite or Nigritic, and in others with a Turanian element, they possessed, nevertheless, upon the whole, a decided preponderance; and the tract itself has been known as "Ariana," or "Iran," at any rate from the time of Alexander the Great to the present day! * The region is one in which extremes are brought into sharp contrast, and forced on human observation, the summers being intensely hot, and the winters piercingly cold, the more favored portions luxuriantly fertile, the remainder an arid and frightful desert. If, as seems to be now generally thought by the best informed and deepest investigators,† the light of primeval relation very early faded away in Asia, and religions there were in the main elaborated out of the working upon the circumstances of his environment, of that "religious faculty" wherewith God had endowed mankind, we might expect that in this peculiar region a peculiar religion should develop itself—a religion of strong antitheses and sharp contrasts, unlike that of such homogeneous tracts as the Nile valley and the Mesopotamian plain, where climate was almost uniform, and a monotonous fertility spread around universal abundance. The fact answers to our natural anticipation. At a time which it is difficult to date, but which those best skilled in Iranian antiquities are inclined to place before the birth of Moses,‡ there grew up, in the region whereof we are speaking, a form of religion marked by very special and unusual features, very unlike the religions of Egypt and Assyria, a thing quite *sui generis*, one very worthy of the attention of those who are interested in the past history of the human race, and more especially of such as wish to study the history of religions.

75. Ancient tradition associates this religion with the name of Zoroaster. Zoroaster, or Zarathrustra, according to the native spelling,* was, by one account,† a Median king who conquered Babylon about B.C. 2458. By another, which is more probable, and which rests, moreover, on better authority, he was a Bactrian,‡ who, at a date not quite so remote, came forward in the broad plain of the middle Oxus to instill into the minds of his countrymen the doctrines and precepts of a new religion. Claiming divine inspiration, and professing to hold from time to time direct conversation with the Supreme Being, he delivered his revelations in a mythical form, and obtained their general acceptance as divine by the Bactrian people. His religion gradually spread from "happy Bactra," "Bactra of the lofty banner,"§ first to the neighboring countries, and then to all the numerous tribes of the Iranians, until at last it became the established religion of the mighty empire of Persia, which, in the middle of the sixth century before our era, established itself on the ruins of the Assyrian and Babylonian kingdoms, and shortly afterward overran and subdued the ancient monarchy of the Pharaohs. In Persia it maintained its ground, despite the shocks of Grecian and Parthian conquest, until Mohammedan intolerance drove it out at the point of the sword, and forced it to seek a refuge further east, in the peninsula of Hindustan. Here it still continues, in Guzerat and in Bombay, the creed of that ingenious and intelligent people known to Anglo-Indians—and may we not say to Englishmen generally?—as Parsees.

76. The religion of the Parsees is contained in a volume of some size,

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* Strabo, who is the earliest of extant writers to use "Ariana" in this broad sense, probably obtained the term from the contemporaries of Alexander. It was certainly used by Apollodorus of Artemita (ab. B.C. 130).

† See Max Müller, "Introduction to the Science of Religion," Lecture I. pp. 40, 41.

‡ Haug, "Essays on the Religion, etc., of the Parsees," p. 255.

* See "Zendavesta," *passim*.

† Berosus ap. Syncell. "Chronographia," p. 147.

‡ Hermipp. ap. Arnob. "Adv. Gentes," i. 52; Justin, i. 1; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6; Moses Choren. "Hist. Armen." i. 5.

§ "Vendidad," Farg. ii. s. 7.

which has received the name of "the Zendavesta."[*] Subjected for the last fifty years to the searching analysis of first-rate orientalists — Burnouf, Westergaard, Brockhaus, Spiegel, Haug, Windischmann, Hübschmann —this work has been found to belong in its various parts to very different dates, and to admit of being so dissected[†] as to reveal to us, not only what are the tenets of the modern Parsees, but what was the earliest form of that religion whereof theirs is the remote and degenerate descendant. Signs of a great antiquity are found to attach to the language of certain rhythmical compositions, called Gâthâs or hymns; and the religious ideas contained in these are found to be at once harmonious, and also of a simpler and more primitive character than those contained in the rest of the volume. From the Gâthâs chiefly, but also to some extent from other, apparently very ancient, portions of the Zendavesta, the characteristics of the early Iranian religion have been drawn out by various scholars, particularly by Dr. Martin Haug; and it is from the labors of these writers, in the main, that we shall be content to draw our picture of the religion in question.

77. The most striking feature of the religion, and that which is generally allowed to be its leading characteristic, is the assertion of Dualism. By Dualism we mean the belief in two original uncreated principles, a principle of good and a principle of evil. This creed was not perhaps contained in the teaching of Zoroaster himself,[‡] but it was developed at so early a date[*] out of that teaching, that in treating generally of the Iranian religion we must necessarily regard Dualism as a part of it. The Iranians of historic times held that from all eternity there had existed two mighty and rival beings, the authors of all other existences, who had been engaged in a perpetual contest, each seeking to injure, baffle, and in every way annoy and thwart the other. Both principles were real persons, possessed of will, intelligence, power, consciousness, and other personal qualities. To the one they gave the name of Ahura-Mazda, to the other that of Angro-Mainyus.

78. Here let us pause for a moment, and consider the import of these two names. Names of deities, as Professor Max Müller has well pointed out,[†] are among the most interesting of studies; and a proper understanding of their meaning throws frequently very considerable light on the nature and character of a religion. Now, Ahura-Mazda is a word composed of three elements: "Ahura," "maz," "da." The first of these is properly an adjective, signifying, "living;" it corresponds to "asura" in Sanskrit, and like that passes from an adjectival to a substantival force, and is used for "living being," especially for living beings superior to man. Perhaps it may be best expressed in English by the word "spirit," only that we must not regard absolute immateriality as implied in it. "Maz" is cognate to the "maj" in major, and the "mag" or "meg" in "magnus" and *μέγας*; it is an intensitive, and means "much." "Da" or "dao" is a word of a double meaning; it is a participle, or verbal adjective, and signifies either "giving" or "knowing," being connected with the Latin "do," "dare" (Greek *δίδωμι*), "to give," and with the Greek *δαῆναι*, *δαῆμων*

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[*] Anquetil Duperron introduced the sacred book of the Parsees to the knowledge of Europeans under this name; and the word thus introduced can scarcely be now displaced. Otherwise "Avesta-Zend" might be recommended as the more proper title. "Avesta" means "text," and "Zend" means "comment." "Avesta u Zend," or "Text and Comment" is the proper title, which is then contracted into "Avesta-Zend."

[†] Haug, "Essays," pp. 136–138; Max Müller, "Introduction to the Science of Religion," pp. 26–29.

[‡] See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. pp. 104, 105.

[*] The Second Fargard of the "Vendidad," which from internal evidence may be pronounced earlier than B.C. 800, is as strongly Dualistic as any other portion of the volume.

[†] "Introduction to the Science of Religion," Lecture III. pp. 171 *et seqq.*

"to know," "knowing." The entire word, "Ahura-Mazda," thus means either, "the much-knowing spirit," or the "much-giving spirit," the "all-bountiful," or "the all-wise." *

79. Angro-Mainyus contains two elements only, an adjective and a substantive. "Angro" is akin to "niger," and so to "negro;" it means simply "black" or "dark." "Mainyus," a substantive, is the exact equivalent of the Latin "mens," and the Greek μένος. It means "mind," "intelligence." Thus Angro-Mainyus is the "black or dark intelligence."

80. Thus the names themselves sufficiently indicated to those who first used them the nature of the two beings. Ahura-Mazda was the "all-bountiful, all wise, living being" or "spirit," who stood at the head of all that was good and lovely, beautiful and delightful. Angro-Mainyus was the "dark and gloomy intelligence," that had from the first been Ahura-Mazda's enemy, and was bent on thwarting and vexing him. And with these fundamental notions agreed all that the sacred books taught concerning either being. Ahura-Mazda was declared to be "the creator of life, the earthly and the spiritual;" he had made "the celestial bodies," "earth, water, and trees," "all good creatures," and "all good, true things." He was "good," "holy," "pure," "true," "the holy god," "the holiest," "the essence of truth," "the father of truth," "the best being of all," "the master of purity." Supremely happy, he possessed every blessing, "health, wealth, virtue, wisdom, immortality."† From him came all good to man—on the pious and the righteous he bestowed, not only earthly advantages, but precious spiritual gifts, truth, devotion, "the good mind," and everlasting happiness; and, as he rewarded the good, so he also punished the bad, although this was an aspect in which he was but seldom contemplated.

81. Angro-Mainyus, on the other hand, was the creator and upholder of everything that was evil. Opposed to Ahura-Mazda from the beginning, he had been engaged in a perpetual warfare with him. Whatever good thing Ahura-Mazda had created, Angro-Mainyus had corrupted and ruined it.* Moral and physical evils were alike at his disposal. He could blast the earth with barrenness, or make it produce thorns, thistles, and poisonous plants; his were the earthquake, the storm, the plague of hail, the thunderbolt; he could cause disease and death, sweep off a nation's flocks and herds by murrain, or depopulate a continent by pestilence; ferocious wild beasts, serpents, toads, mice, hornets, mosquitoes, were his creation; he had invented and introduced into the world the sins of witchcraft, murder, unbelief, cannibalism; he excited wars and tumults, continually stirred up the bad against the good, and labored by every possible expedient to make vice triumph over virtue. Ahura-Mazda could exercise no control over him; the utmost that he could do was to keep a perpetual watch upon his rival, and seek to baffle and defeat him. This he was not always able to do; despite his best endeavors, Angro-Mainyus was not unfrequently victorious.

82. The two great beings who thus divided between them the empire of the universe, were neither of them content to be solitary. Each had called into existence a number of inferior spirits, who acknowledged their sovereignty, fought on their side, and sought to execute their behests. At the head of the good spirits subject to Ahura-Mazda stood a band

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* See Haug, "Essays," p. 33; Brockhaus, "Vendidad-Sadé," pp. 347 and 385: and Sir H. Rawlinson, "Persian Vocabulary," ad voc. "Auramazda."

† The expressions in inverted commas are all taken from Haug's translations of the *Yasna* given in his "Essays." The exact place of each is noted in the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. p. 96.

* See the Second Fargard of the "Vendidad," which is given at length in the above-mentioned work, vol. iii. pp. 238–240.

of six dignified with the title of Amesha-Spentas, or "Immortal Holy Ones," the chief assistants of the Principle of Good both in counsel and in action. These were Vohu-mano, or Bahman, the "Good Mind"; Asha-vahista, or Ardibehesht, "the Highest Truth;" Khshathra-vairya, or Shahravar, the genius of wealth: Spenta-Armaiti (Island-armat), the genius of the Earth: Haurvatat (Khordad), the genius of Health: and Ameretat (Amerdat), the genius of Immortality.* In direct antithesis to these stood the band, likewise one of six, which formed the council and chief support of Angro-Mainyus, namely, Akomano, "the Bad Mind": Indra, the god of storms: Saurva: Naonhaitya: Taric: and Zaric.† Besides these leading spirits there was marshaled on either side an innumerable host of lesser and subordinate ones, called respectively *ahuras* and *devas*, who constituted the armies or attendants of the two great powers, and were employed by them to work out their purposes. The leader of the angelic hosts, or *ahuras*, was a glorious being, called Sraosha or Serosh ‡—"the good, tall, fair Serosh," who stood in the Zoroastrian system where Michael the Archangel stands in the Christian.§ The armies of Angro-Mainyus had no such single leader, but fought under the orders of a number of co-equal captains, as Drukhs, "destruction": Aêshemo, "rapine": Daivis, "deceit": Driwis, "poverty": and others. Offering an uninterrupted and dogged resistance to the army of Ahura-Mazda, they maintained the struggle on something like equal terms, and showed no sign of any intention to make their submission.

83. Neither Ahura-Mazda nor the Amesha-Spentas were represented by the early Iranians under any material forms. The Zoroastrian system was markedly anti-idolatrous: and the utmost that was allowed the worshiper was an emblematic representation of the Supreme Being by means of a winged circle, with which was occasionally combined an incomplete human figure, robed and wearing a tiara. A four-winged figure at Murgab, the ancient Pasargadæ, is also possibly a representation of Serosh; but otherwise the objects of their religious regards were not exhibited in material shapes by the early Iranians.

84. Among the angelic beings reverenced by the Iranians lower than the Amesha-Spentas, but still of a very high rank and dignity, were Mithra, the genius of light, early identified with the sun; Tistrya, the Dog-star;* Airyaman, a genius presiding over marriage;† and others. Mithra was originally not held in very high esteem; but by degrees he was advanced, and ultimately came to occupy a place only a little inferior to that assigned from the first to Ahura-Mazda. Darius, the son of Hystaspes, placed the emblems of Ahura-Mazda and of Mithra in equally conspicuous positions on the sculptured tablet above his tomb; and his example was followed by all the later monarchs of his race whose sepulchres are still in existence.‡ Artaxerxes Mnemon placed an image of Mithra in the temple attached to the royal palace at Susa.§ He also in his inscriptions unites Mithra with Ahura-Mazda, and prays for their conjoint protection.‖ Artaxerxes Ochus does the same a

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* Haug, "Essays," p. 263; Pusey, "Lectures on Daniel," pp. 536, 537.

† Haug, l. s. c.; Windischmann, "Zoroastrische Studient," p. 59.

‡ On Serosh, see the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iii. pp. 99, 112.

§ It is no doubt true, as Dr. Pusey observes ("Lectures on Daniel," p. 535), that the character of the Amesha-Spentas, and of the other great spirits or genii of the Zendavesta, is altogether "below that of the holy angels," and that the term "archangel," if applied to any of them, is "a misnomer" (*Ibid.* p. 538). But still there is sufficient resemblance to make the comparison natural and not improper.

* "Zendavesta," iii. 72 (Spiegel's edition).

† Haug, "Essays," p. 231.

‡ See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. iv. p. 334, and Flandin, "Voyage en Perse," pls. 164, bis, 166, 173–176.

§ Loftus "Chaldæa and Susiana," p. 372.

‖ *Ibid.*

little later;[*] and the practice is also observed in portions of the Zendavesta composed about this period.[†] Ahura-Mazda and Mithra are called "the two great ones," "the two great, imperishable, and pure."[‡]

85. The position of man in the cosmic scheme was determined by the fact that he was among the creations of Ahura-Mazda. Formed and placed on earth by the Good Being, he was bound to render him implicit obedience, and to oppose to the utmost Angro-Mainyus and his creatures. His duties might be summed up under the four heads of piety, purity, industry, and veracity. Piety was to be shown by an acknowledgment of Ahura-Mazda as the One True God, by a reverential regard for the Amesha-Spentas and the Izeds, or lower angels, by the frequent offering of prayers, praises, and thanksgivings, the recitation of hymns, the occasional sacrifice of animals, and the performance from time to time of a curious ceremony known as that of the Haoma or Homa. This consisted in the extraction of the juice of the Homa plant by the priests during the recitation of prayers, the formal presentation of the liquid extracted to the sacrificial fire, the consumption of a small portion of it by one of the officiating ministers, and the division of the remainder among the worshipers.[§] In sacrifices the priests were also necessary go-betweens. The most approved victim was the horse;[‖] but it was likewise allowable to offer oxen, sheep, or goats. The animal having been brought before an altar on which burnt the sacred fire, kindled originally (according to the general belief) from heaven, was there slain by a priest, who took of the flesh and *showed* it to the sacrificial fire, after which the victim was cooked and eaten at a solemn meal by the priests and worshipers united.

86. The purity required of the Iranians was inward as well as outward. Outward purity had to be maintained by a multiplicity of external observances,[*] forming in their entirety a burden as heavy to bear as that imposed by the Mosaic ceremonial law on the people of Israel. But inward purity was not neglected. Not only were the Iranians required to refrain from all impure acts, but also from impure words, and even from impure thoughts. Ahura-Mazda was "the pure, the master of purity," and would not tolerate less than perfect purity in his votaries.

87. The industry required by the Zoroastrian religion was of a peculiar kind. Man was placed upon the earth to preserve Ahura-Mazda's "good creation;" and this could only be done by careful tilling of the soil, eradication of thorns and weeds, and reclamation of the tracts over which Angro-Mainyus had spread the curse of barrenness. To cultivate the soil was thus a religious duty:[†] the whole community was required to be agricultural; and either as proprietor, as farmer, or as laboring man, each Zoroastrian was bound to "further the works of life" by advancing tillage.

88. The duty of veracity was inculcated perhaps more strenuously than any other. "The Persian youth are taught," says Herodotus,[‡] "three things, and three things only: to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth." Ahura-Mazda was the "*true* spirit,"[§] and the chief of the Amesha-Spentas was Asha-vahista, "the best *truth*." Druj, "falsehood," is held up to detestation, alike in the Zendavesta and in the Persian cuneiform inscriptions,[‖] as the basest, the most

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[*] Sir H. Rawlinson "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. i. p. 342.

[†] "Yasna," i. 34; ii. 44; iii. 48; "Mihr Yasht," 113.

[‡] See Pusey's "Lectures on Daniel," p. 542, note 3.

[§] See Haug, "Essays," p. 239.

[‖] "Yasna," xliv. 18. Compare Xen. "Cyrop." viii. 3, § 24; and Ovid, "Fasti," i. 385.

[*] "Vendidad," Farg. 8-11, and 16, 17.

[†] "Yasna," xxxiii. 3.

[‡] Herod. i. 136.

[§] "Yasna," xxxv. 3.

[‖] Sir H. Rawlinson, "Cuneiform Inscriptions," vol. i. pp. 200, 244, 245, etc.

contemptible, and the most pernicious of vices.

89. If it be asked what opinions were entertained by the Zoroastrians concerning man's ultimate destiny, the answer would seem to be, that they were devout and earnest believers in the immortality of the soul, and a conscious future existence. It was taught that immediately after death the souls of men, both good and bad, proceeded together along an appointed path to the "bridge of the gatherer." There was a narrow road conducting to heaven, or paradise, over which the souls of the good alone could pass, while the wicked fell from it into the gulf below, where they found themselves in the place of punishment. The pious soul was assisted across the bridge by the angel Serosh, "the happy, well-formed, swift, tall Serosh," who went out to meet the weary wayfarer, and sustained his steps as he effected the difficult passage. The prayers of his friends in this world much availed the deceased, and helped him forward greatly on his journey. As he entered, the angel Vohu-mano rose from his throne, and greeted him with the words—"How happy art thou, who hast come here to us, exchanging mortality for immortality!" Then the good soul went joyfully onward to the golden throne, to paradise. As for the wicked, when they fell into the gulf, they found themselves in outer darkness, in the kingdom of Angro-Mainyus, where they were forced to remain in a sad and wretched condition.*

90. It has been maintained by some that the early Iranians also held the doctrine of the resurrection of the body.† Such a doctrine is certainly contained in the more recent portions of the Zendavesta; and it is argued that there are expressions in the more ancient parts of that work which imply it, if they do not actually assert it. But a careful examination of the passages adduced makes it evident, that no more is in reality asserted in them than the continued existence of the soul; and Spiegel comes to the conclusion that, even so late as the time when the "Vendidad" was written, "the resurrection of the body was not yet known to the Parsees,"* or Persians.

91. The original religion of the Iranians was Dualism of a very pronounced type, assigning, as it did, to Angro-Mainyus complete independence of Ahura-Mazda, and equal eternity with him, with almost equal power. It verged upon polytheism by the very important position which it assigned to certain of the ahuras or angels, whom it coupled with the Principle of Good in a way which derogated from his supreme and unrivaled dignity.† In its morality it maintained a high tone; but it imposed on its followers a burdensome yoke of ceremonial observances. It taught a future life, with happiness for the good and misery for the wicked; but unfortunately inclined to identify goodness with orthodoxy, and wickedness with a rejection of the doctrine of Zoroaster.

92. It may help the reader to understand the inner spirit of the religion, if we give one or two specimens of the hymns which constituted so important a part of the Zoroastrian worship. The following is one of the Gâthâs, and is by some assigned to Zoroaster himself ‡:—

"Now will I speak and proclaim to all who have come to listen
Thy praise, Ahura-Mazda, and thine, O Vohumano.
Asha! I ask that thy grace may appear in the lights of heaven.

Hear with your ears what is best, perceive with your minds what is purest,
So that each man for himself may, before the great doom cometh,
Choose the creed he prefers. May the wise ones be on our side.

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* "Vendidad," xix. 30–32; Haug, "Essays," p. 156.

† Haug, "Essays," p. 266.

* Spiegel, "Avesta," vol. ii. p. 248, 249.

† Pusey, "Lectures on Daniel," p. 535, n. 9.

‡ Hübschmann, "Ein Zoroastrisches Lied, mit Rücksicht auf die Tradition, übersetzt und erklärt." München, 1872. Compare Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Religion," pp. 237–239.

These two Spirits are twins; they made known in times that are bygone
That which is good and evil, in thought, and word, and action.
Rightly decided between them the good; not so the evil.

When these Two came together, first of all they created
Life and death, that at last there might be for such as are evil
Wretchedness, but for the good a happy blest existence.

Of these Two the One who was evil chose what was evil;
He who was kind and good, whose robe was the changeless Heaven,
Chose what was right; those, too, whose works pleased Ahura-Mazda.

They could not rightly discern who erred and worshiped the Devas;
They the Bad Spirit chose, and, having held counsel together,
Turned to Rapine, that so they might make man's life an affliction.

But to the good came might; and with might came wisdom and virtue;
Armaiti herself, the Eternal, gave to their bodies
Vigor; e'en thou wert enriched by the gifts that she scattered, O Mazda.

Mazda, the time will come when the crimes of the bad shall be punished;
Then shall thy power be displayed in fitly rewarding the righteous—
Them that have bound and delivered up falsehood to Asha the Truth-God.

Let us then be of those who advance this world and improve it,
O Ahura-Mazda, O Truth-God bliss conferring!
Let our minds be ever there where wisdom abideth!

Then indeed shall be seen the fall of pernicious falsehood;
But in the house where dwell Vohu-mano, Mazda, and Asha—
Beautiful house shall be gathered forever such as are worthy.

O men, if you but cling to the precepts Mazda has given,
Precepts, which to the bad are a torment, but joy to the righteous,
Then shall you one day find yourselves victorious through them."

Our other specimen is taken from the "Yasna," or "Book on Sacrifice," and is probably some centuries later than the great bulk of the Gâthâs[*]:—

"We worship Ahura-Mazda, the pure, the master of purity:
We worship the Amesha-Spentas, possessors and givers of blessings:

We worship the whole creation of Him who is True, the heavenly,
With the terrestrial, all that supports the good creation,
All that favors the spread of the good Mazd-yasna[*] religion.

We praise whatever is good in thought, in word, or in action,
Past or future; we also keep clean whatever is excellent.

O Ahura-mazda, thou true and happy being!
We strive both to think, and to speak, and to do whatever is fittest
Both our lives[†] to preserve, and bring them both to perfection.

Holy Spirit of Earth, for our best works'[‡] sake, we entreat thee,
Grant us beautiful fertile fields—aye, grant them to all men,
Believers and unbelievers, the wealthy and those that have nothing."

93. The religion of the early Iranians became corrupted after a time by an admixture of foreign superstitions. The followers of Zoroaster, as they spread themselves from their original seat upon the Oxus over the regions lying south and south-west of the Caspian Sea, were brought into contact with a form of faith considerably different from that to which they had previously been attached, yet well adapted for blending with it. This was Magism, or the worship of the elements. The early inhabitants of Armenia, Cappadocia, and the Zagros mountain-range, had, under circumstances that are unknown to us, developed this form of religion, and had associated with its tenets a priest-caste, claiming prophetic powers, and a highly sacerdotal character. The essentials of the religion were these: the four elements, fire, air, earth, and

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[*] **Haug,** "Essays," pp. 162, 163.

[*] "Mazd-yasna" means "Ahura-mazda worshiping." *Mazdisn* was used commonly to designate the orthodox, under the Sassanians.

[†] The two lives are "the life of the soul" and "the life of the body" (Haug, "Essays," l. s. c.).

[‡] *i.e.* "our agricultural labors" (*ibid.*).

water were recognized as the only proper objects of human reverence. Personal gods, and together with them temples, shrines, and images, were rejected. The devotion of the worshipers was paid, not to any powers presiding over the constituent parts of nature, but to those constituent parts themselves. Fire, as the most subtle and ethereal principle, and again as the most powerful agent, attracted especial regard; and on the fire-altars of the Magians the sacred flame, generally regarded as kindled from heaven, was kept uninterruptedly burning from year to year, and from age to age, by bands of priests, whose special duty it was to see that the sacred spark was never extinguished. To defile the altar by blowing the flame with one's breath was a capital offense, and to burn a corpse was regarded as equally odious. When victims were offered, nothing but a small portion of the fat was consumed in the flames. Next to fire, water was reverenced. Sacrifice was offered to rivers, lakes, and fountains, the victim being brought near to them and then slain, while the utmost care was taken that no drop of their blood should touch the water and pollute it. No refuse was allowed to be cast into a river, nor was it even lawful to wash one's hands in one. Reverence for earth was shown by sacrifice and by abstention from the usual mode of burying the dead.*

94. The Magian priest-caste held an exalted position. No worshiper could perform any rite of the religion unless by the intervention of a priest, who stood between him and the Deity as a mediator.† The Magus prepared the victim and slew it, chanted the mystic strain which gave the sacrifice all its force, poured on the ground the propitiatory libation of oil, milk, and honey, and held the bundle of thin tamarisk twigs, the barsom (*baresma*) of the later Zend books, the employment of which was essential to every sacrificial ceremony.* Claiming supernatural powers, they explained omens, expounded dreams, and by means of a certain mysterious manipulation of the barsom, or bundle of tamarisk twigs,† arrived at a knowledge of future events, which they would sometimes condescend to communicate to the pious inquirer.

95. With such pretensions it was natural that the caste should assume a lofty air, a stately dress, and an environment of ceremonial magnificence. Clad in white robes, and bearing upon their heads tall felt caps, with long lappets at the sides, which (we are told ‖) concealed the jaw and even the lips, each with his barsom in his hand, they marched in procession to the fire-altars, and standing round them performed for an hour at a time their magical incantations. The credulous multitude, impressed by sights of this kind, and imposed on by the claims to supernatural powers which the Magi put forward, paid them a willing homage; the kings and chiefs consulted them; and when the Iranians, pressing westward, came into contact with the races professing the Magian religion, they found the Magian priest-caste all-powerful in most of the western nations.

96. Originally Zoroastrianism had been intolerant and exclusive. Its first professors had looked with aversion and contempt on the creed of their Indian brethren; they had been fierce opponents of idolatry, and absolutely hostile to every form of religion except that which they had themselves worked out. But with the lapse of time these feelings had grown weaker. The old religious fervor had abated. An impressible and imitative spirit had developed itself. When the Zoroastrians came into contact with Magism, it impressed them favorably. There was no contradiction between its main tenets and those of their old religion; they were compatible, and

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* The chief authorities for this description are Herodotus (i. 132), Strabo (xv. 3, §§ 13, 14.) and Agathias (ii. 24).

† Herod. l. s. c.; Amm. Marc. xxiii. 6.

* Strabo, l. s. c

† Dino, Fr. 8; Schol. ad. Nic. Ther. 613.

‡ Strabo, xv. 3, § 15; Diog. Laert. "Proem."

might readily be held together; and the result was, that, without giving up any part of their previous creed, the Iranians adopted and added on to it all the principal points of the Magian belief, and all the more remarkable of the Magian religious usages. This religious fusion seems first to have taken place in Media. The Magi became a Median tribe,[*] and were adopted as the priest-caste of the Median nation. Elemental worship, divination by means of the barsom, dream-expounding, incantations at the fire-altars, sacrifices whereat a Magus officiated, were added on to the old dualism and qualified worship of the Amesha-Spentas, of Mithra, and of the other ahuras; and a mixed or mongrel religion was thus formed, which long struggled with, and ultimately prevailed over, pure Zoroastrianism.[†] The Persians after a time came into this belief, accepted the Magi for their priests, and attended the ceremonies at the fire-altars.

97. The adoption of elemental worship into the Iranian system produced a curious practice with regard to dead bodies. It became unlawful to burn them, since that would be a pollution of fire; or to bury them, thereby polluting earth; or to throw them into a river, thereby polluting water; or even to place them in a sepulchral chamber, or a sarcophagus, since that would cause a pollution of air. What, then, was to be done with them? In what way were they to be disposed of? Some races of men, probably moved by these scruples, adopted the practice, which they regarded as eminently pious, of killing those who, they suspected, were about to die, and then eating them.[‡] But the Iranians had reached that stage of civilization when cannibalism is held to be disgusting. Disinclined to devour their dead themselves, they hit on an expedient which, without requiring them to do what they so much disliked, had the same result—transferred, that is, the bodies of their departed friends into those of other living organisms, and so avoided the pollution of any element by their decaying remains. Immediately after death they removed the bodies to a solitary place, and left them to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey, crows, ravens, vultures, wolves, jackals, and foxes. This was the orthodox practice,[*] was employed by the Magi themselves in the case of their own dead, and was earnestly recommended to others;[†] but as it was found that, despite all exhortations, there were some whose prejudices would not allow them to adopt this method, another had to be devised and allowed, though not recommended. This was the coating of the dead body with wax previously to its deposition in the ground.[‡] Direct contact between the corpse and the earth being in this way prevented, pollution was supposed to be avoided.

98. The mixed religion thus constituted, though less elevated and less pure than the original Zoroastrian creed, must be pronounced to have possessed a certain loftiness and picturesqueness which suited it to become the religion of a great and splendid monarchy. The mysterious fire-altars upon the mountain-tops, with their prestige of a remote antiquity—the ever-burning flame believed to have been kindled from on high—the worship in the open air under the blue canopy of heaven—the long troops of Magians in their white robes, with their strange caps, and their mystic wands—the frequent prayers, the abundant sacrifices, the low incantations—the supposed prophetic powers of the priest-caste—all this together constituted an imposing whole at once to the eye and to the

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[*] Herod. i. 101.

[†] See Westergaard's "Introduction to the Zendavesta," p. 17; and compare the Author's "Essay on the Religion of the Ancient Persians" in his "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 414–419, 3d edition.

[‡] Herod. i. 216; iii. 99.

[*] Strabo, xv. 3, § 20. Compare Herod. i. 140.

[†] "Vendidad," Farg. v. to viii.

[‡] Herod. l. s. c.; Strabo, l. s. c.

mind, and was calculated to give additional grandeur to the civil system that should be allied with it. Pure Zoroastrianism was too spiritual to coalesce readily with Oriental luxury and magnificence, or to lend strength to a government based on the principles of Asiatic despotism. Magism furnished a hierarchy to support the throne and add splendor and dignity to the court, while it overawed the subject class by its supposed possession of supernatural powers and of the right of mediating between man and God. It supplied a picturesque worship, which at once gratified the senses and excited the fancy. It gave scope to man's passion for the marvelous by its incantations, its divining-rods, its omen-reading, and its dream-expounding. It gratified the religious scrupulosity which finds a pleasure in making to itself difficulties, by the disallowance of a thousand natural acts, and the imposition of numberless rules for external purity. At the same time it gave no offense to the anti-idolatrous spirit in which the Iranians had always gloried, but upheld and encouraged the iconoclasm which they had previously practiced. It thus blended easily with the previous creed of the Iranian people, and produced an amalgam that has shown a surprising vitality, having lasted above two thousand years—from the time of Xerxes, the son of Darius Hystaspis (B.C. 485–465) to the present day.

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELIGION OF THE EARLY SANSKRITIC INDIANS.

"Le panthéisme naturaliste et le polythéisme, sa conséquence inévitable, s' étaient graduellement introduits dans les croyances des Aryas."—LENORMANT. *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. iii. p. 309.

99. THE religion of the early Indians, like that of the Egyptians, and like that of Assyrians and Babylonians, was an extensive polytheism, but a polytheism of a very peculiar character. There lay behind it, at its first formation, no conscious monotheism, no conception of a single supreme power, from whom man and nature, and all the forces in nature, have their origin. If we hold, as I believe we do right to hold, that God revealed Himself to the first parents of the human race as a single personal being, and so that all races of men had at the first this idea as an inheritance handed down to them traditionally from their ancestors, yet it would seem certain that in India, before the religion which we find in the Vedas arose, this belief had completely faded away and disappeared; the notion of "God" had passed into the notion of "gods;" a real polytheism universally prevailed, even with the highest class of intellects; * and when, in the course of time, monotheistic ideas showed themselves, they sprang up in individual minds as the results of individual speculation,† and were uttered tentatively, not as doctrines, but as hypotheses, as timid "guesses at truth," on the part of those who confessed that they knew little or nothing.

100. If it be asked how this forgetfulness came about, how the idea of one God, once possessed, could ever be lost, perhaps we may find an answer in that fact to which the traditions of the race and some of their peculiar expressions ‡ point back, that for many centuries they had been located in one of the cruellest regions of the earth, a region with "ten months of winter and two months of summer," § where the struggle for existence must have been terrible in-

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* See Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 528, 529.

† *Ibid.* p. 559.

‡ As the expression, "a hundred *winters*," used for a hundred years. (See H. H. Wilson's "Introduction to the Rig-Veda," vol. i. p. xlii.)

§ See the description of "Aryanem vaejo"—the old home of the Aryans—in the First Fargard of the "Vendidad" ("Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 432).

deed, and all their energies, all their time, all their thought, must have been spent on the satisfaction of those physical needs for which provision must be made before man can occupy himself with the riddle of the universe. At any rate, however we may account for it, or whether we can account for it or no, the fact remains; somehow or other the Sanskritic Indians had ceased to "retain God in their knowledge;"* they were for a time "without God in the world," they had lost the sense of His "eternal power and Godhead;"† they were in the condition that men would be in who should be veritable "children of the soil," springing into life without inheritance of ancestral notions.

101. But there was one thing which they could not be without. God has implanted in all men a religious faculty, a religious instinct, which is an essential portion of their nature and among the faculties which most distinguish man from the brutes. No sooner was the tension produced by the severe character of their surroundings relaxed—no sooner did the plains of the Punjab receive the previous dwellers in the Hindu Kush—than this instinct asserted itself, perceived that there was something divine in the world, and proceeded to the manufacture of deities. Nature seemed to the Hindoo not to be one, but many; and all nature seemed to be wonderful, and, so, divine. The sky, the air, the dawn, the sun, the earth, the moon, the wind, the storms, the fire, the waters, the rivers, attracted his attention, charmed him, sometimes terrified him, seemed to him instinct with power and life, became to him objects of admiration and then of worship. At first, it would appear, the objects themselves were adored; but the objects received names; the names were, by the laws of Indian grammar, masculine or feminine; and the named objects thus passed into persons,‡ the *nomina* became *numina*, beings quite distinct from the objects themselves, presiding over them, directing them, ruling them, but having a separate and another kind of existence.

102. And now the polytheism, already sufficiently extensive through the multiplicity of things natural, took a fresh start. The names, having become persons, tended to float away from the objects; and the objects received fresh names, which in their turn were exalted into gods, and so swelled the pantheon. When first the idea of counting the gods presented itself to the mind of a Vedic poet, and he subjected them to a formal census, he found them to amount to no more than thirty-three.* But in course of time this small band swelled into a multitude, and Visvamitra, a somewhat late poet, states the number at 3339.†

103. One of the features most clearly pronounced in the Vedic polytheism is that which has been already noticed as obtaining to a considerable extent both in the Egyptian and Assyrian religions,‡ the feature which has been called "Kathenotheism" or "Henotheism." § A Vedic worshiper, for the most part, when he turned his regards toward any individual deity, forgot for the time being that there was any other, and addressed the immediate object of his adoration in terms of as absolute devotion as if he were the sole God whom he recognized, the one and only Divine Being in the entire universe. "In the first hymn of the second Mandala, the god Agni is called 'the ruler of the universe,' 'the lord of men,' 'the wise king, the father, the brother, the son, the friend of man;' nay, all the powers and names of the other gods are distinctly assigned to Agni." ‖ Sim-

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* Romans i. 28. † Romans i. 20.

‡ Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Religion," pp. 54–56.

* Rig-Veda, viii. 30. (See Max Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 531.)

† "Rig-Veda Sanhita" (translation of H. H. Wilson), vol. iii. p. 7.

‡ See above, pp. 40 and 56.

§ Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 28; "Science of Religion," p. 141.

‖ "Chips," l. s. c.

ilarly, in another hymn, Varuna is "'the wise god,' the 'lord of all,' 'the lord of heaven and earth,' 'the upholder of order,' 'he who gives to men glory.'* It is the same with Indra—he is 'the ruler of all that moves,' the 'mighty one,' 'he to whom there is none like in heaven and earth:'" † "the gods," it is said, "do not reach thee, Indra, nor men; thou overcomest all creatures in strength." The best authority tells us that "it would be easy to find, in the numerous hymns of the Veda, passages in which almost every important deity is represented as supreme and absolute." ‡ At the same time there is no rivalry, no comparison of one god with another, no conflict of opinion between the votaries of different deities; each is supreme and absolute in his turn, simply because "all the rest disappear for a moment from the vision of the poet, and he only who is to fulfill their desires stands in full light before the eyes of the worshipers."§

104. Among the various deities thus, in a certain sense, equalized, there are three who may be said to occupy, if not the chief, at any rate the oldest place, since their names have passed out of the sphere of mere appellatives, and have become proper names, the designations of distinct persons. These are Varuna, Mitra, and Indra—originally, the Sky, the Sun, and the Storm (or, perhaps, the Day)—but, in the Vedic hymns, only slightly connected with any particular aspects of nature, and not marked off by any strong differences the one from the other. Indra, indeed, is the main object of adoration; more than one-third of the hymns in the earlier part of the Rig-Veda are addressed to him.‖ He is "the sovereign of the world," "the all-wise," "the abode of truth," "the lord of the good," "the animator of all," "the showerer of benefits," "the fulfiller of the desire of him who offers praise;"* and, with more or less of reference to his original character, "the sender of rain," "the giver of food," "the lord of opulence," and "the wielder of the thunderbolt." † Varuna is more sparingly addressed; but, when addressed, is put quite upon a par with Indra, joined with him in such phrases as "sovereign Indra and Varuna," "Indra and Varuna, sovereign rulers," "divine Indra and Varuna," "mighty Indra and Varuna," ‡ etc., and entreated to afford the worshiper, equally with Indra, protection, long life, riches, sons and grandsons, happiness. Mitra is the usual companion of Varuna, sharing with him in the fifth Mandala eleven consecutive hymns,§ and elsewhere joined with him frequently; ‖ they are "observers of truth," "imperial rulers of the world," "lords of heaven and truth," "protectors of the universe," "mighty deities," "far-seeing," "excelling in radiance;" ¶ they "uphold the three realms of light," "scatter foes," "guide men in the right way," "send rain from heaven," "grant men their desires," ** "procure for them exceeding and perfect felicity." †† They ride together in one chariot, which "shines in the firmament like lightning;" ‡‡ they sustain the sun in his course, and conjointly cause the rain to fall; they are "possessed of irresistible strength," §§ and "uphold the celestial and terres-

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* "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 536, 537.

† *Ibid.* p. 546.

‡ "Chips from a German Workshop," p. 28.

§ *Ibid.*

‖ Forty-five in the first Astaka, out of 121; 39 in the second, out of 118; 48 in the third, out of 121; and 46 in the fourth, out of 140—altogether 178 out of 502. (See the "Introduction" of Prof. H. H. Wilson to his "Translation of the Rig-Veda Sanhita.")

* Rig-Veda, vol. ii. pp. 36, 145, 283; vol. iii. pp. 157, 159, and 166.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 283; vol. iii. pp. 157 and 160.

‡ "Rig-Veda," vol. i. p. 40; vol. iii. pp. 63, 201, 203, etc.

§ *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 347–357.

‖ As in vol. i. pp. 7, 117, and 230; vol. ii. pp. 3–6, 53–55, 59, etc.

¶ Wilson's "Introduction," vol. iii. pp. 349–354.

** Wilson's "Introduction," vol. iii. pp. 354–356.

†† *Ibid.* p. 349.

‡‡ *Ibid.* p. 348.

§§ *Ibid.* pp. 353, 354.

trial worlds."* It can scarcely be doubted that Mitra was once the sun, as Mithra always was in Persia;† but in the hymns of the Rig-Veda he has passed out of that subordinate position, and has become a god who sustains the sun, and who has a general power over the elements. His place as the actual sun-god has been taken by another and distinct deity, of whom more will be said presently.

105. Next to these three gods, whose character is rather general than special, must be placed Agni—the Latin *ignis*—who is distinctly the god of fire. Fire presented itself to the early Indians under a twofold aspect;‡ first, as it exists on earth, on the hearth, on the altar, and in the conflagration; secondly, as it exists in the sky, in the shape of lightning, meteors, stars, comets, and light generally, so far as that is independent of the sun. The earthly aspect of fire is most dwelt upon. The Vedic poet sees it leaping forth from darkness on the rapid friction of two sticks in the hands of a strong man. It is greedy for food as it steps forth out of its prison, it snorts like a horse as with loud crackle it seizes and spreads among the fuel. Then for a moment its path is darkened by great folds of smoke; but it overcomes, it triumphs, and mounts up in a brilliant column of pure clear flame into the sky.§ As culinary fire, Agni is the supporter of life, the giver of strength and vigor, the imparter of a pleasant flavor to food,‖ the diffuser of happiness in a dwelling. As a sacrificial fire, he is the messenger between the other gods and man; the interpreter to the other gods of human wants; the all-wise, who knows every thought of the worshiper; the bestower of all blessings on men, since it is by his intervention alone that their offerings are conveyed, and their wishes made known to any deity. As conflagration, Agni is "the consumer of forests, the dark-pathed, the bright-shining."* "White-hued, vociferous, abiding in the firmament with the imperishable resounding winds, the youngest of the gods, Agni, purifying and most vast, proceeds, feeding upon numerous and substantial forests. His bright flames, fanned by the wind, spread wide in every direction, consuming abundant fuel; divine, fresh-rising, they play upon the woods, enveloping them in luster."† Occasionally, instead of consuming forests, he devours cities with their inhabitants. When the Aryan Indians prevail over their enemies and give their dwellings to the flames, it is Agni who "destroys the ancient towns of the dispersed,"‡ and "consumes victorious all the cities of the foe and their precious things."§ Hence, he is constantly invoked against enemies, and exhorted to overthrow them, to give their cities to destruction, to "burn them down like pieces of dry timber,"‖ to chastise them and "consume them entirely." In his celestial character, Agni, on the other hand, is, comparatively speaking, but rarely recognized. Still, his frequent association with Indra¶ ponts to this aspect of him. Both he and Indra are "wielders of thet hunderbolt;"** they occupy a common car;†† they are joint "slayers of Vitra;"‡‡ and Agni is described in one place as "the agitator of the clouds when the rain is poured forth,"

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* *Ibid.* p. 356.

† See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 328; vol. iii. pp. 348 and 352.

‡ Wilson says "a three-fold aspect" ("Introduction to Rig-Veda," vol. i. p. xxvii.), distinguishing between the region of the air and that of the sky; but the Vedic poets scarcely make this distinction.

§ See Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 547, note.

‖ Rig-Veda, vol. iii. pp. 184, 247, etc.

* Rig-Veda, p. 391.

† *Ibid.* vol. iii. Compare pp. 136, 254, 385, etc.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 388.

§ *Ibid.* p. 16.

‖ *Ibid.* p. 126.

¶ Mandala i. 21, 108; Mandala iii. 12; Mandala v. 14; Mandala vi. 59; etc.

** Rig-Veda, vol. iii. p. 500.

†† *Ibid.* p. 501.

‡‡ *Ibid.* vol. iii. pp. 111, 503, etc.

he who, "moving with the swiftness of the wind, shines with a pure radiance;" whose "falling rays, accompanied by the moving storms, strike against the cloud," which thereupon "roars," after which "the shower comes with delightful and smiling drops, the rain descends, the clouds thunder."[*]

106. After Agni we may place in a single group, Dyaus, "the heaven;" Surya, or Savitri, "the sun;" Soma, "the moon;" Ushas, "the dawn;" Prithivi, "the earth;" Vayu, "the wind;" Ap, "the waters;" Nadi, "the rivers;" and the Maruts, "the storms." These are all nature-gods of a very plain and simple kind, corresponding to the Greek Uranus, Heëlios, Selene, Eôs, Ge, or Gaia, etc., and to the Roman Cœlus, Apollo, Luna, Aurora, Tellus, Æolus, etc. Of all these the Maruts are the most favorite objects of worship, having twenty-four hymns devoted to them in the first six Mandalas of the Rig-Veda.[†] Next to these may be placed Ushas, who has eleven hymns; then Dyaus and Prithivi, who share seven hymns; after these Surya, who has six; then Vayu, who has two; then Soma, who has one: and lastly, Ap and Nadi, who are not worshiped separately at all. Ushas, the dawn, is perhaps the most beautiful creation of the Vedic bards. "She is the friend of men; she smiles like a young wife; she is the daughter of the sky. She goes to every house; she thinks of the dwellings of men; she does not despise the small or the great; she brings wealth; she is always the same, immortal, divine; age cannot touch her; she is the young goddess, but she makes men grow old."[‡] Born again and again, and with bright unchanging hues, she dissipates the accumulated glooms, anoints her beauty as the priests anoint the sacrificial food in sacrifices, bright-shining she smiles, like a flatterer, to obtain favor, then lights up the world, spreads, expanding west-ward with her radiance, awakes men to consciousness, calls forth the pleasant sounds of bird and beast, arouses all things that have life to their several labors.[*] Sometimes a mere natural appearance, more often a manifest goddess, she comes before men day after day with ever young and fresh beauty, challenging their admiration, almost forcing them to worship her. The lazy inhabitants of so-called civilized lands, who rarely leave their beds till the sun has been up for hours, can scarcely understand the sentiments with which a simple race, that went to rest with the evening twilight, awaited each morning the coming of the rosy-fingered dawn, or the ecstatic joy with which they saw the darkness in the eastern sky fade and lift before the soft approach of something tenderer and lovelier than day.

107. Surya, "the sun," does not play a prominent part in the Vedic poems.[†] Out of the five hundred hymns in Wilson's collection, only six are devoted to him exclusively.[‡] His presentation is nearly that of Heëlios in the Greek, and Phœbus Apollo in the Roman mythology. Brilliant, many-rayed, adorable, he yokes each morning his two,[§] or seven,[‖] swift coursers to his car, and mounts up the steep incline of heaven, following Ushas, as a youth pursues a maiden, and destroying her.[¶] Journeying onward at incredi-

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[*] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 202.

[†] See Wilson's "Introductions" to the several volumes of the Rig-Veda Sanhita, vol. i. p. 15; vol. iii. p. 7.

[‡] Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 551.

[*] Rig-Veda, vol. i. pp. 236–238 and 298, 299.

[†] Wilson, "Introduction to Rig-Veda," vol. i. p. xxxii.

[‡] Mandala i. Suktas 50 and 115; Mandala ii. Sukta 38; and Mandala v. Suktas 81 and 82. Surya has also a part in Mandala i. Sukta 35; Mandala v. Suktas 40 and 45; and Mandala vi. Sukta 50.

[§] Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 98.

[‖] *Ibid.* p. 133.

[¶] *Ibid.* p. 304. Compare Max Müller's "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 529, 530, where the following comment of an Indian critic is quoted:—"It is fabled that Prajable speed[*] between the two regions of heaven and earth, he pours down his quickening, life-bestowing, purifying rays on all, dispels diseases,[†] gives fertility, and multiplies wealth.[‡] Having attained the summit of the sky, he commences his descent, and traveling on a downward path, conducts his car with safety to the far limits of the west, carrying off with him all the diffused rays of light,[§] and disappearing, no one knows whither.[‖]

108. Vayu, the "wind," generally coupled with Indra as a god of heaven, has only two whole hymns,[¶] and parts of five others, devoted to him in Wilson's collection. What is chiefly celebrated is his swiftness; and in this connection he has sometimes ninety-nine, sometimes a hundred,[**] sometimes a thousand steeds,[††] or even a thousand chariots,[‡‡] assigned to him. The color of his horses is red or purple.[§§] He is "swift as thought," he has "a thousand eyes," and is "the protector of pious acts."[‖‖] As one of the gods who "sends rain,"[¶¶] he is invoked frequently by the inhabitants of a country where want of rain is equivalent to a famine. Dyaus and Prithivi, "heaven" and "earth," are mostly coupled together, and addressed in the same hymns; but, besides the joint addresses, Prithivi is sometimes the sole subject of a sacred poem.[*] Dyaus has occasionally the epithet of *pitar*, or "father,"[†] and thus, so far as the name goes, undoubtedly corresponds with the Jupiter or Diespiter of the Romans. But he is certainly not in the same way the "father," or creator, of the other gods. Rather, some individual poets, in their craving after divine sympathy and communion, have ventured to bestow on him the name of "father" exceptionally, not with any intention of making him the head of the Pantheon, but as claiming to themselves a share in the Divine nature, and expressing the same feeling as the Greek poet when he said, "For we are also his offspring."[‡]

109. It is unnecessary to detain the reader with a complete account of the rest of the thirty-three gods. Some, as Aditi, Pushan, Brahmaspati, Brihaspati, Panjaniya, seem to be mere duplicate or triplicate names of deities already mentioned. Others, as the Aswins, Aryaman, Rudra, Vishnu, Yama, belong to a lower grade, being rather demigods or heroes than actual deities. Others, again, are indistinct, and of little importance, as Saraswati, Bhaga, Twashtri, Parvata, Hotra, Bharati, Sadi, Varutri, and Dhishana.

110 Special attention must, however, be called to Soma. By a principle of combination which is quite inscrutable, Soma represents at once the moon or moon-god, and the genius presiding over a certain plant. The assignment of a sacred character to the Soma, or Homa plant (*Sarcostema viminalis*),[§] was common to the Indic with the Iranian religion, though the use made of it in the two worships was different. According to the ordinary spirit of the Indic religion, a deity was required to preside over, or personify, this im-

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pati, the Lord of Creation, did violence to his daughter. But what does it mean? Prajapati, the Lord of Creation, is a name of the sun; and he is called so because he protects all creatures. His daughter, Ushas, is the Dawn. And when it is said that he was in love with her, this only means that, at sunrise, the sun runs after the dawn, the dawn being at the same time called the daughter of the sun, because she rises when he approaches."

[*] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 132.

[†] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 99 and 134.

[‡] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 307, 309, etc.

[§] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 305.

[‖] *Ibid.* p. 99.

[¶] Mandala ii. Sukta 134; and Mandala vi. Sukta 48.

[**] Rig-Veda, vol. iii. p. 211.

[††] *Ibid.* pp. 210 and 212. Compare vol. ii. p. 49.

[‡‡] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 313.

[§§] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[‖‖] *Ibid.* vol. i. p. 55.

[¶¶] *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 487.

[*] Mandala v. Sukta 83.

[†] Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 172.

[‡] Acts xvii. 28. St. Paul, as is well known, quoted Aratus.

[§] H. H. Wilson, in notes to the Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 6, note *a*.

portant part of nature, and the god chosen was the same that had the moon under his protection. Hence arises, in the hymns to Soma, a curious complication; and it is often difficult to determine which view of the god is present to the mind of the poet. The notion of the plant is the predominant one; but intermixed with it in the strangest way come touches which can only be explained by referring them to Soma's lunar character.*

111. The worship of their gods by the Indians was of a very simple kind, consisting of prayer, praise, and offerings. It was wholly domestic, that is to say, there were no temples or general places of assembly; but each man in his dwelling-house, in a chamber devoted to religious uses, performed, or rather had performed for him, the sacred rites which he preferred, and on which he placed his dependence for material and perhaps for spiritual blessings. An order of priests existed, by whom alone could religious services be conducted; and of these a goodly array officiated on all occasions, the number being sometimes seven, at other times as many as sixteen.† It was not necessary for the worshiper to appear personally, or to take any part in the ceremony; enough was done if he provided the chamber, the altar and the offerings. The chamber had to be spread with the *Kusa*, or sacred rushes; the fire had to be lighted upon the altar; ‡ and then the worship commenced. Priests chanted in turn the verses of the *Mantras* or sacred hymns, which combined prayer with praise, and invited the presence of the deities. At the proper moment, when by certain mystic signs the priests knew the god or gods invoked to have arrived,* the offerings were presented, the divine favor secured, the prayers recited, and the ceremony brought to a close by some participation of the ministering priests in the offerings.

112. The praises, with which the hymns generally commence, describe the power, the wisdom, the grandeur, the marvelousness, the generosity, the goodness of the deity addressed, adding in some instances encomiums on his personal beauty † and the splendor of his dress and decorations.‡ Occasionally, his great actions are described, either in general terms, or with special reference to certain exploits ascribed to him in the mythology.§ When he has been thus rendered favorable, and the offerings have been made in the customary way, the character of the hymn changes from praise to prayer, and the god is implored to bestow blessings on the person who has instituted the ceremony, and sometimes, but not so commonly, on the author or reciter of the prayer. It is noticeable that the blessings prayed for are, predominantly, of a temporal and personal description.‖ The worshiper asks for food, life, strength, health, posterity; for wealth, especially in cattle, horses, and cows; for happiness; for protection against enemies, for victory over them, and sometimes for their destruction, particularly where they are represented as heretics. Protection against evil spirits is also occasionally requested. There is, comparatively speaking, little demand for moral benefits, for discernment, or improvement of character, or forgiveness of sin, or repentance, or peace of mind,

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* H. H. Wilson, in notes to the Rig-Veda, vol. i. p. 235, note *a*.

† See Wilson's "Introduction" to vol. i. p. xxiv.

‡ It has been questioned whether the fire was not kept burning continually, as in the Persian Fire Temples (Wilson, "Introduction" to vol. i. of Rig-Veda, p. xxiii.); but the constant allusions to the production of fire by friction make it clear that, ordinarily, a fresh fire was kindled.

* Haug, "Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees," p. 248.

† Wilson, "Introduction," vol. i. p. xxiv. See also Mandala i. Sukta 9, § 3; Sukta 42, § 10; etc.

‡ Rig-Veda. vol. i. p. 223.

§ This is especially the case in hymns addressed to Indra (Rig-Veda, vol. i. pp. 85–93, 136–139, etc.).

‖ Wilson, "Introduction" to vol. i. of Rig-Veda, p. xxv.; Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 27.

or strength to resist temptation. The sense of guilt is slight.* It is only "in some few instances that hatred of untruth and abhorrence of sin are expressed, and a hope uttered that the latter may be repented of or expiated." † Still such expressions do occur. They are not wholly wanting, as they are in the utterances of the ancient Egyptians. "Deliver us this day, O gods, from heinous sin," is the concluding petition of one Sukta.‡ "May our sin be repented of," is the burden of another.§ "Absolve us from the sins of our fathers, and from those which we have committed with our own bodies," is the prayer of a third.‖ "Varuna is merciful, even to him who has committed sin," is the declaration of a fourth.¶ Now and then we even seem to have before us a broken-hearted penitent, one who truly feels, like David or the Publican, the depth to which he has fallen, and who, "out of the depths," ** cries to God for forgiveness. "Let me not yet, O Varuna, enter into the house of clay," i. e., the grave, says a Vedic worshiper; †† "have mercy, almighty, have mercy. If I go along trembling, like a cloud driven by the wind, have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Through want of strength, thou strong and bright god, have I gone wrong; have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Thirst came upon the worshiper though he stood in the midst of the waters; have mercy, almighty, have mercy. Whenever we men, Varuna, commit an offense before the heavenly host, whenever we break the law through thoughtlessness; have mercy, almighty, have mercy."

113. The offerings wherewith the gods were propitiated were either victims or libations. Victims in the early times appear to have been but rarely sacrificed; and the only animals employed seem to have been the horse and the goat.* Libations were of three kinds; *ghee*, or clarified butter, honey,† and the expressed and fermented juice of the soma plant. The *ghee* and honey were poured upon the sacrificial fire; the soma juice was presented in ladles ‡ to the deities invoked, part sprinkled on the fire, part on the *Kusa*, or sacred grass strewed upon the floor, and the rest in all cases drunk by those who had conducted the ceremony.§ It is thought by some modern critics that the liquor offered to the gods was believed to intoxicate them, and that the priests took care to intoxicate themselves with the remainder;‖ but there is scarcely sufficient evidence for these charges. No doubt, the origin of the Soma ceremony must be referred to the exhilarating properties of the fermented juice, and to the delight and astonishment which the discovery of them excited in simple minds.¶ But exhilaration is a very different thing from drunkenness; and, though Orientals do not often draw the distinction, we are scarcely justified in concluding, without better evidence than any which has been adduced as yet, that the Soma ceremony of the Hindoos was in the early ages a mere Bacchanalian orgy, in which the worshipers intoxicated themselves in honor of approving deities. Exhilaration will sufficiently explain all that is said of the Soma in the Rig-Veda; and it is

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* Wilson, l. s. c. Max Müller says, on the other hand, that "the consciousness of sin is a *prominent* feature in the religion of the Veda" ("Chips," vol. i. p. 41). He means, probably, a noticeable feature, not prominent in the sense of its occurring frequently.

† These are Prof. Wilson's words; and they are quite borne out by the text of the Rig-Veda.

‡ Mandala i. Sukta 115, § 6.

§ Mandala i. Sukta 97.

‖ Mandala vii. Sukta 86, § 5.

¶ Mandala vii. Sukta 87, § 7.

** Psa. cxxx. 1.

†† Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p. 540.

* On the sacrifice of these, see Rig-Veda, vol. ii. pp. 112–125.

† Honey is not common. On its use, see Max Müller, "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 535 and 537.

‡ Rig-Veda, Mandala i. Sukta 116, § 24.

§ Wilson, "Introduction" to vol. i. of Rig-Veda, p. xxiii.

‖ Haug? "Essays on the Sacred Language, etc., of the Parsees," pp. 247, 248.

¶ Wilson, "Introduction," p. xxxvii.

charitable to suppose that nothing more was aimed at in the Soma ceremony.

114. The offerings of praise and sacrifice, and especially the offering of the soma juice, were considered not merely to please the god, who was the object of them, but to lay him under a binding obligation, and almost to compel him to grant the requests of the worshiper. "The mortal who is strenuous in worship," it is said,* "acquires an authority" over the object of his religious regards—an authority which is so complete that he may even sell the god's favor to another person, in order to enable him to attain the object of his desires. "Who buys this—*my* Indra," says Vamadeva, a Vedic poet,† "with ten milch kine? When he shall have slain his foes, then let the purchaser give him back to me again;" which the commentator explains as follows:‡ "Vamadeva, *having by much praise got Indra into his possession or subjugation*, proposes to make a bargain when about to dispose of him;" and so he offers for ten milch kine to hand him over temporarily, apparently to any person who will pay the price, with the proviso that when Indra has subdued the person's foes, he is to be returned to the vendor!

115. The subject of a future life seems scarcely to have presented itself with any distinctness to the thoughts of the early Indians. There is not the slightest appearance in the Rig-Veda of a belief in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of human souls after death into the bodies of animals.§ The phenomena of the present world, what they see and hear and feel in it, in the rushing of the wind, the howling of the storm, the flashing of the lightning from cloud to cloud, the splash of the rain, the roar of the swollen rivers, the quick changes from day to night, and from night to day, from storm to calm and from calm to storm, from lurid gloom to sunshine and from sunshine to lurid gloom again; the interesting business of life, the kindling of fire, the lighting up of the hearth; the performance of sacrifice; the work, agricultural, pastoral, or other, to be done during the day, the storing up of food, the acquirement of riches, the training of children; war, the attack of foes, the crash of arms, the flight, the pursuit, the burning of towns, the carrying off of booty—these things, and such things as these, so occupy and fill the minds of this primitive race, that they have in general no room for other speculations, no time or thought to devote to them. It is only occasionally, in rare instances, that to this or that poet the idea seems to have occurred, "Is this world the whole, or is there a hereafter? Are there such things as happiness and misery beyond the grave?" Still, the Rig-Veda is not altogether without expressions which seem to indicate a hope of immortality and of future happiness to be enjoyed by the good, nor entirely devoid of phrases which may allude to a place of future punishment for the wicked. "He who gives alms," says one poet,* "goes to the highest place in heaven; he goes to the gods." "Thou, Agni, hast announced heaven to Manu," says another; which is explained to mean, that Agni revealed to Manu the fact, that heaven is to be gained by pious works.† "Pious sacrificers," proclaims a third,‡ "enjoy a residence in the heaven of Indra; pious sacrificers dwell in the presence of the gods." Conversely, it is said that "Indra casts into the pit those who offer no sacrifice," § and that "the wicked, who are false in thought and false in speech, are born for the deep abyss of hell."‖ In the following hymn there is, at

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* Mandala iv. Sukta 15, § 5.
† *Ibid.* iv. Sukta 24, § 10.
‡ Wilson, Rig-Veda, vol. iii. p. 170, note 2.
§ Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 45.

* Mandala i. Sukta 125, § 5.
† Wilson, "Rig-Veda," vol. i. p. 80, note *a*.
‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 42.
§ Mandala i. Sukta 121, § 13.
‖ Wilson's "Rig-Veda," vol. iii. p. 129, compared with Max Müller ("Chips," vol. i. p. 47).

any rate, clear evidence that the early Vedic poets had aspirations after immortality:

"Where there is eternal light, in the world where the sun is placed,
In that immortal, imperishable world, place me, O Soma.

Where King Vaivaswata reigns, where the secret place of heaven is,
Where the mighty waters are, there make me immortal.

Where life is free, in the third heaven of heavens,
Where the worlds are radiant, there make me immortal.

Where wishes and desires are, where the place of the bright sun is,
Where there is freedom and delight, there make me immortal.

Where there is happiness and delight, where joy and pleasure reside,
Where the desires of our heart are attained, there make me immortal." *

116. As thus, occasionally, the deeper problems of human existence were approached, and, as it were, just touched by the Vedic bards, so there were times when some of the more thoughtful among them, not content with the simple and childish polytheism that had been the race's first instinct, attempted to penetrate further into the mystery of the Divine existence, to inquire into the relations that subsisted among the various gods generally worshiped, and even to search out the origin of all things. "Who has seen," says one,† "the primeval being at the time of his being born, when that which had no essence bore that which had an essence? Where was the life, the blood, the soul of the world? Who sent to ask this from the sage that knew it? Immature in understanding, undiscerning in mind," he goes on to say, "I inquire after those things which are hidden even from the gods. . . . . Ignorant, I inquire of the sages who know, who is the Only One who upheld the spheres ere they were created?" After a multitude of speculations, he concludes—"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni — then he is the beautiful-winged heavenly Garutmat: that which is one, the wise, give it many names—they call it Agni, Yama, Matarisvan." * Another is still bolder, and plunges headlong into the deepest vortex of metaphysics. The following is a metrical version of his poem: †

"A time there was, when nothing that now is
Existed—no, nor that which now is not;
There was no sky, there was no firmament.
What was it that then covered up and hid
Existence? In what refuge did it lie?
Was water then the deep and vast abyss,
The chaos in which all was swallowed up?
There was no Death—and therefore naught immortal.
There was no difference between night and day.
The one alone breathed breathless by itself:
Nor has aught else existed ever since.
Darkness was spread around; all things were veiled
In thickest gloom, like ocean without light.
The germ that in a husky shell lay hid,
Burst into life by its own innate heat.
Then first came Love upon it, born of mind,
Which the wise men of old have called the bond
'Twixt uncreated and created things.
Came this bright ray from heaven, or from below?
Female and male appeared, and Nature wrought
Below, above wrought Will. Who truly knows,
Who has proclaimed it to us, whence this world
Came into being? The great gods themselves
Were later born. Who knows then whence it came?
The Overseer, that dwells in highest heaven,
He surely knows it, whether He Himself
Was, or was not, the maker of the whole,
Or shall we say, that even He knows not?"

117. This poem, and the other prayers above quoted, are sufficient to show that among the Vedic poets

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* The translation is Prof. Max Müller's ("Chips," vol. i. p. 46).

† Wilson's "Rig-Veda," vol. ii. pp. 127, 128. Compare Max Müller, "Lectures on the Science of Religion," p. 46.

* Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. i. p. 29.

† I have followed as closely as possible the prose translation of Max Müller, given with an intermixed comment in his "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," pp. 559-563.

there were at any rate some who, by God's grace, had raised themselves above the murky atmosphere in which they were born, had "sought the Lord, and felt after Him,"* had struggled out of polytheism into a conscious monotheism, and, although they could not without revelation solve the problem of existence, had gone far to realize the main points of true religion; the existence of one eternal and perfect Being, the dependence of man on Him, the necessity of men leading holy lives if they would please Him, and the need, which even the best man has, of His mercy and forgiveness.

CHAPTER V.

THE RELIGION OF THE PHŒNICIANS AND CARTHAGINIANS.

"Le dieu des Phéniciens, comme de tous les panthéismes asiatiques, était à la fois un et plusieurs."—LENORMANT, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. iii. p. 127.

118. IN discussing the religion of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, we have to deal with a problem far more difficult than any which has yet occupied us. No "sacred book," like the Rig-Veda, the Zendavesta or the "Ritual of the Dead," here spreads before us its stores of knowledge, requiring little more than patient study to yield up to us the secrets which it is the object of our inquiry to discover. No extensive range of sculptures or paintings exhibits to our eyes, as in Assyria, Greece, and Egypt, the outward aspect of the worship, the forms of the gods, the modes of approaching them, the general character of the ceremonial. Nor has even any ancient author, excepting one, treated expressly of the subject in question, or left us anything that can be called in any sense an account of the religion. It is true that we do possess, in the "Evangelical Preparation" of Eusebius, a number of extracts from a Greek writer of the first or second century after Christ bearing on the matter, and regarded by some moderns * as containing an authentic exposition of the Phœnician teaching on a number of points, which, if not exactly religion, are at any rate connected with religion. But the work of Philo Byblius, from which Eusebius quotes, is so wild, so confused, so unintelligible, that it is scarcely possible to gather from it, unless by a purely arbitrary method of interpretation,† any distinct views whatsoever. Moreover, the work is confined entirely to cosmogony and mythology, two subjects which are no doubt included in "religion," as that term was understood in the ancient world, but which lie so much upon its outskirts, and so little touch its inner heart, that even an accurate and consistent exposition would go a very short way toward acquainting us with the real character of a religious system of which we knew only these portions. Add to this, that it is very doubtful whether Philo of Byblus reported truly what he found in the Phœnician originals which he professed to translate, or did not rather import into them his own philosophical notions, and his own theories of the relation borne by the Phœnician theology to that of other countries.

119. If, upon these grounds, we regard the fragments of Philo Byblius as untrustworthy, and as only to be used with the utmost caution, we are reduced to draw our knowledge of the Phœnician and Carthaginian religion from scattered and incidental notices of various kinds—from the allusions made to the subject by the writers of portions of the Old Testament, from casual statements occurring in classical authors, from inscriptions, from the etymology of names,

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* Acts xvii. 27.

* Especially Baron Bunsen. (See "Egypt's Place in Universal History," vol. iii. pp. 162–287.)

† Bunsen assumes that Philo's work contains three cosmogonies, quite distinct, of which the second and third contradict the first.

and from occasional representations accompanying inscriptions upon stones or coins. Such sources as these "require," as has been well said,* "the greatest care before they can be properly sifted and successfully fitted together;" and they constitute at best a scanty and unsatisfactory foundation for a portraiture which, to have any value, must be drawn with some sharpness and definiteness.

120. One of the most striking features of the Phœnician polytheism—especially striking when we compare it with the systems which lay geographically the nearest to it, those of Egypt and Assyria—is its comparative narrowness. If we make a collection of the divine names in use either in Phœnicia Proper or in the Phœnician colonies, we shall find that altogether they do not amount to twenty. Baal, Ashtoreth, Melkarth, Moloch, Adonis, Dagon, Eshmun, Hadad, El, Eliun, Baaltis, Onca, Shamas, Sadyk, the Kabiri, exhaust pretty nearly the list of the native deities; and if we add to these the divinities adopted from foreign countries, Tanith, Hammon (= Ammon), and Osir (= Osiris), we shall still find the number of distinct names not to exceed eighteen. This is a small number compared even with the pantheon of Assyria; compared with that of Egypt, it is very remarkably scanty.

121. It may be added that there are grounds for doubting whether even the eighteen names above given were regarded by the Phœnicians themselves as designating really so many deities. We shall find, as we proceed, reason to believe, or to suspect, that in more than one case it is the very same deity who is designated by two or more of the sacred names.

122. The general character of the names themselves is remarkable. A large proportion of them are honorific titles, only applicable to real persons, and indicative of the fact that from the first the Phœnician people, like most other Semitic races, distinctly apprehended the personality of the Supreme Being, and intended to worship, not nature, but God in nature, not planets, or elements, or storm, or cloud, or dawn, or lightning, but a being or beings above and beyond all these, presiding over them, perhaps, and working through them, but quite distinct from them, possessing a real personal character. El signified "the strong," or "the powerful,"* and in the cognate Hebrew took the article, and became *ha-El*, "the Strong One," He who alone has true strength and power, and who therefore alone deserves to be called "strong" or "mighty." Eliun is "the Exalted," "the Most High," and is so translated in our authorized version of Genesis (xiv. 18), where Melchizedek, King of Salem, the well known type of our blessed Lord,† is said to have been "the priest of the *most High* God," which is in the original, "priest of El-Eliun." Again, Sadyk is "the Just," "the Righteous," and is identical with the *Zedek* occurring as the second element in Melchizedek, which St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Hebrews (vii. 2), translates by "King of righteousness." Baal is "Lord," or "Master," an equivalent of the Latin *dominus*, and hence a term which naturally requires another after it, since a lord must be lord of something. Hence in Phœnician inscriptions ‡ we find *Baal-Tsur*, "Lord of Tyre," *Baal-Tsidon*, "Lord of Zidon," *Baal-Tars*, "Lord of Tarsus," and the like. Hence also we meet with such words § as *Baal-berith*, "Lord of treaties," *Baal-peor*, "Lord of Peor" (a mountain), *Baal-zebub*, "Lord of flies," and *Beel-*

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* Max Müller, "Science of Religion," pp. 117–118.

* Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 177.

† See Psa. cx. 4; Heb. vii. 1–24.

‡ Gesenius, "Scripturæ Linguæque Phœniciæ Monumenta," pp. 96, 277, etc.

§ Num. xxv. 3, 5; Judg. viii. 33; ix. 4; 2 Kings i. 3, 6.

samin,[*] "Lord of Heaven." Adonis, or more properly, Adoni, for the S is merely the Greek nominatival ending, has nearly the same meaning as Baal, being the Phœnician equivalent of the Hebrew *Adonai*, the word ordinarily rendered "Lord" in our version of the Old Testament. Adoni, however, takes no adjunct, since it is most properly translated "my lord," "lord of me,"[†] and thus contains in itself the object of the lordship. Moloch is *melek*, "king," the initial element in Melchizedek; and it is this same word which appears a second time, with an adjunct, in Melkarth, which is a contraction of *melek-kereth*, or rather *melek-qereth*,[‡] which means "king of the city." Baaltis, or Baalti, is the feminine form of Baal, with the suffix found also in Adoni, and has the meaning of "my lady." The Greeks expressed the word most commonly by Beltis, but occasionally by Bêlthes,[§] and, through a confusion of the kindred labials *m* and *b*, by Mylitta.[‖] The Kabiri are "the Great Ones," from *kabbir*, "great," which makes *kabbirim* in the plural.

123. It may be suspected, though it cannot be proved, that these various names, excepting the last, were originally mere epithets of the One Eternal and Divine Being who was felt to rule the world, and that, whatever may have been the case elsewhere, the Phœnicians at any rate began with the monotheistic idea, whether that idea originated in the recesses of their own hearts or was impressed upon them from without by revelation. If El, Eliun, Sadyk, Baal, Adoni, Moloch, Melkarth, were all one, may not the same have been true of Dagon, Hadad, Eshmun, Shamas, etc.? nay, may not even the foreign gods, Hammon and Osir, have been understood to be simply additional epithets of the Most High, expressive of his attributes of inscrutability and omniscience?

124. A primary objection may seem to lie against this view in the fact that the Phœnicians recognized not only gods, but goddesses, the name Ashtoreth[*] belonging to the religion from the very earliest time to which we can trace it back, and Baaltis being placed by the side of Baal, apparently as a distinct and separate personage. But it has been argued that "the original conception of female deities differs among Semitic and Aryan nations," and that the feminine forms among the Semites "were at first intended only to express the energy or the collective powers of the deity, not a separate being, least of all a wife."[†] And this view is confirmed by passages in ancient inscriptions which seem to identify Phœnician gods and goddesses, as one in the inscription of Mesa, which speaks of Chemosh-Ashtar as a single deity, another in an inscription from Carthage in which Tanith is called Pen-Baal, or "the face of Baal,"[‡] and a third, on the tomb of Eshmunazar, King of Sidon, where Ashtoreth herself is termed *Shem-Baal*, "the name of Baal."[§] If Ashtoreth and Tanith were merely aspects of Baal, if the Phœnician Supreme God was "androgynous,"[‖] the fact that the religious system of the people admitted goddesses as well as gods, will not militate against its original monotheism.

125. A more vital objection may be taken from the two names, Eshmun and Kabiri. The Kabiri were the sons of Sadyk; they were seven in

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[*] Philo Byblius in the "Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum," vol. iii. p. 565.

[†] Gesenius, p. 400.

[‡] Gesenius, p. 96.

[§] Hesych. ad voc. Βήλθης.

[‖] Herod. i. 131, 199.

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[*] Baal and Ashtoreth appear first *distinctly* as Phœnician gods in 1 Kings xi. 5; but we may suspect that they bear the same character where they are mentioned in Judges ii. 13; x. 6. They appear as Syrian gods in the hieroglyphical inscriptions as early as Rameses II. (about B.C. 1350).

[†] Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 183.

[‡] De Vogué in the "Journal Asiatique" for 1867, p. 138.

[§] Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 184.

[‖] "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i. p. 732.

Semites from an earlier Hamitic population. Originally a mere name for the energy or activity of God, Ashtoreth came to be regarded by the Phœnicians as a real female personage, a supreme goddess, on a par with Baal,* though scarcely worshiped so generally. In the native mythology she was the daughter of Uranos (heaven), and the wife of El, or Saturn.† The especial place of her worship in Phœnicia was Sidon.‡ In one of her aspects she represented the moon, and bore the head of a heifer with horns curving in a crescent form,§ whence she seems to have been sometimes called Ashtoreth Karnaim,‖ or, "Astarte of the two horns." But, more commonly, she was a nature goddess, "the great mother," the representation of the female principle in nature, and hence presiding over the sexual relation, and connected more or less with love and with voluptuousness. The Greeks regarded their Aphrodité, and the Romans their Venus, as her equivalent. One of her titles was "Queen of Heaven:" and under this title she was often worshiped by the Israelites.¶

129. Melkarth has been regarded by some writers as "only another form of Baal." ** But he seems to have as good a claim to a distinct personality as any Phœnician deity after Ashtoreth and Baal. The Greeks and Romans, who make Baal equivalent to their Zeus or Jupiter, always identify Melkarth with Hercules;†† and in a bilingual inscription,‡‡ set up by two natives of Tyre, this identification is endorsed and accepted. When Melkarth is qualified as *baal-Tsur*, "baal of Tyre," it is not meant that he was the Tyrian form of the god Baal, but that he was the special tutelary "lord" of the great Phœnician city. The word Melkarth, as already explained, means "king of the city," and the city intended was originally Tyre, though Melkarth would seem to have been in course of time regarded as a god of cities generally; and thus he was worshiped at Carthage, at Heraclea in Sicily, at Amathus in Cyprus, at Gades in Spain, and elsewhere.* In Numidia † he had the title of "great lord;" but otherwise there is little in the Phœnician monuments to define his attributes or fix his character. We must suppose that the Greeks traced in them certain resemblances to their own conception of Hercules; but it may be doubtful whether the resemblances were not rather fanciful than real.

130. That Dagon was a Phœnician god appears from many passages in the fragments of Philo Byblius,‡ though the Israelites would seem to have regarded him as a special Philistine deity.§ There are indications,‖ however, of his worship having been spread widely through Western Asia in very early times; and its primitive source is scarcely within the range of conjecture. According to the general idea, the Phœnician Dagon was a

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* See the inscription in Gesenius' collection, numbered 81 (pl. 47), where Baal and Ashtoreth are joined together. Compare Judg. ii. 13; x. 6.

† Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 12.

‡ See 1 Kings xi. 5, 33, and compare the inscription of Eshmunazar.

§ Philo Byblius, c. v. § 1.

‖ Gen. xiv. 5.

¶ Jer. vii. 18; xliv. 25.

** Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 322.

†† Herod. ii. 44; Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 19, etc.

‡‡ This inscription is given by Gesenius (pl. 6).

* See the inscriptions in Gesenius (pls. 14, 16, 17): and the coins of Heraclea (pl. 38), of Gades (pl. 40), and of Sextus (*ibid.*) in the same. On Amathus, see Hesychius and voc. Malicha.

† Gesenius, pl. 27, No. 65.

‡ Especially c. iv. §§ 2, 6, 15.

§ Judg. xvi. 23; 1 Sam. v. 2–5; 1 Chron. x. 10.

‖ Berosus speaks of an early Babylonian god as bearing the name of O-dacon, which is, perhaps, Dagon with a prefix. Dagon is an element in the name of a primitive Chaldæan monarch, which is read as Ismi-Dagon. Asshur-izir-pal couples Dagon with Anu in his inscriptions, and represents himself as equally the votary of both. Da-gan is also found in the Assyrian remains as an epithet of Belus. (See the Author's "Ancient Monarchies," vol. i. p. 614; 2d edition.)

number;* they were actual deities, the special gods of sailors; images of them adorned the prows of vessels. And Eshmun, the name of their brother, is a word signifying "eight," or the "eighth." It seems clear from this that the Phœnicians ultimately recognized at least eight gods; and if so, we must pronounce them polytheists.

126. At any rate, whether or no they were polytheists from the first, it cannot be doubted that they became such. When the Carthaginian introduced by Plautus into his "Pœnulus" commences his speech † with the words "Yth alonim v'alonuth siccarthi," which Plautus rightly renders by "Deos deasque veneror," or, "I worship the gods and goddesses," he expresses a genuine Phœnician sentiment. Baal and Ashtoreth, if originally one, were soon divided, were represented under different forms, and were worshiped separately. El, Eliun, Sadyk, Adonis, Melkarth, drifted off from their original moorings, and became distinct and separate gods, sometimes with a local character.‡ Dagon, Eshmun, Shamas, had perhaps been distinct from their first introduction, as had been the Kabiri, and perhaps some others. Thus a small pantheon was formed, amounting, even including the Kabiri, to no more than about fifteen or twenty divinities.

127. At the head of all clearly stood Baal and Ashtoreth, the great male and the great female principles. Baal, "the Lord" *par excellence*, was perhaps sometimes and in some places taken to be the sun; § but this was certainly not the predominant idea of any period; and it may be questioned whether in the original seats of the nation it was ever entertained until after the Roman conquest. As Bel in Babylonia was completely distinct from Shamas,* so was Baal in Phœnicia.† The Greeks rendered Bel and Baal, not by Apollo, but by Zeus; ‡ and their rendering was approved by Philo Byblius,§ who, if a Greek by extraction, was well versed in Phœnician lore, and a native of Byblus, a Phœnician town. Baal seems really to have been the Supreme God. His chief titles were *Baal-shamayin*, "the Lord of heaven," *Baal-berith*, "the Lord of treaties," corresponding to the Grecian "Zeus Orkios," and *Belithan*, ‖ "the aged Lord," with which we may compare the Biblical phrase, "the Ancient of days." ¶ He was also known in Numidia as "the eternal king." ** Baal was the god to whom we may almost say that *most* Phœnicians were consecrated soon after their birth, the names given to them being in almost a majority of cases compounded with Baal or Bal.†† Dedicatory inscriptions are in general addressed to him, either singly,‡‡ or in conjunction with a goddess, who is most usually Tanith.§§ Not unfrequently he is addressed as Baal-Hammon, or Baal in the character of the Egyptian god Ammon,‖‖ with whom he is thus identified, not unnaturally, since Ammon too was recognized as the Supreme God, and addressed as Zeus or Jupiter.¶¶

128. Ashtoreth, or Astarte, is a word whereof no satisfactory account has as yet been given. It seems to have no Semitic derivation, and may perhaps have been adopted by the

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* "Philo Byblius," c. 5, § 8; Damascius ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 573.

† Plaut. "Pœnul." Act v. § 1.

‡ Moloch became the special god of the Ammonites; Hadad, of the Syrians.

§ See Gesenius, "Scrip. Phœnic. Mon.," pl. 21.

* See above, p. 52–57.

† The separate worship of Shamas, or the Sun, appears in 2 Kings xxiii. 5, and in Gesenius, p. 119.

‡ Herod. i. 181; Diod. Sic. ii. 9.

§ Philo Bybl., c. iv. § 14.

‖ Damasc. ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." cod. ccxlii. p. 559.

¶ Dan. vii. 9, 13.

** Gesenius, pp. 197, 202, 205.

†† Eth-baal (1 Kings xvi. 31), Merbal (Herod. vii. 98), Hannibal, Hasdrubal, Adherbal, Maharbal, are well-known instances.

‡‡ Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon.," Nos. 3, 4, 49, 51, etc.

§§ *Ibid.* Nos. 46, 47, 48, and 50.

‖‖ *Ibid.* p. 172.

¶¶ Herod. ii. 42; Diod. Sic. i. 13; Plut. "De Isid. et Osir," s. 9.

Fish-god,[*] having the form described by Berosus, and represented so often in the Assyrian sculptures—"a form resembling that of a fish, but with a human head growing below the fish's, and with human feet growing alongside of the fish's tail and coming out from it."[†] Fish are common emblems upon the Phœnician coins;[‡] and the word Dagon is possibly derived from *dag*, "a fish," so that the temptation to identify the deity with the striking form revealed to us by the Ninevite sculptures is no doubt considerable. It ought, however, to be borne in mind that there is nothing in the Scriptural description of the Philistine Dagon to suggest the idea that the image which fell on its face before the ark of the covenant had in any respect the form of a fish.[§] Nor do the Assyrian monuments connect the name of Dagon, which they certainly contain,[‖] with the Fish-deity whose image they present. That deity is Nin or Ninus.[¶] Altogether, therefore, it must be pronounced exceedingly doubtful whether the popular idea has any truth at all in it; or whether we ought not to revert to the view put forward by Philo,[**] that the Phœnician Dagon was a "corn-god," and presided over agriculture.

131. Adonis, or Tammuz, which was probably his true name,[††] was a god especially worshiped at Byblus. He seems to have represented nature in its alternate decline and revival, whence the myth spoke of his death and restoration to life; the river of Byblus was regarded as annually reddened with his blood; and once a year, at the time of the summer solstice, the women of Phœnicia and Syria generally "wept for Tammuz."[*] Extravagant sorrow was followed after an interval by wild rejoicings in honor of his restoration to life; and the excitement attendant on these alternations of joy and woe led on by almost necessary consequence, with a people of such a temperament as the Syrians, to unbridled license and excess. The rites of Aphaca, where Adonis had his chief temple, were openly immoral, and when they were finally put down, exhibited every species of abomination characteristic of the worst forms of heathenism,[†]

132. El, whom Philo Byblius identifies with Kronos,[‡] or Saturn, is a shadowy god compared with those hitherto described. In the mythology he was the child of heaven and earth, the brother of Dagon, and the father of a son whom he sacrificed.[§] His actual worship by the Phœnicians is not very well attested, but may be regarded as indicated by such names as Hanni-el, Kadml (= Kadmi-el), Enyl (= Eni-el) and the like.[‖] He is said to have been identified with the planet Saturn by the Phœnicians;[¶] and this may be true of the later form of the religion, though El originally can scarcely have been anything but a name of the Supreme God. It corresponded beyond a doubt to Il, in the system of the Babylonians, who

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[*] See Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 323; Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," p. 343; "Speaker's Commentary," vol. ii. p. 201, etc.

[†] Beros. Fr. i. § 3.

[‡] Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Monumenta," pls. 40 and 41.

[§] There is nothing in the original corresponding to "the fishy part," which is given in the margin of the Authorized Version. The actual words are, "only Dagon was left to him." The meaning is obscure.

[‖] Sir H. Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 614: 3d edition.

[¶] *Ibid.* p. 642.

[**] Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 2:—*Δάγων, ὅς ἐστὶ Σίτων*. Compare § 13, where Dagon is said to have discovered corn and invented the plow, whence he was regarded by the Greeks as equivalent to their Zeus Arotrios.

[††] Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." p. 400.

[*] Ezek. viii. 14.

[†] Euseb. "Vit. Constantin. Magn." iii. 55. Compare Kenrick, "Phœnicia," vol. i. p. 311.

[‡] Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 2:—*Ἠλον τὸν καὶ Κρόνον*. Compare § 10 and § 21.

[§] Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 3.

[‖] Hanni-el occurs in a Phœnician inscription (Gesen. p. 133). Cadmil is given as one of the Kabiri by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (i. 917). Enyl is mentioned as a king of Byblus by Arrian ("Exp. Alex." ii. 20).

[¶] Philo Bybl. l. s. c.

was the head of the pantheon,* and the special god of Babel, or Babylon, which is expressed by *Bab-il*, "the gate of Il," in the inscriptions.†

133. That Shamas, or Shemesh, "the sun," was worshiped separately from Baal has been already mentioned. In Assyria and Babylonia he was one of the foremost deities; ‡ and his cult among the Phœnicians is witnessed by such a name as Abed-Shemesh, which is found in two of the native inscriptions.§ Abed-Shemesh means "servant of Shemesh," as Obadiah means "servant of Jehovah," and Abdallah "servant of Allah"; and is an unmistakable evidence of the worship of Shemesh by the people who employed it as the parallel names are of the worship, respectively, of Jehovah and Allah, by Jews and Mohammedans. The sun-worship of the Phœnicians seems to have been accompanied by a use of "sun-images," ‖ of which we have perhaps a specimen on a votive tablet found in Numidia,¶ although the tablet itself is dedicated to Baal. There was also connected with it a dedication to the sun-god of chariots and horses, to which a quasi-divine character attached,** so that certain persons were from their birth consecrated to the sacred horses, and given by their parents the name of Abed-Susim, "servant of the horses," as we find by an inscription from Cyprus.†† It may be suspected that the Hadad or Hadar of the Syrians ‡‡ was a variant name of Shamas, perhaps connected with *adir*, "glorious," and if so, with the Sepharvite god, Adrammelech.* Adodus, according to Philo Byblius, was in a certain sense "king (*melek*) of the gods."

134. These latter considerations make it doubtful whether the Moloch or Molech, who was the chief divinity of the Ammonites,† and of whose worship by the Phœnicians there are certain indications,‡ is to be viewed as a separate and substantive god, or as a form of some other, as of Shamas, or of Baal, or of Melkarth, or even of El. Molech meaning simply "king" is a term that can naturally be applied to any "great god," and which may equally well designate each of the four deities just mentioned. Rites like those of Molech belonged certainly to El and to Baal; § and the name may be an abbreviation of Melkarth,‖ or a title—the proper title—of Shamas. The fact that Philo has a Melich, whom he makes a distinct deity,¶ is of no great importance, since it is clear that he multiplies the Phœnician gods unnecessarily; and moreover, by explaining Melich as equivalent to Zeus Meilichios, he tends to identify him with Baal.** Upon the whole, Moloch seems scarcely entitled to be viewed as a distinct Phœnician deity. The word was perhaps not a proper name *in Phœnicia*, but retained its appellative force, and may have applied to more than one deity.

135. A similarly indefinite character attaches to the Phœnician Baaltis. Beltis was in Babylonian my-

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* See above, p. 47.

† Sir H. Rawlinson in the Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. p. 613.

‡ The Author's "Herodotus," vol. i. pp. 631–634.

§ Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pl. 9.

‖ This is given in the margin of 2 Chron. xiv. 5 and xxxiv. 4, as the proper translation of *khammanim*, which seem certainly to have been images of some kind or other.

¶ Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pl. 21.

** See 2 Kings xxiii. 11.

†† Gesenius, p. 130, and pl. 11, No. 9.

‡‡ Found under the form of Adodus in Philo Byblius (c. v. § 1).

* 2 King xvii. 31.

† See 1 Kings xi. 7.

‡ The names Bar-melek, Abed-melek, and Melek-itten, which occur in Phœnician inscriptions (Gesenius, pp. 105, 130, 135), imply a god who has either the proper name of Moloch, or is worshiped as "the king."

§ Diod. Sic. xx. 14; Porphyr. "De Abstinentia," ii. 56; Gesen. "Script. Phœn. Mon." p. 153.

‖ Melkarth is frequently abbreviated in the Phœnician inscriptions, and becomes Melkar, Mokarth, and even Mokar. Hesychius says that at Amathus Hercules was called Malika.

¶ Philo Bybl. c. iii. § 9.

** Since he calls Baal Zeus Belus (c. iv. § 17).

thology a real substantive goddess, quite distinct and separate from Ishtar, Gula, and Zirbanit;* but Baaltis in Phœnicia had no such marked character. We hear of no temples of Baaltis; of no city where she was specially worshiped.† The word does not even occur as an element in Phœnician proper names, and if in use at all as a sacred name among the Phœnicians, must almost certainly have been a mere epithet of Ashtoreth,‡ who was in reality the *sole* native goddess. Lydus expressly states § that Blatta, which is (like Mylitta) a corruption of Baalti, was "a name given to Venus by the Phœnicians."

136. Sadyk again, whom we have mentioned as a distinct deity on the strength of statements in Philo Byblius and Damascius,‖ scarcely appears as a separate object of worship, either in Phœnicia or elsewhere. The nearest approach to such an appearance is furnished by the names Melchi-zedek, and Adoni-zedek,¶ which may admit of the renderings, "Sadyk is my king," "Sadyk is my lord." Sadyk has not been found as an element in any purely Phœnician name; much less is there any distinct recognition of him as a god upon any Phœnician monument. We are told that he was the father of Eshmun and the Kabiri;** and as they were certainly Phœnician gods we must perhaps accept Sadyk as also included among their deities. From his name we may conclude that he was a personification of the Divine Justice.

137. Eshmun is, next to Baal, Ashtoreth, and Melkarth, the most clearly marked and distinct presentation of a separate deity that the Phœnician remains set before us. He was the especial god of Berytus (*Beirut*),* and had characteristics which attached to no other deity. Why the Greeks should have identified him with their Asclepias or Æsculapius,† is not clear. He was the youngest son of Sadyk, and was a youth of great beauty, with whom Ashtoreth fell in love, as she hunted in the Phœnician forests. The fable relates how, being frustrated in her designs, she afterward changed him into a god, and transported him from earth to heaven.‡ Thenceforth he was worshiped by the Phœnicians almost as much as Baal and Ashtoreth themselves. His name became a frequent element in the Phœnician proper names;§ and his cult was taken to Cyprus, to Carthage, and to other distant colonies.

138. With Eshmun must be placed the Kabiri, who in the mythology were his brothers,‖ though not born of the same mother.¶ It is doubtful whether the Kabiri are to be regarded as originally Phœnician, or as adopted into the religion of the nation from without. The *word* appears to be Semitic;** but the ideas which attach to it seem to belong to a widespread superstition,†† whereby the discovery of fire and the original working in metals were ascribed to strong, misshapen, and generally dwarfish

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* See above, p. 61.

† Philo makes her a "queen of Byblus" (c. v. § 5), but says nothing of her worship there.

‡ See Kenrick's "Phœnicia," p. 301.

§ "De Mensibus," i. 19.

‖ Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 13; c. iv. § 16; etc. Damasc. ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 573.

¶ See Gen. xiv. 18, and Josh. x. 1.

** Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 14; c. iv. § 16.

* See Damascius ap. Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 573.

† This is done by Philo of Byblus (c. v. § 8), by Damascius (l. s. c.), by Strabo (xvii. 14), and others.

‡ Damascius, l. s. c.

§ Eshmun-azar, whose tomb has been found at Sidon, is the best known instance; but the Phœnician inscriptions give also Bar-Eshmun, Han-Eshmun, Netsib-Eshmun, Abed-Eshmun, Eshmun-itten and others. (See Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." p. 136.)

‖ Damascius, l. s. c.; Philo Byblius, c. v. § 8.

¶ Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 16.

** See above, p. 150. Mr. Kenrick questions the derivation from *kabbir* ("Egypt of Herodotus," p. 287); but almost all other writers allow it.

†† See Mr. Kenrick's "Notes on the Cabiri," in the work above mentioned, pp. 264–287.

deities, like Phthah in Egypt, Hephaistos and the Cyclopes in Greece, "Gav the blacksmith" in Persia, and the gnomes in the Scandinavian and Teutonic mythologies. According to Philo Byblius* and Damascius,† the Phœnician Kabiri were seven in number, and according to the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius,‡ the names of four of them were Axierus, Axiokersus, Axiokersa, and Cadmilus or Casmilus. Figures supposed to represent them, or some of them, are found upon Phœnician coins, as especially on those of Cossura,§ which are exceedingly curious. The Kabiri were said to have invented ships; ‖ and it is reasonable to regard them as represented by the Patæci of Herodotus,¶ which were pigmy figures placed by the Phœnicians on the prows of their war-galleys, no doubt as tutelary divinities. The Greeks compared the Kabiri with their own Castor and Pollux, who like them presided over navigation.**

Besides their original and native deities, the Phœnicians acknowledged some whom they had certainly introduced into their system from an external source, as Osiris, Ammon, and Tanith. The worship of Osiris is represented on the coins of Gaulos,†† which was an early Phœnician settlement; and "Osir" (=Osiris) occurs not unfrequently as an element in Phœnician names,‡‡ where it occupies the exact place elsewhere assigned to Baal, Melkarth, and Ashtoreth. Ammon is found under the form Hammon in votive tablets, but does not occur independently; it is always attached as an epithet to Baal.§§ Whether it determines the aspect of Baal to that of a "sun-god" may be questioned,* since the original idea of Ammon was as far as possible remote from that of a solar deity.† But, at any rate, the constant connection shows that the two gods were not really viewed as distinct, but that in the opinion of the Phœnicians their own Baal corresponded to the Ammon of the Egyptians, both alike representing the Supreme Being. Tanith has an important place in a number of the inscriptions, being given precedence over Baal himself.‡ She was worshiped at Carthage, in Cyprus,§ by the Phœnician settlers at Athens ‖ and elsewhere; but we have no proof of her being acknowledged in Phœnicia itself. The name is connected by Gesenius with that of the Egyptian goddess Neith,¶ or Net; but it seems rather to represent the Persian Tanata, who was known as Tanaitis or Tanaïs, and also as Anaitis or Aneitis to the Greeks. Whether there was, or was not, a remote and original connection between the goddesses Neith and Tanata is perhaps open to question; but the form of the name Tanith, or Tanath,** shows that the Phœnicians adopted their goddess, not from Egypt, but from Persia. With regard to the character and attributes of Tanath, it can only be said that, while in most respects she corresponded closely with Ashtoreth, whom she seems to have replaced at Carthage, she had to a certain extent a more elevated and a severer aspect. The Greeks compared her not only to their Aphroditè, but also to their Artemis,* the huntress-deity, whose noble form is known to us from many pure and exquisite statues. It may be suspected that the Carthaginians, dwelling in the rough and warlike Africa, revolted against the softness and effeminacy of the old Phœnician cult, and substituted Tanath for Ashtoreth, to accentuate their protest against religious sensualism.†

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* Philo Byblius, c. v. § 8.

† Damascius, l. s. c.

‡ Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. "Argonautica," i. 915.

§ See Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pl. 39.

‖ Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 14.

¶ Herod. iii. 37.

** Horat. "Od." i. 3, 2; iii. 29, 64.

†† Gesenius, pl. 40, A.

‡‡ *Ibid.* pp. 96, 110, 130, etc.

§§ *Ibid.* pp. 108, 168, 174, 175, 177, and Davis, "Carthage and her Remains," pl. opp. p. 256.

* This was the opinion of Gesenius ("Script. Phœn. Mon." p. 170); but his arguments upon the point are not convincing.

† See above, p. 19.

‡ See Gesenius, pp. 168, 174, 175, 177; Davis, "Carthage and her Remains," l. s. c.

§ Gesenius, p. 151. Compare p. 146, where the true reading is possibly Abed-Tanith.

‖ *Ibid.* p. 113.

¶ *Ibid.* pp. 117, 118.

** "Tanath" is the natural rendering of the Phœnician word, rather than "Tanith," and is preferred by some writers. (See Davis, "Carthage and her Remains," pp. 274–276.)

140. It seems to be certain that in Phœnicia itself, and in the adjacent parts of Syria, the worship of Ashtoreth was from the first accompanied with licentious rites. As at Babylon,‡ so in Phœnicia and Syria—at Byblus, at Ascalon, at Aphaca, at Hierapolis §—the cult of the great Nature-goddess "tended to encourage dissoluteness in the relations between the sexes, and even to sanctify impurities of the most abominable description." ‖ Even in Africa, where an original severity of morals had prevailed, and Tanith had been worshiped "as a virgin with martial attributes," and with "severe, not licentious, rites," ¶ corruption gradually crept in; and by the time of Augustine ** the Carthaginian worship of the "celestial goddess" was characterized by the same impurity as that of Ashtoreth in Phœnicia and Syria.

141. Another fearful blot on the religion of the Phœnicians, and one which belongs to Carthage quite as much as to the mother-country,†† is the systematic offering of human victims, as expiatory sacrifices, to El and other gods. The ground of this horrible superstition is to be found in the words addressed by Balak to Balaam *—"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before Him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? *Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?*" As Philo Byblius expresses it,† "It was customary among the ancients, in times of great calamity and danger, that the rulers of the city or nation should offer up the best beloved of their children, as an expiatory sacrifice to the avenging deities: and these victims were slaughtered mystically." The Phœnicians were taught that, once upon a time, the god El himself, under the pressure of extraordinary peril, had taken his only son, adorned him with royal attire, placed him as a victim upon an altar, and slain him with his own hand. Thenceforth, it could not but be the duty of rulers to follow the divine example set them; and even private individuals, when beset by difficulties, might naturally apply the lesson to themselves, and offer up their children to appease the divine anger. We have only too copious evidence that both procedures were in vogue among the Phœnicians. Porphyry declares ‡ that the Phœnician history was full of instances, in which that people, when suffering under great calamity from war, or pestilence, or drought, chose by public vote one of those most dear to them, and sacrificed him to Saturn." Two hundred noble youths were offered on a single occasion at Carthage, after the victory of Agathocles.§ Hamilcar, it is possible, offered himself as a victim on the

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* In a bilingual inscription given by Gesenius, the Phœnician Abed-Tanath becomes in the Greek "Artemidorus." Anaitis or Tanata is often called "the Persian Artemis." (See Plutarch, "Vit. Lucull." p. 24; Bochart, "Geographia Sacra," iv. 19; Pausan. iii. 16, § 6, etc.)

† See Davis's "Carthage," p. 264; Münter, "Religion des Karthager," c. 6.

‡ Herod. i. 199.

§ Herod. i. 105; Lucian, "De Dea Syra," c. ix.; Euseb. "Vit. Constantin. Magni," iii. 55.

‖ Twistleton, in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," vol. ii. p. 866.

¶ Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 305.

** Augustine, "De Civitate Dei," ii. 4.

†† See Diod. Sic. xx. 14, 65; Justin, xviii. 6; Sil. Ital. iv. 765-768; Dionys. Hal. i. 38; etc. Compare Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pp. 448, 449, 453; and Davis, "Carthage," pp. 296, 297.

* Micah vi. 6, 7.

† Philo Bybl., c. vi. § 3.

‡ "De Abstinentia," ii. 56.

§ Lactant. "Inst." i. 21, quoting Pescennius Festus.

entire defeat of his army by Gelo.[*] When Tyre found itself unable to resist the assault of Alexander the Great, the proposition was made, but overruled, to sacrifice a boy to Saturn.[†] Every year, at Carthage, there was at least one occasion, on which human victims, chosen by lot, were publicly offered to expiate the sins of the nation.[‡]

142. And private sacrifices of this sort went hand in hand with public ones. Diodorus tells us,[§] that in the temple of Saturn at Carthage, the brazen image of the god stood with outstretched hands to receive the bodies of children offered to it. Mothers brought their infants in their arms; and, as any manifestation of reluctance would have made the sacrifice unacceptable to the god, stilled them by their caresses till the moment when they were handed over to the image, which was so contrived as to consign whatever it received to a glowing furnace underneath it. Inscriptions found at Carthage record the offering of such sacrifices.[‖] They continued even after the Roman conquest; and at length the proconsul Tiberius, in order to put down the practice, hanged the priests of these bloody rites on the trees of their own sacred grove.[¶] The public exhibitions of the sacrifice thenceforth ceased, but in secret they still continued down to the time of Tertullian.[**]

143. The Phœnicians were not idolaters, in the ordinary sense of the word; that is to say, they did not worship images of their deities. In the temple of Melkarth at Gades there was no material emblem of the god at all, with the exception of an ever-burning fire.[††] Elsewhere, conical stones, called *bætyli*, were dedicated to the various deities,[*] and received a certain qualified worship, being regarded as possessed of a certain mystic virtue.[†] These stones seem occasionally to have been replaced by pillars, which were set up in front of the temples, and had sacrifices offered to them.[‡] The pillars might be of metal, of stone, or of wood, but were most commonly of the last named material, and were called by the Jews *asherahs*, "uprights."[§] At festive seasons they seem to have been adorned with boughs of trees, flowers, and ribbons, and to have formed the central object of a worship which was of a sensual and debasing character. An emblem common in the Assyrian sculptures is thought to give a good idea of the ordinary appearance on such occasions of these *asherahs*.

144. Worship was conducted publicly in the mode usual in ancient times, and comprised praise, prayer and sacrifice. The victims offered were ordinarily animals,[‖] though, as already shown, human sacrifices were not infrequent. It was usual to consume the victims entirely upon the altars.[¶] Libations of wine were copiously poured forth in honor of the chief deities,[**] and incense was burnt in lavish pro-

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[*] See the story in Herodotus (vii. 167).

[†] Quint. Curt. "Vit. Alex. Magn." iv. 15.

[‡] Silius Ital. iv. 765–768.

[§] Diod. Sic. xx. 14.

[‖] Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon.," pp. 448, 449. An inscription given by Dr. Davis ("Carthage and her Remains," pp. 296, 297) refers to the public annual sacrifice.

[¶] Tertull. "Apologia," c. ix.

[**] *Ibid.*

[††] Silius Ital. ii. 45.

[*] Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 2; Damasc. ap Phot. "Bibliothec." p. 1065; Hesych. ad voc. Βαιτυλος. It has been proposed to explain the word *bætulus* as equivalent to Beth-el, "House of God," and to regard the Phœnicians as believing that a deity dwelt in the stone. (Kenrick, "Phœnicia," p. 323, note 4.)

[†] The original *bætuli* were perhaps aeroliths, which were regarded as divine, since they had fallen from the sky.

[‡] Philo Byblius, c. iii. § 7. On the pillar-worship of the Phœnicians, see Bunsen, "Egypt's Place in Univ. History," vol. iv. pp. 208–212.

[§] *Asherah* is commonly translated by "grove" in the Authorized Version; but its true character has been pointed out by many critics. (See "Speaker's Commentary," vol. i. pp. 416, 417; "Ancient Monarchies," vol. ii. p. 8; 2d edition.)

[‖] Lucian, "De Dea Syra," § 49.

[¶] Gesenius, "Script. Phœn. Mon." pp. 446, 447; Movers, "Das Opferwesen der Karthager," p. 71, etc.

[**] Philo Bybl. c. iv. § 1.

fusion.* Occasionally an attempt was made to influence the deity invoked by loud and prolonged cries, and even by self-inflicted wounds and mutilation.† Frequent festivals were held, especially one at the vernal equinox, when sacrifices were made on the largest scale, and a vast concourse of persons was gathered together at the chief temples.‡ Altogether the religion of the Phœnicians, while possessing some redeeming points, as the absence of images and deep sense of sin which led them to sacrifice what was nearest and dearest to them to appease the divine anger, must be regarded as one of the lowest and most debasing of the forms of belief and worship prevalent in the ancient world, combining as it did impurity with cruelty, the sanction of licentiousness with the requirement of bloody rites, revolting to the conscience, and destructive of any right apprehension of the true idea of God.

CHAPTER VI.

THE RELIGION OF THE ETRUSCANS.

"Hetrusci, religione imbuti."—*Cic. De Div.* i. 42.

145. THE religion of the Etruscans, or Tuscans, like that of the Phœnicians and Carthaginians, is known to us chiefly from the notices of it which have come down to us in the works of the classical writers, Greek and Latin. It has, however, the advantage of being illustrated more copiously than the Phœnician by monuments and other works of art found in the country, the productions of native artists—works which in some respects give us a considerable insight into its inner character. On the other hand, but little light is thrown upon it by the Etruscan inscriptions, partly because these inscriptions are almost all of a single type, being short legends upon tombs, partly from the fact that the Etruscan language has defied all the efforts made to interpret it, and still remains, for the most part, an insoluble, or at any rate an unsolved, problem. We are thus without any genuine Etruscan statements of their own views upon religious subjects, and are forced to rely mainly upon the reports of foreigners, who looked upon the system only from without, and are not likely to have fully understood it. It is a further disadvantage that our informants write at a time when the Etruscans had long ceased to be a nation, and when the people, having been subjected for centuries to foreign influences, had in all probability modified their religious views in many important points.

146. There seems to be no doubt that their religion, whatever it was, occupied a leading position in the thoughts and feelings of the Etruscan nation. "With Etruria," says a modern writer, "religion was an all-pervading principle—the very atmosphere of her existence—a leaven operating on the entire mass of society, a constant pressure ever felt in one form or other, a power admitting no rival, all-ruling, all-regulating, all-requiring.* Livy calls the Etruscans "a race which, inasmuch as it excelled in the art of religious observances, was more devoted to them than any other nation."† Arnobius says that Etruria was "the creator and parent of superstition."‡ The very name of the nation, Tusci, was derived by some from a root, *thuein*, "to sacrifice," or "make offerings to the gods" §—as if that were the chief occupation of the people. While famous among the nations of

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* Virg. "Æn." i. 415.

† 1 King xviii. 26, 28; Lucian, "De Dea Syra," § 50; Plutarch, "De Superstitione," p. 170, c.

‡ Lucian, "De Dea Syra," § 49.

* Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria," vol. i. Introduction, p. xlix.

† "Gens ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod excelleret arte colendi eas," Liv. v. 1.

‡ Arnob. "Adv. Gentes," vii.

§ Servius, "Comment. in Virg. Æn." x. 1 257.

antiquity for their art, their commerce, and their warlike qualities, the Etruscans were above all else celebrated for their devotion to their religion, and for "the zeal and scrupulous care with which they practiced the various observances of its rites and ceremonies." *

147. The objects of worship were twofold, including (1) Deities proper, and (2) the Lares, or ancestral spirits of each family. The deities proper may be divided into three classes: first, those whose sphere was the heaven, or some portion of it; secondly, those who belonged more properly to earth; and thirdly, those of the infernal regions, or nether world, which held a prominent place in the system, and was almost as much in the thoughts of the people as their "Amenti" was in the thoughts of the Egyptians.†

148. The chief deities of the Heaven were the following five: Tina, or Tinia, Cupra, Menrva, Usil and Losna. Tina, or Tinia, who was recognized as the chief god,‡ and whom the Greeks compared to their Zeus, and the Romans to their Jupiter, seems to have been originally the heaven itself, considered in its entirety, and thus corresponded both in name and nature to the Tien of the Chinese, with whom it may be suspected that the Etruscans had some ethnic affinity. Tina is said to have had a special temple dedicated to his honor in every Etruscan city, and in every such city one of the gates bore his name.§ He appears to have been sometimes worshiped under the appellation of Summanus, which perhaps meant "the supreme god."‖ We must not, however, take this term as indicative of a latent monotheism, whereof **the** no trace in the Etruscan religion, but only as a title of honor, or at most as a recognition of a superiority in rank and dignity on the part of this god, who was *primus inter pares*, the presiding spirit in a conclave of equals.

149. Next to Tina came Cupra, a goddess, who appears to have also borne the name of Thalna or Thana.* The Greeks compared her to their Hêra, and the Romans to their Juno, or sometimes to their Diana, who was originally the same deity. Like Tina, Cupra had a temple in every Etruscan city, and a gate named after her.† It is thought by some that she was a personification of light, or day; ‡ but this is uncertain. Her name, Thana, looks like a mere variant of Tina, and would seem to make her a mere feminine form of the sky-god, his complement and counterpart, standing to him as Amente to Ammon in the Egyptian, or as Luna to Lunus in the Roman mythology. A similar relation is found to have subsisted between the two chief deities of the Etruscan nether world.

150. The third among the celestial deities was Menrva, or Menrfa, out of whom the Romans made their Minerva. She enjoyed the same privileges in the Etruscan cities as Tina and Cupra, having her own temple and her own gate in each of them.§ Mr. Isaac Taylor believes that originally she represented the half light of the morning and evening, and even ventures to suggest that her name signified "the red heaven," and referred to the flush of the sky at dawn and sunset.‖ A slight confirmation is afforded to this view by the fact that we sometimes find *two* Menrvas represented in a single Etruscan work of art.¶ But we scarcely possess sufficient materials for determining the

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* Smith, "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography," vol. i. p. 865.

† See above, p. 33.

‡ Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. "Introduction," p. 1; Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 132.

§ Servius, "Comment in Virg. Æn." i. 422.

‖ Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 376.

* The name Cupra is known to us only from Strabo ("Geograph." v. p. 241). Thalna is found on Etruscan monuments.

† Servius, l. s. c.

‡ Gerhard, "Gottheiten der Etrusker," p. 40; Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 142.

§ Servius, l. s. c.

‖ "Etruscan Researches," p. 137.

¶ *Ibid.* p. 138.

real original character of this deity. It was probably foreign influence that brought her ultimately into that close resemblance which she bears to Minerva and Athênê on the mirrors and vases, where she is represented as armed and bearing the ægis.[*]

151. Usil and Losna, whom we have ventured to join with Tina, Cupra, and Menrva as celestial deities, appear to nave been simply the Sun and the Moon, objects of worship to so many ancient nations. Usil was identified with the Greek Apollo (called Aplu by the Etruscans), and was represented as a youth with bow and arrows.[†] Losna had the crescent for her emblem,[‡] and was figured nearly as Diana by the Romans.[§]

152. Next to Usil and Losna may be placed in a group the three elemental gods, Sethlans, the god of fire, identified by the Etruscans themselves with the Greek Hephaistos and the Latin Vulcan; Nethuns, the water-god, probably the same as Neptunus; and Phuphlans, the god of earth and all earth's products, who is well compared with Dionysus and Bacchus.[||] Phuphlans was the special deity of Pupluna, or (as the Romans called it) Populonia.[¶] He seems to have been called also Vortumnus or Volturnus;[**] and in this aspect he had a female counterpart, Voltumna, whose temple was the place of meeting where the princes of Etruria discussed the affairs of the Confederation.[††]

153. Another group of three consists of Turan, Thesan, and Turms, native Etruscan deities, as it would seem, corresponding more or less closely to the Aphroditê, Eôs, and Hermes of the Greeks, and the Venus, Aurora, and Mercurius of the Romans. Of these Turan is the most frequently found, but chiefly in subjects taken from the Greek mythology, while Thesan occurs the least often. According to one view, the name Turms is the mere Etruscan mode of writing the Greek word Hermes,[*] the true native name having been Camillus or Kamil.[†] It does not appear that any of these three gods was much worshiped by the Etruscans. They figured in the mythology, but lay almost outside the religion.

154. The main character in which the gods of heaven and earth were recognized by the Etruscans was that of rulers, signifying, and sometimes executing, their will by means of thunder and lightning. Nine great gods, known as the Novensiles, were believed to have the power of hurling thunderbolts, and were therefore held in special honor.[‡] Of these nine, Tinia, Cupra, Menrva, and Sethlans, were undoubtedly four. Summanus and Vejovis, who are sometimes spoken of as thundering gods,[§] seem to be mere names or aspects of Tinia. The Etruscans recognized twelve sorts of thunderbolts, and ascribed, we are told, to Tinia three of them.[||]

155. But it was to the unseen world beneath the earth, the place to which men went after death, and where the souls of their ancestors resided, that the Etruscans devoted the chief portion of their religious thought; and with this were connected the bulk of their religious observances. Over the dark realms of the dead ruled Mantus and Mania, king and queen of Hades, the former represented as an old man, wearing a crown, and with wings on his shoulders, and bear-

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[*] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. li.

[†] Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 143.

[‡] Lanzi, "Saggio della Lingua Etrusca," vol. ii. p. 76.

[§] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. liv.

[||] Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 141; Smith, "Dict. of Greek and Rom. Antiquities," vol. i. p. 865.

[¶] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. p. 242.

[**] *Ibid.* vol. i. Introduction, p. liii.

[††] Liv. iv. 23, 61; v. 17, etc.

[*] Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 149.

[†] So Callimachus ap. Serv. in Virg. Æn. xi. l. 543.

[‡] Varro, "De Ling. Lat." v. 74; Plin. "H. N." ii. 53; Manilius ap. Arnob. "Adv. Gentes," iii. 38.

[§] Plin. l. s. c.; Amm. Marc. xvii. 10, § 2.

[||] Senec. "Nat. Quæst." ii. 41.

ing in his hands sometimes a torch, sometimes two or three large nails, which are thought to indicate "the inevitable character of his decrees."[*] Intimately connected with these deities, their prime minister and most active agent, cruel, hideous, half human, half animal, the chief figure in almost all the representations of the lower world, is the demon, Charun, in name no doubt indentical with the Stygian ferryman of the Greeks, but in character so different that it has even been maintained that there is no analogy between them.[†] Charun is "generally represented as a squalid and hideous old man with flaming eyes and savage aspect; but he has, moreover, the ears, and often the tusks of a brute," with (sometimes) "negro features and complexion, and frequently wings,"[‡] so that he "answers well, cloven feet excepted, to the modern conception of the devil." His brow is sometimes bound round by snakes; at other times he has a snake twisted round his arm; and he bears in his hands almost universally a huge mallet or hammer, upraised, as if he were about to deal a death-stroke. When death is being inflicted by man, he stands by, "grinning with savage delight;"[§] when he comes naturally, he is almost as well pleased; he holds the horse on which the departed soul is to take its journey to the other world, bids the spirit mount, leads away the horse by the bridle or drives it before him, and thus conducts the deceased into the grim kingdom of the dead.[‖] In that kingdom he is one of the tormentors of guilty souls, whom he strikes with his mallet, or with a sword, while they kneel before him and implore for mercy. Various attendant demons and furies, some male, some female, seem to act under his orders, and inflict such tortures as he is pleased to prescribe.

156. It must be supposed that the Etruscan conceived of a judgment after death, of an apportionment of rewards and punishments according to desert.[*] But it is curious that the representations in the tombs give no clear evidence of any judicial process, containing nothing analogous to the Osirid trial, the weighing of the soul, the sentence, and the award accordingly, which are so conspicuous on the monuments of Egypt. Good and evil spirits seem to contend for the possession of souls in the nether world; furies pursue some, and threaten them or torment them; good genii protect others and save them from the dark demons, who would fain drag them to the place of punishment.[†] Souls are represented in a state which seems to be intended for one of ideal happiness, banqueting, or hunting, or playing at games, and otherwise enjoying themselves:[‡] but the grounds of the two different conditions in which the departed spirits exist are not clearly set forth, and it is analogy rather than strict evidence which leads us to the conclusion that desert is the ground on which the happiness and misery are distributed.

157. Besides Charun and his nameless attendant demons and furies, the Etruscan remains give evidence of a belief in a certain small number of genii, or spirits, having definite names, and a more or less distinct and peculiar character. One of the most clearly marked of these is Vanth, or Death, who appears in several of the sepulchral scenes, either standing by the door of an open tomb, or prompting the slaughter of a prisoner, or otherwise encouraging carnage and destruction.[§] Another is Kulmu,

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[*] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. lvi.

[†] Ambrosch, "De Charonte Etrusco," quoted by Dennis, vol. ii. p. 206.

[‡] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. p. 206.

[§] *Ibid.* p. 207.

[‖] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," pp. 193, 194.

[*] So Dennis and others; but there is a want of distinct evidence upon the point.

[†] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. pp. 193–198.

[‡] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. pp. 444–446.

[§] Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," pp. 100–102. (For the scenes referred to, see Micali, "god of the tomb," who bears the fatal shears in one hand and a funeral torch in the other, and opens the door of the sepulchre that it may receive into it a fresh inmate.[*] A third being of the same class is Nathuns, a sort of male fury, represented with tusk-like fangs and hair standing on end, while in either hand he grasps a serpent by the middle, which he shakes over avengers, in order to excite them to the highest pitch of frenzy.[†]

158. In their worship the Etruscans sought, first of all and especially, to know the will of the gods, which they believed to be signified to man in three principal ways. These were thunder and lightning, which they ascribed to the direct action of the heavenly powers; the flight of birds, which they supposed to be subject to divine guidance; and certain appearances in the entrails of victims offered in sacrifice, which they also regarded as supernaturally induced or influenced. To interpret these indications of the divine will, it was necessary to have a class of persons trained in the traditional knowledge of the signs in question, and skilled to give a right explanation of them to all inquirers. Hence the position of the priesthood in Etruria, which was "an all-dominant hierarchy, maintaining its sway by an arrogant exclusive claim to intimate acquaintance with the will of heaven, and the decrees of fate." [‡] The Etruscan priests were not, like the Egyptian, the teachers of the people, the inculcators of a high morality, or the expounders of esoteric doctrines on the subjects of man's relation to God, his true aim in life, and his ultimate destiny; they were soothsayers,[§] who sought to expound the future, immediate or remote, to warn men against coming dangers, to suggest modes of averting the divine anger, and thus to save men from evils which would otherwise have come upon them unawares and ruined or, at any rate, greatly injured them. Men were taught to observe the signs in the sky, and the appearance and flight of birds, the sounds which they uttered, their position at the time, and various other particulars; they were bidden to note whatever came in their way that seemed to them unusual or abnormal, and to report all to the priests, who thereupon pronounced what the signs observed portended, and either announced an inevitable doom,[*] or prescribed a mode whereby the doom might be postponed or averted. Sometimes the signs reported were declared to affect merely individuals; but frequently the word went forth that danger was portended to the state; and then it was for the priesthood to determine at once the nature and extent of the danger, and also the measures to be adopted under the circumstances. Sacrifices on a vast scale or of an unusual character were commonly commanded in such cases, even human victims being occasionally offered to the infernal deities, Mantus and Mania,[†] whose wrath it was impossible to appease in any less fearful way. Certain books in the possession of the hierarchy, ascribed to a half divine, half human personage, named Tages,[‡] and handed down from a remote antiquity, contained the system of divination which the priests followed, and guided them

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"Monumenti Inediti," pl. lx.; and Des Vergers, "L'Etrurie et les Etrusques," pl. xxi.).

[*] *Ibid.* p. 94.

[†] Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 112.

[‡] Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. Introduction, p. xxxix.

[§] Cic. "De Divinatione," i. p. 41, 42; Senec. "Nat. Quæst." ii. 32; Diod. Sic. v. p. 316; Dionys. Hal. ix. p. 563; Aulus Gell. iv. 5; Lucan, "Phars." i. 1, 587, etc.

[*] The Etruscans recognized a power of Fate, superior to the great gods themselves, Tinia and the others, residing in certain "Di Involuti," or "Di Superiores," who were the rulers of both gods and men (Senec. "Nat. Quæst." ii. 41).

[†] Especially to Mania (Macrob. "Saturnalia," i. 7). Human sacrifices are thought to be represented in the Etruscan remains (Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. pp. 190, 191).

[‡] Lydus, "De Ostentis," § 27; Cic. "De Div." ii. 23; Ovid. "Metamorph." xv. 553–559, etc.

in their expositions and requirements.

159. Among sacrificial animals were included the bull, the ass, and perhaps the wolf,* though this is disputed. The victim, brought by an individual citizen, was always offered by a priest, and libations usually accompanied the sacrifice. Unbloody offerings were also not unfrequently presented, and were burnt upon the altar, like the victims.†

160. A general survey of the Etruscan remains has convinced the most recent inquirers, that the public worship of the gods in the temples, which were to be found in all Etruscan cities, by sacrifice, libation, and adoration, played but a very small part in the religious life of the nation. "The true temples of the Etruscans," it has been observed, "were their tombs." ‡ Practically, the real objects of their worship were the Lares, or spirits of their ancestors. Each house probably had its *lararium*,§ where the master of the household offered prayer and worship every morning, and sacrifice occasionally.‖ And each family certainly had its family tomb, constructed on the model of a house, in which the spirits of its ancestors were regarded as residing. "The tombs themselves," we are told, "are exact imitations of the house. There is usually an outer vestibule, apparently appropriated to the annual funeral feast : from this a passage leads to a large central chamber, which is lighted by windows cut through the rock. The central hall is surrounded by smaller chambers, in which the dead repose. On the roof we see carved in stone the broad beam, or roof-tree, with rafters imitated in relief on either side, and even imitations of the tiles. These chambers contain the corpses, and are furnished with all the implements, ornaments, and utensils used in life. The tombs are, in fact, places for the dead to live in. The position and surroundings of the deceased are made to approximate as closely as possible to the conditions of life. The couches on which the corpses repose have a triclinial arrangement, and are furnished with cushions carved in stone ; and imitations of easy-chairs and footstools are carefully hewn out of the rock. Everything, in short, is arranged as if the dead were reclining at a banquet in their accustomed dwellings. On the floor stand wine-jars ; and the most precious belongings of the deceased —arms, ornaments, and mirrors— hang from the roof, or are suspended on the walls. The walls themselves are richly decorated, usually being painted with representations of festive scenes ; we see figures in gayly-embroidered garments reclining on couches, while attendants replenish the goblets, or beat time to the music of the pipers. Nothing is omitted which can conduce to the amusement or comfort of the deceased. Their spirits were evidently believed to inhabit these house-tombs after death, just as in life they inhabited their houses." *

161. The tombs were not permanently closed. Once a year at least, perhaps oftener, it was customary for the surviving relatives to visit the resting-place of their departed dear ones, to carry them offerings as tokens of affectionate regard, and solicit their favor and protection. The presents brought included portrait-statues, cups, dishes, lamps, armor, vases, mirrors, gems, seals, and jewelry.† Inscrip-

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* Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

† Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. ii. p. 191.

‡ Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 49.

§ On the Roman *lararium*, which is believed to have been adopted from the Etruscans, see an article in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities," pp. 667, 668, 2d edition.

‖ In the Theodosian Code it was provided that no one should any longer worship his *lar* with fire ("nullus Larem igne veneretur"), or, in other words, continue to sacrifice to him. (See Keightley's "Mythology," p. 470.)

* Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," pp. 46–48.

† *Ibid.* pp. 271, 306, etc.

tions frequently accompanied the offerings; and these show that the gifts were made, not to the spirit of the tomb, or to the infernal gods, or to any other deities, but to the persons whose remains were deposited in the sepulchres.* Their spirits were no doubt regarded as conciliated by the presents; and, practically, it is probable that far more value was attached to the fostering care of these nearly allied protectors than to the favor of the awful gods of earth and heaven, who were distant beings, dimly apprehended, and chiefly known as wielders of thunderbolts.

162. As a whole, the Etruscan religion must be pronounced one of the least elevating of the forms of ancient belief. It presented the gods mainly under a severe and forbidding aspect, as beings to be dreaded and propitiated, rather than loved and worshiped. It encouraged a superstitious regard for omens and portents, which filled the mind with foolish alarms, and distracted men from the performance of the duties of every-day life. It fostered the pride and vanity of the priestly class by attributing to them superhuman wisdom, and something like infallibility, while it demoralized the people by forcing them to cringe before a selfish and arrogant hierarchy. If it diminished the natural tendency of men to overvalue the affairs of this transitory life, by placing prominently before them the certainty and importance of the life beyond the grave, yet its influence was debasing rather than elevating, from the coarseness of the representations which it gave alike of the happiness and misery of the future state. Where the idea entertained of the good man's final bliss makes it consist in feasting and carousing,† and the suffering of the lost arises from the blows and wounds inflicted by demons, the doctrine of future rewards and punishments loses much of its natural force, and is more likely to vitiate than to improve the moral character. The accounts which we have of the morality of the Etruscans are far from favorable;* and it may be questioned whether the vices whereto they were prone did not receive a stimulus, rather than a check, from their religion.

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS.

"The Greek religion was the result of the peculiar development and history of the Grecian people."—Dollinger, *Jew and Gentile*, vol. i. p. 68.

163. That "in general the Greek religion may be correctly described as a worship of Nature; and that most of its deities corresponded either to certain parts of the sensible world, or to certain classes of objects comprehended under abstract notions," is a remark of Bishop Thirlwall† in which most critics at the present day will acquiesce with readiness. Placed in a region of marked beauty and variety, and sympathizing strongly with the material world around him, the lively Greek saw in the objects with which he was brought into contact, no inert mass of dull and lifeless matter, but a crowd of mighty agencies, full of a wonderful energy. The teeming earth, the quickening sun, the restless sea, the irresistible storm, every display of su-

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* Without accepting all Mr. Taylor's renderings of the funereal inscriptions I am of opinion that he has succeeded in establishing this point.

† See Dennis, "Cities and Cemeteries," vol. i. p. 294: "They (the Etruscans) believed in the materiality of the soul; and their Elysium was but a glorification of the present state of existence: the same pursuits, amusements, and pleasures they had relished in this life they expected in the next, but divested of their sting, and enhanced by increased capacities of enjoyment. To celebrate the great event, to us so solemn (i.e., death), by feasting and joviality, was not with them unbecoming. They knew not how to conceive or represent a glorified existence otherwise than by means of the highest sensual enjoyment." (Compare pp. 443–448.)

* See the Author's "Origin of Nations" (No. 25, Humboldt Library).

† "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 217.

perhuman might which he beheld, nay, all motion and growth, impressed him with the sense of something living and working. He did not, however, like his Indian brother, deify (as a general rule) the objects themselves; or, at any rate, if he had ever done so, it was in a remote past, of which language alone retained the trace;* he did not, in the times in which he is really known to us, worship the storm, or the sun, or the earth, or the ocean, or the winds, or the rivers, but, by the power of his imagination, he invested all these things with personality. Everywhere around him, in all the different localities, and departments, and divisions, and subdivisions of the physical world, he recognized agencies of unseen beings endued with life, volition, and design. Nature was peopled for him with a countless multitude of such invisible powers, some inhabiting the earth, some the heaven, some the sea, some the dark and dreadful region beneath the earth, into which the sun's rays could not penetrate. "Of such beings," as Mr. Grote observes,† "there were numerous varieties, and many gradations both in power and attributes; there were differences of age, sex, and local residence, relations, both conjugal and filial, between them, and tendencies sympathetic as well as repugnant. The gods formed a sort of political community of their own, which had its hierarchy, its distributions of ranks and duties, its contentions for power, and occasional revolutions, its public meetings in the agora of Olympus, and its multitudinous banquets or festivals. The great Olympic gods were, in fact, only the most exalted among an aggregate of quasi-human or ultra-human personages—dæmons, heroes, nymphs, eponymous genii, identified with each river, mountain, cape, town, village, or known circumscription of territory, besides horses, bulls, and dogs, of immortal breed and peculiar attributes, monsters of strange lineaments and combinations—'Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimæras dire'—and besides 'gentile and ancestral deities,' and 'peculiar beings whose business it was to co-operate or impede in the various stages of each trade or business.'"

164. Numerous additions might be made to this list. Not only had each mountain chain and mountain-top a separate presiding god or goddess, but troops of Oreads inhabited the mountain regions, and disported themselves among them; not only was there a river-god to each river, a Simoïs and a Scamander, an Enipeus and an Acheloüs, but every nameless stream and brooklet had its water-nymph, every spring and fountain its naiad; wood-nymphs peopled the glades and dells of the forest regions; air-gods moved in the zephyrs and the breezes; each individual oak had its dryad. To the gods proper were added the heroes, gods of a lower grade, and these are spoken of as "thirty thousand in number, guardian dæmons, spirits of departed heroes, who are continually walking over earth, veiled in darkness, watching the deeds of men, and dispensing weal or woe."*

165. It is this multiplicity of the objects of worship, together with their lively active personality, which forms the first striking feature of the ancient Greek religion, and naturally attracts the attention of observers in the first instance. Nowhere have we such a multitudinous pantheon. Not only was the multiplicity of external nature reflected in the spiritual world as in a mirror, but every phase, and act, and circumstance of human life, every quality of the mind, every attribute of the body, might be, generally was, personified, and became a divine being. Sleep and Death, Old Age and

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* Zeus may have been once *Dyaus*, "the sky" (Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," vol. ii. p. 72); but the word very early "became a proper name" and designated a person.

† "History of Greece," vol. i. pp. 463–465.

* Thirlwall, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 235. Compare Hesiod, "Works and Days," l. 250.

Pain, Strength, Force, Strife, Victory, Battle, Murder, Hunger, Dreaming, Memory, Forgetfulness, Lawlessness, Law, Forethought, Afterthought, Grief, Ridicule, Retribution, Recklessness, Deceit, Wisdom, Affection, Grace, were gods or goddesses, were presented to the mind as persons, and had their place in the recognized Theogonies,* or systematic arrangements of the chief deities according to supposed relationship and descent. Similarly, the facts of Nature, as distinct from her parts, were personified and worshiped, Chaos, Day, Night, Time, the Hours, Dawn, Darkness, Lightning, Thunder, Echo, the Rainbow, were persons—"persons, just as much as Zeus and Apollo" †—though not, perhaps, so uniformly regarded in this light.

166. Another leading feature in the system is the existence of marked gradations of rank and power among the gods, who fall into at least five definite classes,‡ clearly distinguished the one from the other. First and foremost come the Olympic deities, twelve in number, six male and six female, but not as a rule connected together in pairs—Zeus, Poseidon, Apollo, Ares, Hephæstus, Hermes, Hera, Athené, Artemis, Aphrodité, Hestia, and Demeter. Next in order are the great bulk of the gods and goddesses, Hades, Dionysus, Cronus, Uranus, Hyperion, Helios, Nereus, Proteus, Æolus, Leto, Dioné, Persephoné, Hecaté, Selené, Themis, Harmonia, the Graces, the Muses, the Fates, the Furies, the Eileithyiæ, the Oceanids, the Nereids, the Nymphs, the Naiads and the like. In the third rank may be placed the deities who act as attendants on the greater gods, and perform services for them, Iris, the messenger of Jove, Hebé, his cup-bearer, Kratos and Bia, the servants of Hephæstus,§ Boreas, Notus, etc., subordinates of Æolus, the Hours, handmaids of Aphrodité, etc. Fourthly, we may name the more shadowy gods and goddesses, Night, Day, Ether, Dawn, Darkness, Death, Sleep, Strife, Memory, Fame, Retribution, Recklessness, etc., who do not often appear as deities except in poetry, and are perhaps rather personifications consciously made than real substantive divinities. Finally must be mentioned the monstrous births ascribed to certain divine unions or marriages, *e. g.*, the Cyclopes, and Centimani, the offspring of Earth and Heaven (Gæa and Uranus); the Harpies, daughters of Thaumas and Electra, one of the Oceanidæ; the Gorgons and Grææ, children of Phorcys and Ceto; Chrysaor and Pegasus, born of the blood of Medusa, when she was slain by Perseus; Geryon and Echidna, sprung from Chrysaor and Callirrhoë; Orthros, the two-headed dog of Geryon, born of Typhaon and Echidna; Cerberus, the dog of Hades, with fifty heads; Scylla and Charybdis; the Lernæan Hydra, the Sphinx of Thebes, the Nemean Lion, the Dragon of the Hesperides, the Centaurs, the Chimæra, etc., etc.

167. The chief interest naturally attaches to the gods of the First Order, those commonly denominated "Olympic;" and, in a work like the present, some account must necessarily be given of the twelve deities who constituted the Olympian council.

ZEUS.

168. At the head of all, occupying a position quite unique and unlike that of any other, stood the great Zeus. Zeus is "*the* God, or, as he is called in later times, the Father of the gods and the God of gods. When we ascend to the most distant heights of Greek history, the idea of God, as the Supreme Being, stands before us as a simple fact." * "Zeus," said an ancient poet, "is the beginning; Zeus the middle; out of Zeus have all things

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* Hesiod, "Theogon," ll. 114–264; Apollodorus, "Bibliotheca," i. 1–6.

† Grote, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 2.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

§ See Æschyl. "Prom. Vinct." *sub init.*

* Max Müller "Chips," vol. ii. p. 148.

been made." Zeus was "the lord of the upper regions, who dwelt on the summits of the highest mountains, gathered the clouds about him, shook the air with his thunder, and wielded the lightning as the instrument of his wrath. From elements drawn from these different sources his character, a strange compound of strength and weakness, seems to have been formed by successive poets, who, if they in some degree deserved the censure of the philosophers, seem at least not to have been guilty of any arbitrary fictions; while, on the other hand, by establishing his supremacy they introduced (?) a principle of unity into the Greek polytheism, which was not perhaps without influence on the speculations of the philosophers themselves, though it exerted little on the superstitions of the vulgar. The Olympian deities are assembled round Zeus as his family, in which he maintains the mild dignity of a patriarchal king. He assigns their several provinces, and controls their authority. Their combined efforts cannot give the slightest shock to his power, nor retard the execution of his will; and hence their waywardness, even when it incurs his rebuke, cannot ruffle the inward serenity of his soul. The tremendous nod, wherewith he confirms his decrees, can neither be revoked nor frustrated. As his might is irresistible, so is his wisdom unsearchable. He holds the golden balance in which are poised the destinies of nations and of men; from the two vessels that stand at his threshold he draws the good and evil gifts that alternately sweeten and embitter mortal existence. The eternal order of things, the ground of the immutable succession of events, is his, and therefore he himself submits to it. Human laws derive their sanction from his ordinance; earthly kings receive their scepter from his hand; he is the guardian of social rights; he watches over the fulfillment of contracts, the observance of oaths; he punishes treachery, arrogance, and cruelty. The stranger and the suppliant are under his peculiar protection; the fence that encloses the family dwelling is in his keeping; he avenges the denial and the abuse of hospitality. Yet even this greatest and most glorious of beings, as he is called, is subject, like the other gods, to passion and frailty. For, though secure from dissolution, though surpassingly beautiful and strong, and warmed with a purer blood than fills the veins of men, their heavenly frames are not insensible to pleasure and pain; they need the refreshment of ambrosial food, and inhale a grateful savor from the sacrifices of their worshipers. Their other affections correspond to the grossness of these animal appetites. Capricious love and hatred, anger and jealousy, often disturb the calm of their bosoms; the peace of the Olympian state might be broken by factions, and even by conspiracies formed against its chief. He himself cannot keep perfectly aloof from their quarrels; he occasionally wavers in his purpose, is overruled by artifice, blinded by desires, and hurried by resentment into unseemly violence. The relation in which he stands to Fate is not uniformly represented in the Homeric poems, and probably the poet had not formed a distinct notion of it. Fate is generally described as emanating from his will, but sometimes he appears to be no more than the minister of a stern necessity, which he wishes in vain to elude." *

169. And Zeus bears to man the relation of "father." Each mortal who has a supplication to make to him, may address him as Ζεῦ πάτερ, "God (our) Father." He bears, as one of his most usual titles, the designation of "Father of gods and men." As St. Paul says,† quoting a Greek poet, "we are his offspring." The entire passage where these words occur is remarkable, and very instructive on the Grecian idea of Zeus.

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* Thirlwall "History of Greece," vol. i, pp. 217–219.

† Acts xvii. 28.

"With Zeus begin we—let no mortal voice
Leave Zeus unpraised. Zeus fills the haunts
of men,
The streets, the marts—Zeus fills the sea,
the shores,
The harbors—everywhere we live in Zeus.
We are his offspring too; friendly to man,
He gives prognostics; sets men to their
toil
By need of daily bread: tells when the land
Must be upturned by plowshare or by
spade—
What time to plant the olive or the vine—
What time to fling on earth the golden grain.
For He it was who scattered o'er the sky
The shining stars, and fixed them where they
are—
Provided constellations through the year,
To mark the seasons in their changeless
course.
Wherefore men worship Him—the First—
the Last—
Their Father—Wonderful—their Help and
Shield."*

170. A pantheistic tinge pervades this description; but still in parts it approaches to some of the most beautiful and sublime expressions of Holy Writ.† It presents Zeus to us as omnipresent, beneficent, worthy of perpetual praise, our father, our help and defense, our support and stay. It sets him forth as "wonderful," or rather "a mighty wonder"—*μέγα θαῦμα*—a being beyond our power to comprehend, whom we must be content to reverence and admire. It recognizes him as having hung the stars in the blue vault of heaven, and having set them there "for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years." It calls him "the First" and "the Last"—the Alpha and the Omega of being.

171. Such is the strength of Zeus, according to the Greek idea; but withal there is a weakness about him, which sinks him, not only below the "Almighty" of Scripture, but even below the Ormazd of the Persians. He has a material frame, albeit of an ethereal and subtle fiber; and requires material sustenance. According to some of the myths, he was born in time; according to all, he was once a god of small power. Heaven had its revolutions in the Greek system: and as the sovereignty of Olympus had passed from Uranus to Cronus, and from Cronus to Zeus in former times, so in the future it might pass, and according to some, was doomed to pass, from Zeus to another.* Nor was he without moral defect. A rebellious son, a faithless husband, not always a kind father, he presented to the moral consciousness no perfect pattern for man's imitation, but a strange and monstrous combination of wickedness with high qualities, of weakness with strength, of good with evil.†

POSEIDON.

172. Poseidon is reckoned as the second of the Olympic gods, rather as being, in the mythology, the brother of Zeus, than from any superiority of his own over the rest of the Olympians.‡ He is viewed as especially the god of the sea, and is worshiped chiefly by maritime states and in cities situated on or near the coast; but he has also a considerable hold upon the land, and is "earth-shaking" and "earth-possessing," quite as decidedly as sovereign ruler of the seas and ocean. His worship is ancient, and in many places has given way to an introduction of later and more fashionable deities. It has traces of a rudeness and roughness that are archaic, and stands connected with the more grotesque and barbarous element in the religion. "Among his companions are wild Titans and spiteful dæmons," § human sacrifices

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* Aratus, "Phænomena," ll. 1–15.

† Compare "everywhere we live in Zeus" with "in Him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts xvii. 28)—the provision of constellations with Gen. i. 14—the term "Wonderful" with Isa. ix. 6—"the First, the Last" with Rev. i. 8, 11, etc.—"their Help and Shield" with Psa. xviii. 2; xlvi. 1, etc.

* Æschyl. "Prom. Vinct." ll. 939–959.

† Compare Mr. Gladstone's remarks in his "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. pp. 186–190.

‡ Poseidon claims in the "Iliad," an authority within his own domain independent of Zeus ("Iliad," xv. 174 *et seqq.*), but exercises no right of rule over any other god.

§ Curtius, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 56.

are offered to him; horses are buried alive in his honor; Polyphemus the Cyclops, whom Ulysses punishes, is his son; and his offspring generally are noted for huge size and great corporeal strength.* It has been maintained that his cult was of foreign origin, having been introduced among the Greeks by the Carians,† or by the Libyans; ‡ but there are no sufficient grounds for these refinements, or for separating off Poseidon from the bulk of the Olympic deities, admittedly of native growth, and having a general family resemblance. If Poseidon is cast in a ruder and rougher mold than most of the others, we may account for it by the character of his element, and the boisterousness of sailors, who were at all times his principal worshipers. Poseidon's roughness is compensated for by a solidity and strength of character, not too common among the Grecian deities; he is not readily turned from his purpose; blandishments have little effect upon him; failure does not discourage him; he is persistent, and generally, though not always, successful. His hostility to Troy, arising from his treatment by Laomedon, conduced greatly toward that city's destruction, and the offense which he took at the decision of Erechtheus led to the final overthrow of that hero's family. On the other hand, his persecution of Ulysses, on account of the chastisement which he had inflicted on Polyphemus, does not prevent the final return of that much-enduring wanderer to Ithaca, nor does his opposition succeed in hindering the settlement of Æneas, with his Trojan companions, in Latium. For grandeur and sublimity of character and position Poseidon cannot compare with Zeus, whom, however, he sometimes ventures to beard; § in respect of moral conduct he is in no way Zeus's superior: in respect of intellectual elevation he falls decidedly below him.

APOLLO.

173. The conception of Apollo as the sun is a late form of Hellenic belief, and must be wholly put aside when we are considering the religion of the *ancient* Greeks. Apollo seems to have been originally, like Zeus, a representation of the one God, originating probably in some part of Greece where Zeus was unknown,* and subsequently adopted into the system prevalent in Homeric times, and in this system subordinated to Zeus as his son and interpreter. Compared with Zeus, he is a spiritualized conception. Zeus is the embodiment of creative energy and almighty power: Apollo of divine prescience, of healing skill, and of musical and poetic production. "In Apollo Hellenic polytheism received its harmonious completion, and the loftiest glorification of which it was capable." †

174. Apollo rises on the vision of one familiar with Greek antiquity as almost a pure conception, almost an angelic divinity. To a form of ideal beauty, combining youthful grace and vigor with the fullest perfection of manly strength, he added unerring wisdom, complete insight into futurity, an unstained life,‡ the magic power of song, ability and will to save and heal, together with the dread prerogative of dealing out at his pleasure destruction and death. Compassionate on occasions as Mercy herself, he shows at times the keen and awful severity of a destroying archangel. *Ekebolos*, "striking from afar," he speeds his fatal shafts from his unfailing bow, and smites whomsoever he will with a death-stroke which there is no escaping. Never offended without cause, never moved by caprice, he

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* Hom. "Odyssey," xi. 505–520.

† Curtius, vol. i. p. 298: "The Carians introduced [into Greece] the worship of the Carian Zeus, and of Poseidon."

‡ Herod. ii. 50; iv. 188.

§ Hom. "Iliad," xv. 175.

* Curtius suggests Lycia or Crete ("History of Greece," vol. i. p. 59).

† *Ibid.*

‡ See this point discussed in Mr. Gladstone's "Homer and the Homeric Age" (vol. ii. pp. 106–111).

works the will of Zeus in all that he does, dispenses retributive justice, and purifies with wholesome fear the souls of men. Partaker of all the counsels of his father, and permitted to use his discretion in communicating them to the denizens of earth, he delivers his oracular responses from the various spots which he has chosen as his special abodes, and, though sometimes his replies may be of doubtful import, seldom sends away a votary unsatisfied. The answers which he gives, or at any rate is supposed to give, determine the decisions of statesmen,* and shape the course of history. War and peace, treaties and alliances, are made and unmade, as the Delphic and other oracles inspired by him advise; and the course of Hellenic colonization is almost entirely determined by his decrees.†

175. Poet, prophet, physician, harper, god of victory and angel of death in one, Apollo is always on the side of right, always true to Zeus, and not much inferior to him in power. It is, perhaps, a fanciful analogy which has been traced between him and the Second Person of the Christian Trinity;‡ but the very fact that such an analogy can be suggested is indicative of the pure and lofty character of the god, which equals at any rate, if it does not transcend, the highest ideal of divinity that has hither to been elaborated by unassisted human wisdom.

ARES.

176. It has been well said that Ares is "the impersonation of a passion." That combative propensity, which man possesses in common with a large number of animals, was regarded by the Greeks, not only as a divine thing, but as a thing of such lofty divinity that its representative must have a place among the deities of the first class or order. The propensity itself was viewed as common to man with the gods, and as having led to "wars in heaven," wherein all the greater deities had borne their part. Now that peace was established in the Olympian abode, it found a vent on earth, and caused the participation of the gods in the wars carried on among mortals. Ares was made the son of Zeus and Hera, the king and queen of heaven. He was represented as tall, handsome, and active, but as cruel, lawless, and greedy of blood. The finer elements of the warlike spirit are not his. He is a divine Ajax,* rather than a divine Achilles; and the position which he occupies in the Olympian circle is low. Apollo and Athené are both entitled to give him their orders; and Athené scolds him, strikes him senseless, and wounds him through the spear of Diomed.† His worship is thought to have been derived from Thrace,‡ and to have been introduced into Greece only a little before the time of Homer.§ It was at no time very widely spread, or much affected by any Grecian tribe or state, the conception being alto-

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* Herod. vii. 140–143.

† *Ibid.* iv. 150–159; v. 42, etc.

‡ Friedrich says: "This triad of Zeus, Athené, and Apollo bears an unmistakable analogy to the Christian Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: Zeus answering to God the Father, Athené to the Holy Ghost, and *Apollo to the Son of God, the Declarer of the will of his Heavenly Father*" ("Die Realien in der Iliade und Odyssee," part iii. pp. 635 and 689). Mr. Gladstone came independently to the same conclusion, and says:—"In Apollo are represented the legendary anticipations of a person to come, in whom should be combined all the great offices in which God the Son is now made known to man, as the Light of our paths, the Physician of our diseases, the Judge of our misdeeds, and the Conqueror and Disarmer, but not yet Abolisher, of death" ("Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 132). Professor Max Müller, on the other hand, thinks that "it seems blasphemy to consider the fables of the heathen world as corrupted and misinterpreted fragments of a divine revelation once granted to the whole of mankind" ("Chips from a German Workshop," vol. ii. p. 13).

* Mr. Gladstone says, "not so much an Ajax as a Caliban" ("Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 228); but is not this too harsh a view, even of the Homeric conception of Ares?

† Hom. "Iliad," v. 885–887; xv. 110–142, etc.

‡ Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 88.

§ Gladstone, "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. pp. 229–231.

gether too coarse to attract the sympathies of a refined people.

HEPHÆSTUS.

177. Hephæstus is the god of fire, and especially of fire in connection with smelting and metallurgy. He dwells in Lemnos, where he habitually forges thunderbolts for Zeus, and occasionally produces fabrics in metal of elaborate and exquisite construction. Among the most marvelous of his works are the automatic tripods of Olympus and the bronze maidens, whom he has formed to be his attendants on account of his lameness. He is the armorer of heaven, and provides the gods generally with the weapons which they use in warfare. The peculiarity of his lameness is strange and abnormal, since the Greeks hate deformity, and represent their deities generally as possessed of perfect physical beauty. It has been accounted for on the supposition that he is a Grecised Phthah,[*] introduced from Egypt, directly or indirectly,[†] and that his deformity is a modification of Phthah's presentment as a pigmy with the lower limbs misshapen. But the features common to Hephæstus with Phthah are few; the name of Hephæstus is probably of pure Greek etymology, connected with ψάος and ψαίνω; and, on the whole, there would seem to be no evidence that Hephæstus is a foreign god more than any other. Rather, it is characteristic of the many-sidedness of the Greeks, and consequent upon the anthropomorphism which makes the Olympic community a reflection of earthly things, that there should be even in this august conclave something provocative of laughter, a discord to break the monotony of the harmony, an element of grotesqueness and monstrosity. Hephæstus in the Olympic halls is like the jester at the court of a medieval monarch, a something to lighten the seriousness of existence, to provoke occasionally a burst of that "inextinguishable laughter," without which life in so sublime an atmosphere would be intolerable. The marriage of Hephæstus to Aphrodité is conceived in the same spirit. There was a keen sense of humor in the countrymen of Aristophanes; and the combination of the clumsy, lame, and begrimed smith with the Queen of Beauty and Love pleased their sense of the ludicrous, and was the fertile source of many an amusing legend. "The Lay of the Net," wherewith Demodocus entertains both gods and men,[*] is a sufficient specimen of this class of lively myth, and shows that the comic features of ill-assorted marriage, on which modern playwrights have traded so freely, were fully appreciated by the Greeks, and were supposed well-suited to provoke the gods to merriment. The modern moralist will regret this unworthy representation of divine beings;[†] but it is quite in accord with the general character of the Greek religion, which reflected back upon deity all that was weak, as well as all that was strong, in man.

HERMES.

178. Hermes is the impersonation of commercial dealings, and hence a god who gives wealth and increase, a god of inventive power, and a god of tricks and thievery. He is "the Olympian man of business,"[‡] and therefore employed in embassies and commissions, and even sometimes in the simple carrying of messages. As δώτωρ εάων,[§] "the giver of comforts," he secures his votaries all manner of worldly prosperity. He is industrious and inventive, constructs the seven-stringed lyre before he is a day old,[‖] afterward invents the pan's-pipes,

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[*] Sir G. Wilkinson in Rawlinson's "Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 139, note (3d edition).

[†] Mr. Gladstone regards him as introduced from Phœnicia ("Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 255).

[*] Hom. "Odyss." viii. 266–366.

[†] "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. pp. 461–463.

[‡] Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 74.

[§] Hom. "Odyss." viii. 335. Compare "Iliad," xiv. 490.

[‖] Hom. "Hym. Merc." l. 16.

and ultimately becomes a god of wisdom and learning generally. His thievishness must be taken to show that commercial fraud is pretty well as ancient as commerce itself, and that "the good old times" were not, as sometimes represented, an age of innocence. It has been said that he is more human than any other Olympian god; and that "he represents, so to speak, the utilitarian side of the human mind,"* being active, energetic, fruitful in resource, a keen bargainer, a bold story-teller, and a clever thief. His admission into the number of the Olympians is the strongest possible indication of the inferiority of the moral standard among the Greeks. The special regard paid to him by the Athenians is, however, perhaps the mere consequence of their addiction to the pursuits of commerce.

179. Hermes is commonly represented as a youth just attaining to manhood. The wings which adorn his head and ankles indicate the celerity of his movements. His caduceus is perhaps the golden rod of wealth given to him by Apollo in exchange for the lyre. It represents also the staff commonly borne by heralds, and in this point of view had white ribbons attached to it, which in later times became serpents. Sometimes he holds a purse in his hand, to mark his power of bestowing riches.

180. The six female Olympic deities—Hera, Athené, Artemis, Aphrodité, Hestia, and Demeter—have now to be considered.

HERA.

181. The anthropomorphism which was so main an element in the Greek religion made it requisite that motherhood, as well as fatherhood, should be enthroned in the Olympic sphere, that Zeus should have his consort, heaven its queen, and women their representative in the highest celestial position. Hera was, perhaps, originally Era, "the Earth;"* but this idea was soon lost sight of, and in Greek mythology, from first to last, she is quite other than the principle of mundane fecundity, quite a different being from the oriental earth-goddess, called indifferently Cybelé, Dindymené, Magna Mater, Rhea, Beltis, Mylitta, etc. Hera is, primarily, the wife of Zeus, the queen of the Olympic court, the mistress of heaven. She is "a reflected image of Zeus," † and exercises all her husband's prerogatives, thunders, shakes Olympus, makes Iris her messenger, gives her orders to the Winds and the Sun, confers valor, and the like. As the personification of maternity, she presides over childbirth; and the Eileithyiæ, her daughters, act as her ministers. She does not present to us an elevated idea of female perfection, since, despite her exalted rank, she is subject to numerous feminine infirmities. Mr. Grote notes that she is "proud, jealous, and bitter."‡ Mr. Gladstone observes that she is passionate, wanting in moral elevation, cruel, vindictive, and unscrupulous.§ Her mythological presentation was certainly not of a nature to improve the character of those women who might take her for their model; since, although she was possessed of certain great qualities, passion, fervor, strong affection, self-command, courage, acuteness, yet she was, on the whole, wanting in the main elements of female excellence, gentleness, softness, tenderness, patience, submission to wrong, self-renunciation, reticence. She was a proud, grand, haughty, powerful queen; not a kind, helpful, persuasive, loving woman. The mythology of Greece is in few points less satisfactory than in the type of

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* "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 242.

* See Mr. Gladstone's "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 190. Others suggest a connection with *heros*, *herus*, *hera*, and so with the German *herr* and our *sir*.

† "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p 194.

‡ "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 50.

§ "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. pp. 190–196.

female character which it exhibits at the head of its pantheon.

ATHENE.

182. If Hera is below the level of female excellence which we might have expected refined heathens to have represented in a chief goddess, Athené is above the level. She has a character which is without a flaw. Originally, as it would seem, a conscious impersonation of the divine wisdom, and therefore fabled to have sprung full-grown from the head of Zeus, she became a distinct and substantive deity at a very early date, and was recognized as the "goddess of wisdom, war, polity, and industrial art."* Homer places her, together with Zeus and Apollo, on a higher platform of divinity than the other deities,† and makes her even oppose Zeus when he is in the wrong, thwart him, and vindicate right and truth in his despite.‡ It has been said that she is "without feminine sympathies—the type of composed, majestic, and unrelenting force;" § and this is so far true that she has certainly little softness, absolutely no weakness, and not many distinctly feminine characteristics. But she was recognized, like her Egyptian counterpart, Neith, as the goddess of good housewifery, "patronizing handicraft, and expert at the loom and spindle," ‖ no less than as the wise directress of statesmen and warriors. Undoubtedly, the atmosphere in which she removed was too cold, calm, and clear for her ever to have attached to herself any very large share of human sympathy; but she exercised an elevating influence on the nobler spirits of both sexes, as combining the three attributes of purity, strength, and wisdom in the highest possible degree, and so furnishing at once a model for imitation, and a support and stay for feeble souls in the spirit world, where they had otherwise little on which they could place any firm reliance. The universally-received myth of Mentor and Telemachus acted as a strong reenforcement to the power of conscience, which the young Greek felt might be the voice of Athené speaking within him, advising him for his true good, and pointing out to him the path of honor and duty. Athené's special connection with Athens and Attica added much to her importance in the Greek religious system, since it brought the best minds and most generous natures of Hellas peculiarly under the influence of a thoroughly high and noble religious conception.

ARTEMIS.

183. Artemis is altogether a shadowy divinity. She is a "pale reflection of her brother,"* Phœbus Apollo, whose attributes she reproduces in a subdued form, being, like him, majestic, pure, chaste, a minister of death, and a dexterous archer. Nothing is peculiar to her except her presidency over hunting, which determined her general presentation to the eye by the Greek artists. She embodied and personified that passion for the chase which was common to the Hellenes with most energetic races. It was supposed that she dwelt mainly upon earth, haunting the forests and the mountains, dressed as a huntress, and accompanied by her favorite hounds. Her connection with the moon was an after-thought in the Greek mythology, as was that of Apollo with the sun. It arose mainly from the fact that hunters, to be successful, had to commence their operations by night, and needed the light of the moon in order to make their arrangements.

184. The Artemis of Ephesus was the embodiment of a different idea.†

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* "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 59.

† Hom. "Iliad," ii. 371; iv. 288; vii. 132, etc.; "Odyss." iv. 341; xvii. 132, etc.

‡ "Iliad," viii. 30–40.

§ Grote, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 47.

‖ *Ibid.*

* "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. p. 143.

† Grote, "History of Greece," vol. i. p. 48.

She took the place of the great Asiatic Nature-goddess—Cybelé, Rhea, Magna Mater, Beltis, Mylitta—and had nothing in common with the Artemis of Hellas proper but the name. "Her image, shaped like a mummy, was of black wood; the upper part of the body was ornamented with the breasts of animals, the lower with figures of them." * She was a mere impersonation of the principle of fecundity in nature—"a Pantheistic deity, with more of an Asiatic than Hellenic character." †

APHRODITE.

185. Aphrodité is the antithesis and in some sort the complement, of Athené. She is the impersonation of all that is soft and weak and erring in female nature, as Athené is of all that is high and pure and strong Goddess of beauty and love, not, however, of love in its more elevated form, but rather of sensual desire, she was received by the Greeks probably from an Asiatic source, but so transmuted and Hellenized as to have become, when we first meet with her, a completely national divinity.‡ Hellenic in the whole character of her beauty, she is well described by a living English poet§ in her passage which is eminently classical:—

"Idalian Aphrodité beautiful,
Fresh as the foam, new bathed in Paphian wells,
With rosy slender fingers backward drew
From her warm brow and bosom her deep hair
Ambrosial, golden round her lucid throat
And shoulder: from the violets her light foot
Shone rosy white, and o'er her rounded form,
Between the shadows of the vine-branches,
Floated the golden sunlight as she moved."

Nothing so lovely in form and color and texture and combination of rare charms, graced the splendid chambers of the Olympian court—nothing so ravishing had ever presented itself to the vision of painter or poet. But the beauty was altogether physical, sensuous, divorced alike from moral goodness and mental power. Silly and childish, easily tricked and imposed upon, Aphrodité is mentally contemptible, while morally she is odious. Tyrannical over the weak, cowardly before the strong, frail herself, and the persistent stirrer up of frailty in others, lazy, deceitful, treacherous, selfish, shrinking from the least touch of pain, she repels the moral sentiment with a force almost equal to that wherewith she attracts the lower animal nature. Hence the Greek cannot speak of her without the most violent conflict of feeling. He is drawn to her, but he detests her; he is fascinated, yet revolted; he admires, yet he despises and condemns; and his condemnation, on the whole, outweighs his admiration. He calls her

"A goddess verily of many names—
Not Cypris only, but dark Hades, too,
And Force resistless, and mad, frantic Rage
And sheer untempered Craving, and shrill
Grief."*

He allows, but he rebels against her power over him; he protests even when he surrenders himself; and hence, on the whole, Aphrodité exercises a less corrupting influence in Greece than might have been anticipated. That the pantheon should contain a goddess of the kind was of course to some extent debasing. Bad men could justify themselves by the divine example, and plead powerlessness to resist a divine impulse. But their conscience was not satisfied; they felt they sinned against their higher nature; and thus, after all, the moral standard was not very seriously affected by the existence of the Cyprean goddess among the Olympic deities.

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* Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 86.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Mr. Gladstone takes a different view. He regards the Aphrodité of Homer as scarcely a Greek divinity ("Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii. pp. 244, 245). But to me it seems that, even in Homer, her character is as thoroughly Greek as her name.

§ See Tennyson's "Œnone," ll. 170–178.

* Sophocl. Fragm. xxiii. (ed. Brunck).

HESTIA.

186. Hestia is still more shadowy than Artemis. She is in part the feminine counterpart of Hephæstus, the goddess of fire; but she is principally the impersonation of the sacred character of each hearth and home, whether domestic, tribal, or national. Hestia presided over the private hearths and homesteads of all Greeks, over the Prytaneia of cities, and over the altars kept ablaze in the temples which were centers of confederacies. She invested them with a sacred character, watched over them, protected them. Her personality was but slightly developed. Still she seems to have been regarded as possessing, to a remarkable extent, the qualities of holiness and purity; and thus to have practically maintained in Greek domestic life a high and pure standard, such as has scarcely been much exceeded among Christians. She was fabled to have vowed perpetual virginity; and it is clear that, together with Athené and Artemis, she upheld among the Greeks the idea of virginal purity as a transcendental phase of life, a moral perfection whereto the best and purest might not only aspire, but attain, as the result of earnest endeavor.

DEMETER.

187. Demeter, the "Earth-Mother," was an Original Greek conception, corresponding to one common among the Oriental nations, the conception personified by Maut in Egypt, Beltis or Mylitta in Babylon, Cybelé in Phrygia, etc. The earth on which man lives, and from which he derives the food that sustains him, was viewed as a kind and bountiful parent—the nurse, the feeder, the supporter, the sustainer of mankind. Personified as a goddess, she demanded the worship and gratitude of all, and was hence a universal deity, though specially honored in certain places. In the Greek religion Demeter was closely connected with agriculture, since the earth in Greece did not support men without toil. She made the Greeks acquainted with the growing of cereals, the operations of tillage and bread-making. Moreover, as agriculture was "the foundation of all social and political ordinances, and inseparably connected with the introduction of peaceable and orderly ways of life, Demeter, under her title of Thesmophoros, was the ennobler of mankind, the founder of civilization and lawgiving." She was thus more in Greece than she was in Asia. Her position in the greatest of the mysteries—the Eleusinian—was probably owing to this double function, this combination of a Nature-goddess with a deity of law and order, the power that led man on from the simple nomadic condition to all the refinements and complications of advanced political life.

"These were the prime in order and in might;
The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,
Th' Ionian gods, of Javan's issue held
Gods, yet confess'd later than heav'n and earth,
Their boasted parents: Titan, Heav'n's first-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd
By younger Saturn: he from mightier Jove,
His own and Reah's son, like measure found:
So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete
And Ida known; thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
Their highest heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields,
And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost isles.

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Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve
Got them new names; till wand'ring o'er the earth,
Through God's high suff'rance for the trial of man,
By falsities and lies the greatest part
Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
God their Creator, and th' invisible
Glory of Him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And devils to adore for deities;
Then they were known to men by various names,
And various idols through the heathen world."—

188. Among the deities external to the Olympic circle, the most important were Dionyes, Leto, Persephoné, and Hades or Aidoneus. Dionysus is generally admitted to have been derived from an Oriental source. The word probably meant originally "the judge of men,"[*] and referred to a special function of the god, who was thought to pass sentence on the departed when they reached the other world.

189. Essentially, however, Dionysus was the god of inebriety, the deification of drunkenness, as Ares was of violence, and Aphrodité of sensual desire. He was viewed as the creator of the vine, or at any rate, as its introducer into Greece; the teacher of its culture, and the discoverer of the exhilarating properties of its fruit. The worship of Dionysus was effected by taking part in his orgies, and these were of a furious and ecstatic character, accompanied with exciting music, with wild dances, with shrieks and cries, and sometimes with bloodshed. Both men and women joined in the Dionysiac rites, the women outdoing the men in the violence of their frenzy. "Crowds of females, clothed with fawn-skins, and bearing the sacred thyrsus, flocked to the solitudes of Parnassus or Cithæron or Taygetus, during the consecrated triennial period, passed the night there with torches, and abandoned themselves to demonstrations of frantic excitement, with dancing and clamorous invocation of the god. The men yielded to a similar impulse by noisy revels in the streets, sounding the cymbals and tambourine, and carrying the image of the god in procession."[†] Every sort of license and excess was regarded as lawful on these occasions, and the worship of the deity was incomplete unless the votary reached an advanced stage of intoxication. Dionysiac festivals were fortunately not of frequent recurrence, and were not everywhere celebrated in the same way. At Athens women took no part in the Dionysia; and with men intellectual contests, and the witnessing of them, held the place of the rude revels elsewhere too common. Still the influence of Dionysiac worship on Greece generally must be regarded as excessively corrupting, and Dionysus must be viewed as, next to Aphrodité, the most objectionable of the Greek divinities.

190. Leto, or Latona, as the Romans called her, when they adopted her into their pantheon, was, on the contrary, one of the purer and more elevating influences. She is the wife of Zeus by a title quite as good as that of Hera,[*] and is a model of motherly love and wifely purity. Separate and peculiar function she has none, and it is difficult to account for her introduction among the Olympians. Perhaps she is to be regarded as ideal womanhood. Silent, unobtrusive, always subordinating herself to her children, majestic, chaste, kindly, ready to help and tend, she is in Olympus what the Greek wished his wife to be in his own home, her very shadowiness according with the Greek notion of womanly perfection.[†] Mr. Gladstone suggests that she is a traditional deity, representing the woman through whom man's redemption was to come;[‡] but there scarcely seems sufficient foundation for this view, which is not supported by any analogies in the mythologies of other nations.

191. Persephoné, the Roman Proserpine, was the queen of the dead; far more than her shadowy husband, Hades, the real ruler of the infernal realm. She was represented as severely pure and chaste, even having become a wife against her will, and as awful and terrible, but not cruel. She occupied no very important post in the religion, since her sphere was wholly the nether world, which only

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[*] See the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vol. ii. pp. 33, 34.

[†] Grote, "History of Greece," vol. i, p. 26.

[*] Hesiod says that she became the wife of Zeus before Hera ("Theogony," ll. 918–221).

[†] Compare the line of Sophocles—

"O woman, silence is the woman's crown."
(*Ajax*, l. 293.)

[‡] "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. ii, p. 153.

very slightly engaged the attention of the Hellenes. Hades, or Aidoneus, had a high rank, as the brother of Zeus, and in some sort his co-equal; but he was as shadowy as the realm over which he presided, and to most Greeks was simply *magni nominis umbra*—"the shadow of a great name," which they must reverence when they heard it, but not a deity who to any extent occupied their thoughts, or received their worship.* It would be easy to occupy many more pages with the Greek minor deities, but our limits compel us to refrain, and to turn at this point from the objects to the character of the worship, and to the real practical influence of their religion upon the Greek race.

192. In the main, the Greek worship was of a joyous, pleasant, and lightsome kind. The typical Greek was devoid of any deep sense of sin—thought well of himself—did not think very highly of the gods, and considered that, so long as he kept free from grave and heinous offenses, either against the moral law or against the *amour-propre* of the deities, he had little to fear, while he had much to hope, from them. He prayed and offered sacrifice, not so much in the way of expiation, or to deprecate God's wrath, as in the way of natural piety, to ask for blessings and to acknowledge them. He made vows to the gods in sickness, danger, or difficulty, and was careful to perform his vow on escape or recovery. His house was full of shrines, on which he continually laid small offerings, to secure the favor and protection of his special patron deities. Plato says that he prayed every morning and evening, and also concluded every set meal with a prayer or hymn. But these devotions seem not to have been very earnest or deep, and were commonly hurried through in a perfunctory manner.

193. Practically, the religious worship of the Greeks consisted mainly in attendance on festivals which might be Pan-Hellenic, political, tribal, or peculiar to a guild or a *phratria.* Each year brought round either one or two of the great panegyries—the festivals of the entire Greek race at Olympia and Delphi, at Nemea and the Isthmus of Corinth. There were two great Ionic festivals annually, one at Delos, and the other at the Panionium near Mycalé. Each state and city throughout Greece had its own special festivals, Dionysia, Eleusinia, Panathenæa, Carneia, Hyakinthia, Apaturia, etc. Most of these were annual, and some lasted several days. A Greek had no "Sunday"—no sacred day recurring at set intervals, on which his thoughts were bound to be directed to religion; but so long a time as a week scarcely ever passed without his calendar calling him to some sacred observance or other, some feast or ceremony, in honor of some god or goddess, or in commemoration of some event important in the history of mankind,* or in that of his race, or of his city. And these festivals were highly attractive to him. Generally they were joyful occasions from first to last, celebrated with music, and processions, with gymnastic or orchestral competitions, or with theatrical contests. Ordinarily they include sacrifice, and feasting upon the victims sacrificed. Even when they were professedly of a mournful character, like the Spartan Hyakinthia, the opening days of which were days of sadness and of gloom, they commonly concluded with a more genial time—a time of banqueting and dancing. Accordingly, the Greek looked forward to his holy days as true holidays, and was pleased to combine duty with pleasure by taking his place in the procession, or the

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* Compare Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 93: "The people did not trouble themselves much about Hades, and they saw no altars dedicated to him. There was one image of him at Athens, but he had hardly anywhere a regular worship."

* *E.g.*, the Hydrophoria, kept in commemoration of those who perished in the Flood of Deucalion, the Greek representation of the Noachical Deluge.

temple, or the theatre, to which inclination and religion alike called him. Thousands and tens of thousands flocked to each of the great Pan-Hellenic gatherings, delighting in the splendor and excitement of the scene, in the gay dresses, the magnificent equipages, the races, the games, the choric, and other contests. "These festivals," as has been well observed,[*] "were considered as the very cream of the Greek life, their periodical recurrence being expected with eagerness and greeted with joy." Similarly, though to a minor extent, each national or even tribal gathering was an occasion of enjoyment; cheerfulness, hilarity, sometimes an excessive exhilaration, prevailed; and the religion of the Greeks, in these its most striking and obvious manifestations, was altogether bright, festive, and pleasurable.

194. But, just as sunshine cannot exist without shadow, so even the Greek religion, bright as it was, had its dark side. Calamities befell nations, families, or individuals, and were attributed to an offended god or a cruel fury. A sense of guilt occasionally visited those who had committed great and flagrant crimes, as perjury, blasphemy, robbery of temples, incest, violation of the right of asylum, treachery toward a guest-friend, and the like. A load under these circumstances lay upon the conscience; all the horrors of remorse were felt; avenging fiends were believed to haunt and torture the guilty one, who sometimes earnestly sought relief for a term of years, and sought in vain. There were, indeed, rites of expiation appropriate to different occasions; most sins could be atoned for in some manner or other; but the process was generally long and painful;[†] and there were cases where the persistent anger of the fierce Erinyes could not in any way be appeased. When a nation had sinned, human sacrifices were not unfrequently prescribed as the only possible propitiation;[*] if the case were that of an individual, various modes of purification were adopted, ablutions, fastings, sacrifices, and the like. According to Plato, however, the number of those who had any deep sense of their guilt was few: most men, whatever crimes they committed, found among the gods examples of similar acts,[†] and thought no great blame would attach to them for their misconduct. At the worst, if the gods were angered by their behavior, a few offerings would satisfy them, and set things straight,[‡] leaving the offenders free to repeat their crimes, and so to grow more and more hardened in iniquity.

195. At the position which the "mysteries" occupied in the Greek religion it is impossible for us, in this slight sketch, to do more than glance. The mysteries were certain secret rites practiced by voluntary associations of individuals, who pledged themselves not to reveal to the uninitiated anything which they saw or heard at the secret meetings. They were usually connected with the worship of some particular god, and consisted mainly in symbolical representations of the adventures and circumstances connected with the god in the mythology. They contained nothing that was contradictory to the popular religion, and little that was explanatory of it. The various mysteries had each its own apparatus of symbols and formularies, by which the *mystæ* knew each other, as freemasons do; but they only vaguely hinted at any theological dogmas or opinions. The Greek greatly affected these secret rites; and it is said that but few Greeks were not initiated in some mystery or other.[§] "Their attraction lay in their veil of secrecy, trans-

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[*] Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 238.

[†] See the "Eumenides" of Æschylus, where Orestes, however, is at last purged of his guilt.

[*] Even as late as the time of Solon, Epimenides prescribed a human sacrifice at Athens.

[†] Plato, "Republic," ii. § 17.

[‡] *Ibid.* § 7.

[§] Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 193.

parent though it was, in the variety of feelings brought into play by lively dramatic representations, in the rapid transition from anxiety and suspense to serenity and joy, the combination of all arts and artistic enjoyments, of music and song, the mimic dance, the brilliant lighting-up, and effective decoration."[*] It can scarcely, however, be said that the mysteries exercised any salutary or elevating influence on the Greeks generally. The moral conduct of the initiated was no better than that of others; and Plato thought that participation in the Eleusinia served only to strengthen and make a man secure in unrighteousness.[†]

CHAPTER VIII.

RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT ROMANS.

> "Sua cuique religio civitati, nostra nobis."
> CICERO, *Pro Flacc.* 28.

196. TIME was, and not a very distant time, when it was regularly inculcated on the youthful mind in our public schools and other great educational establishments, that one and the same religious system prevailed alike in Italy and Greece, among the Romans and the Hellenes; two branches, as it was thought, of a single original people. Such phrases as "classical mythology," "the religion of the Greeks and Romans," "the deities of the classical nations," were frequent alike on the lips of teachers, and in the language of authorized text-books; the Grecian divinities were spoken of almost universally by their (supposed) equivalent Latin names; and the youth would have been considered offensively pedantic who should have hesitated to render Ἥρα by "Juno," or Δημήτηρ by "Ceres." But within the last twenty or thirty years a more just appreciation of the facts of the case has sprung up; the careful investigation which has been made of the "origines" both of Greece and Rome has shown, first, that the two nations were but remotely connected in race, and secondly, that their religious systems were markedly and strikingly different. Any review of the religious systems of the ancient world that is attempted at the present day, necessarily and as a matter of course, treats separately the religion of the Hellenes and that of the Romans; and we are thus bound, before our task can be regarded as complete, to append to the account which we have already given of the Hellenic religious system a chapter on the "Religion of the Ancient Romans."

197. Following the method which we have hitherto for the most part pursued, we propose to consider, first, the objects of worship at Rome, and secondly, the character and peculiarities of the worship which was paid to them. We may note, *en passant*, that the religion was a polytheism. in its general character similar to that of Greece, but distinguished by its comparatively scanty development of the polytheistic idea in respect of Nature and the parts of Nature, and its ample development of that idea in connection with human life, its actions, parts, and phases.

198. The great gods (*Di majores*) of Rome were always regarded as twelve in number, though at different periods of Roman history the enumeration of "the twelve" would have been different. If we go back to the very earliest—almost pre-historic—time, we may perhaps name the following as "the twelve" of the primitive system — Jupiter, Juno (= Diana), Minerva, Mars, Bellona, Vesta, Ceres, Saturnus, Ops, Hercules, Mercurius, Neptune. A few words must be said concerning each of these.

JUPITER.

199. The Jupiter (JV-PATER), or "Father Jove," of the Romans bore a real resemblance to the Greek Zeus,

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[*] Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 196.

[†] "Republic," ii. § 6 (quoted by Döllinger, 200).

with whose name he is etymologically identical.* The idea of paternity, attached to his name in ordinary parlance, implied the same notion which we find in the Hellenic system, viz., that he was "the father of gods and men" (*hominum sator atque deorum*, Virg.). He had a temple from the very earliest times on the Capitoline hill, where he was worshiped in combination with Juno and Minerva, and a High Priest, the "Flamen Dialis," who maintained his cult with perpetual burnt sacrifice. Originally, there must have been in the conception of Jupiter a latent monotheism; but long before the first settlement was made by any Latins in Italy, this idea seems to have evaporated; and to the Romans of the earliest times whereof we have any trace, Jove was no more than one god out of many †—the god, especially, of the air, the sky, the firmament—who sent down lightning from above, gave rain, directed the flight of birds, and (as Ve-Jovis) impregnated the atmosphere with fevers and pestilence. He was the acknowledged head of the Roman pantheon, only preceded sometimes in solemn invocations ‡ by Janus, "the spirit of opening," who necessarily presided over beginnings of all kinds. A sort of general superintendence over human affairs was assigned to him; he was viewed as punishing impiety in general, and perjury in particular; he knew the future, and could reveal it; he guarded the rights of property, and was viewed as a sort of guardian deity of the Roman people and state. He has been called, "the genius of the Roman people;" § but this conception of him is too narrow. He was certainly much more than that. If not the "universal lord," which some have considered him, he was at any rate a great god—the highest conception of deity which was ever reached by the Romans.

JUNO.

200. Juno is a mere female Jupiter, possessing no substantive or separate character, unless it be that of a special protectress of women, and more particularly of matrons. She stands to Jupiter as Fauna to Faunus, Luna to Lunus, Amente to Ammon. She presided especially over marriages and births, being invoked as "Lucina," or "she that brings to light," when the birth drew nigh, and as "Pronuba" when marriage approached. Identical with Diana originally (for Diana is to Διός as Juno to Ζεύς), she came gradually to be considered a distinct and separate deity—the distinction becoming a contrast in the later times, when Diana was identified with the Grecian Artemis. As Jupiter was the "king," so Juno was the "queen of heaven" (*regina cœli* or *cœlorum*). She was invoked under many names besides those already mentioned. She was "Virginalis," as protecting maidens; "Matrona," as the patroness of married women; "Opigena," "help-giving;" and "Sospita," "preserving," as general aider of the female sex. A great festival was held in her honor every year on the 1st of March, which was called *Matronalia*, and was attended by all Roman matrons, who regarded her as at her pleasure either giving or withholding offspring. It was perhaps an accident which gave Juno the presidency over money, the Romans having found it convenient to establish their first mint in the vicinity of her temple on the Capitoline hill, where she was worshiped as Juno Moneta, or "Juno the admonitress."

MINERVA.

201. Minerva, though worshiped in common by the Etruscans and the

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* Both names are, of course, closely allied to the Sanskrit "Dyaus," "heaven," or "the sky." (See Max Müller, "Science of Religion," p. 172.)

† This is applied in the ordinary appendage to his name, "Optimus maximus," "the best and greatest" (of the gods).

‡ Liv. viii. 9

§ Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 176, E. T.

Romans, appears by the etymology of her name to have been essentially a Latin deity. She is the goddess of mind (*mens*) and memory (*memini, reminiscor*)—"the thinking, calculating, inventive power personified."[*] Her worship was closely connected with that of Jupiter and Juno, the three together forming the Capitoline Triad, who alone had temples on that hill in the early times. In the great *lectisternium* called *epulum Jovis*, the images of the three were brought out and feasted together. Minerva was the patroness both of the fine arts and of the various handicrafts—the goddess of sculptors, painters, musicians, poets, physicians, weavers, dyers, carpenters, smiths, etc., etc. Each man regarded his talents as coming especially from her; and as success in war is the fruit of prudence, perseverance, contrivance, stratagem, as much as of courage and sheer brute force, Minerva was in one respect[†] a war-goddess, and represented with a helmet, shield, and coat of mail. The chief festival celebrated in honor of Minerva was the Quinquatrus or Quinquatria, which lasted five days—from the 19th of March to the 23d.

MARS.

202. In Mavors or Mars we have "the central object, not only of Roman, but Italian, worship in general"[‡]—the real main object of public religious regard throughout the greater portion of the peninsula. Originally, perhaps, Maurs (Mors), "the killing god," and therefore, like Siva the Destroyer, attached to no special department of human life, he came by degrees to have the most destructive of human occupations, war, assigned to him as his especial field, and to be regarded as the god who went out to battle at the head of each army—invisibly but really present—who hurled his spear at the foe, struck terror into them, disordered their ranks, and gave to his worshipers the victory. Practically ousting Jupiter from the regards of men, he became Marspiter[*] (Maspiter, "Father Mars," *the* god to whom alone they looked for protection). The first month of the year was dedicated to him, and thence took the name which it bears in most modern European languages. The great muster-ground of the people before they went out to war became the "Campus Martius;" and war itself was sometimes designated by his name, as intellectual ability was by that of Minerva. As marching at the head of Roman troops, he was called *Gradivus*, as avenging them upon their enemies, *Ultor.* Like Jupiter, he had his High Priest—the "Flamen Martialis"—whose business it was to present to him burnt offerings. He had also attached to his worship from very ancient times a college of priests known as Salii ("dancers"), who performed war-dances in his honor, clad in armor, and carrying the sacred shields supposed to have fallen from heaven, and called *ancilia.* The wolf, the horse, and the woodpecker were sacred to him. A great festival was held in his honor at the beginning of each year, commencing on the 1st March.

BELLONA.

203. Bellona, or Duellona,[†] stood to Mars as Juno to Jupiter, except that there was no etymological connection between the names. She was the goddess of war (*bellum* or *duellum*), was spoken of as the wife or sister of Mars, and had a temple in the Campus Martius, where the ceremony of proclaiming war was performed. A college of priests, called Bellonarii, conducted her worship, and were bound, when they offered sacrifice in

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[*] Schmidt, in Dr. Smith's "Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities," vol. ii. p. 1090.

[†] So Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 175, E. T.

[‡] So Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 175, E. T.

[*] Liv. viii. 9.

[†] Fabretti, "Corpus Inscr. Italicarum," p. 323.

her honor, to wound their own arms or legs, and either to offer up upon her altar the blood which flowed from their wounds, or else to swallow it themselves. The 24th of March was especially appointed for these ceremonies, and for this reason was known in the Roman calendar as the "day of blood" (*dies sanguinis*). Bellona was represented as armed with a bloody scourge,[*] and was solemnly invoked in dangerous crises by generals on the battle field.[†]

VESTA.

204. Vesta, identical with the Grecian Hestia (Ἑστέα), was an ancient goddess, whose worship the Latins brought with them into Italy from their primitive settlements in the far East. In her earliest conception, she was the goddess of the human dwelling (*vas*, *vasana*, Sanskr.) generally: but, according to Roman ideas, it was the national, rather than the domestic, hearth over which she presided. Her temple was one of the most ancient in Rome. It lay at the northern foot of the Palatine hill, a little east of the Forum, and was in the immediate vicinity of a sacred grove, also dedicated to Vesta. The regular worship of the goddess was entrusted to a college of six women, known as "Vestal Virgins" (*Virgines Vestales*), whose special duty it was to preserve the sacred fire upon the altar which represented the national hearthstone, and not to allow it ever to be extinguished. They dwelt together in a cloister (*atrium*) a little apart from the temple, under the presidency of the eldest sister (*Vestalis maxima*) and under the superintendence and control of the college of Pontifices. Besides watching the fire, they had to present offerings to Vesta at stated times, and to sprinkle and purify the shrine each morning with water from the Egerian spring. A festival was held in honor of the goddess annually on the 9th of June, at which no man might be present, but which was attended by the Roman matrons generally, who walked in procession with bare feet from the various quarters of the city to the temple. There was no image in the temple of Vesta, the eternal fire being regarded as symbolizing her sufficiently.

CERES.

205. A god, Cerus, and a goddess Cerie, are found to have been worshiped by the early Italians;[*] and it is a reasonable conjecture that these names are connected with the Latin "Ceres." The Latin writers derived that word either from *gero* or *creo*,[†] and considered that it was given to mark that the deity in question was the "bringer," or "creator" of those fruits of the earth on which the life of man mainly depends. According to some, Ceres was the same as Tellus; but this does not seem to have been the case anciently. Ceres was the goddess of agriculture, and was connected from a very early date with Liber, the Latin Bacchus, the god of the vineyard. That Ceres should have been one of the "great divinities," marks strongly the agricultural character of the early Roman state, which did not give to Liber, or to Pomona, any such position. The worship of Ceres merged after a time in that of Demeter, whose peculiar rites were imported either from Velia or from Sicily.

SATURNUS.

206. Saturnus was properly the god of sowing, but was regarded, like Ceres, as a general deity of agriculture, and was represented with a pruning-hook in his hand, and with wool about his feet. His statue was made hollow,

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[*] Virgil, "Æn." viii. 703; Lucan, "Phars." vii. 569.

[†] Liv. viii. 9; x. 19.

[*] Fabretti, "Corpus Ins. Italic." pp. 829, 830.

[†] Varro ("De Ling. Lat." v. 64), and Cicero ("De Nat. Deor." ii. 26), derive it from *gero:* Servius ("Comm. ad Virg. Georg." i. 6), and Macrobius ("Saturn." i. 18) from *creo.*

and was filled with olive oil, significant of the "fatness" and fertility which he spread over the land. His festival, the Saturnalia, held in December, from the 17th to the 24th, was a sort of harvest-home, commemorative of the conclusion of all the labors of the year, and was therefore celebrated with jocund rites, mirth, and festivity, an intermixture of all ranks upon equal terms, and an interchange of presents. The temple of Saturn at Rome stood at the foot of the Capitoline hill, and was assigned to a remote antiquity, though with variations as to the exact date. It was used as a record office, and also as the public treasury, which was regarded as mainly filled by the produce of agricultural industry. The identification of Saturnus with the Grecian Cronus was a foolish fancy of the Hellenizing period, the truth being that "there is no resemblance whatever between the attributes of the two deities." *

OPS.

207. With Saturn must be placed Ops, who was sometimes called his wife, and whose worship certainly stood in a very close connection with his. Ops was properly the divinity of field-labor (*opus*, *opera*); but as such labor is productive of wealth, Ops came to be also the goddess of plenty and of riches, and her name is the root-element in such words as *opimus*, *opulentus*, *inops*, and the like. She was generally worshiped together with Saturn, and had temples in common with him; but still she had her own separate sanctuary on the Capitoline hill,† where honors were paid to her apart from any other deity. Her festival, the Opalia, fell on December 19th, or the third day of the Saturnalia, and was thus practically merged in that of the god of agriculture. Ops, like Ceres, is sometimes confounded with Tellus, but the three goddesses were to the Latin mind distinct, Tellus being a personification of the earth itself, Ceres of the productive power in nature, which brings forth fruits out of the earth, and Ops of the human labor without which the productive power runs to waste, and is insufficient for the sustenance of human life.

HERCULES.

208. The near resemblance of Hercules to Heracles led, almost necessarily, to the idea, everywhere prevalent until recently, that the two gods were identical, and that therefore either Hercules was an ancient deity common to the Latins with the Hellenes before the former migrated into Italy, or else that he was an importation from Greece, introduced at a comparatively late period. Recently, however, the etymological connection of the two names has been questioned, and it has been suggested * that Hercules is, like Ceres, and Saturn, and Ops, and Mars, and Minerva, a genuine Italic god, quite unconnected with Heracles, who is a genuine Hellenic divinity. The root of the name Hercules has been found in *hercus* (ἕρχος) "a fence" or "enclosure," whence *hercere* or *arcere*, "to ward off," "keep back," "shield." Hercules, whose worship was certainly as ancient at Rome as that of any other deity, would thus be "the god of the enclosed homestead," and thence in general "the god of property and gain." † He was regarded as presiding over faith, the basis of the social contract, and of all dealings between man and man, and hence was known as *Deus fidius*, "the god of good faith," who avenged infractions of it. In the early times he seems to have had no temple at Rome; but his Great Altar in the cattle-market was one of the most sacred sites in the city; ‡ oaths were sworn there, and contracts con-

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* Schmidt, in Smith's "Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog." vol. iii. p. 726.

† Liv. xxxix. 22.

* Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 174.

† *Ibid.*

‡ See Liv. i. 7; ix. 29.

cluded; nor was it unusual for Roman citizens to devote to it a tenth part of their property, for the purpose of obtaining the god's favor, or for the fulfillment of a vow. The worship of Hercules was not exclusively Roman, not even Latin, but Italic. He was "reverenced in every spot of Italy, and had altars erected to him everywhere, in the streets of the towns as well as by the roadsides."*

MERCURIUS.

209. Mercurius was the god of commerce and traffic generally. As trade was not looked upon with much respect at Rome, his position among the "great gods" was a low one. He had no very ancient temple or priesthood, and, when allowed the honor of a temple in the second decade of the Republic,† his worship seems to have been regarded as plebeian and of an inferior character. Connected with it was a "guild of merchants"‡ (*collegium mercatorum*), called afterward, "Mercuriales," who met at the temple on certain fixed days for a religious purpose. The cult of Mercury was, like that of Hercules, very widely diffused; but it was affected chiefly by the lower orders, and had not much hold upon the nation.

NEPTUNUS.

210. The Latin Neptunus is reasonably identified with the Etruscan Nethuns,§ who was a water god, widely worshiped by that seafaring people. The word is probably to be connected with the root *nib* or *nip*, found in νίπτω, νιπτήρ, χέρ-νιβ-α, χ. τ. λ. There is not much trace of the worship of Neptune at Rome in the early times, for Livy's identification of him with Consus,‖ the god honored in the Consualia, cannot be allowed. We find his cult, however, fully established in the second century of the Republic,* when it was united with that of Mercury, the mercantile deity. In later times he had an altar in the Circus Flaminius, and a temple in the Campus Martius. A festival was held in his honor, called Neptunalia, on the 23d day of July, which was celebrated with games, banquets, and carousals. The people made themselves booths at this time with the branches of trees, and feasted beneath the pleasant shade of the green foliage. Roman admirals, on quitting port with a fleet, were bound to sacrifice to Neptune, and the entrails of the victims were thrown into the sea. After the Greek mythology became known to the Romans, Neptune was completely identified with Poseidon, and became invested with all his attributes. Amphitrite became his wife, and the Nereids his companions.†

211. In succession to the twelve deities of the first rank may be placed the following important groups:—1. The gods of the country: Tellus, or Mother Earth; Silvanus, god of the woods; Pomona, goddess of orchards; Flora, goddess of flowers; Faunus ("favoring god"), presiding over flocks and herds; and Vertumnus, god of the changing year (*verto*). 2. The State gods: Terminus, god of the boundary; Consus, god of the State's secret counsels; Quirinus, god of the Quirinal and of the Quirites, or Roman people; and the Penates, gods of the State's property (*penus*). 3. The personifications of abstract qualities: Pietas, goddess of piety; Fides, of faith; Spes, of hope; Pax, of peace abroad; Concordia, of peace at home; Libertas, of liberty; Fortuna, of good luck; Juventas, of youth; Salus, of health; Pudicitia, of modesty; Victoria, of victory; Cupid, god of desire; Pavor, of fright; Pallor, of paleness; and the like. 4. The Nature gods: Cœlus, Terra, Sol, Lunus, or Luna, Æsculanus, Argen-

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* Mommsen, l. s. c.

† Liv. ii. 27.

‡ Niebuhr, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 589, note, E. T.

§ Taylor, "Etruscan Researches," p. 138.

‖ Liv. i. 9.

* Liv. v. 13.

† Hor. Od. iii. 28, l. 10.

tinus, etc. And 5. The divinities introduced from Greece: Apollo, Bacchus, Latona, Pluto, Plutus, Proserpine, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Priapus, Æolus, the Fates, the Furies, etc.

212. To this brief sketch of the chief objects of worship among the ancient Romans, it follows to add some account of the character of the worship itself.

213. The worship of most of the gods was specially provided for by the State, which established paid priesthoods, to secure the continual rendering of the honors due to each. The highest order of priests bore the name of Flamines, which is thought to mean "kindlers of fire,"* *i.e.*, offerers of burnt sacrifice. The Flamines were of two classes, Majores and Minores, the former of whom were always taken from the patrician order. These were the Flamen Dialis, or "priest of Jove," the Flamen Martialis, or "priest of Mars," and the Flamen Quirinalis, or "priest of Quirinus." Among the Flamines Minores, many of whom were of late institution, we find those of Vertumnus, Flora, Pomona, and Vulcan.† The Flamen was in each case the principal sacrificing priest in the chief temple of the god or goddess, and was bound to be in continual attendance upon the shrine, and to superintend the entire worship offered at it. In addition to the Flamen, or in his place, there was attached to all temples a collegium, or body of priests, which might consist of all the male members of a particular family, as the Potitii and Pinarii,‡ but was more commonly a close corporation, limited in number, and elected by co-optation, *i.e.*, by the votes of the existing members.

214. Among the most important of these corporations were the two collegia of Salii, or "dancing priests," which were attached to the temple of Mars upon the Palatine hill, and to that of Quirinus upon the Quirinal. The former—Salii Palatini—had the charge of the ancilia, or sacred shields, one of which was believed to have fallen from heaven, and to be fatally connected with the safety of the Roman State. In the great festival of Mars, with which the year opened, they marched in procession through the city, bearing the ancilia on their shoulders, and striking them from time to time, as they danced and sang, with a rod. The Salii of Quirinus—Salii Collini or Agonales—were a less important college. Their duties connected them with the worship of Quirinus, who is believed by some to have been the Sabine Mars,* and with the festival of the Quirinalia. Like the other Salii, they no doubt performed war-dances in honor of their patron deity. A third collegium, or priestly corporation of high rank, was that of the six Vestal Virgins, attached, as their name implies, to the worship of Vesta, and regarded with peculiar veneration, as having vowed themselves to chastity in the service of the nation. Other collegia of some importance, but of a lower rank, were that of the Fratres Arvales, a college of twelve priests attached to the cult of Ceres, who celebrated a festival to her as the Dea dia (divine goddess) in the early summer time; and that of the Luperci, or "wolf-expellers," a shifting body of persons, whose chief business it was to conduct the Lupercalia, a festival held annually on the 15th of February, in honor of Lupercus, or Faunus. The Sodales Titii had duties similar to those of the Fratres Arvales; and the Flamines Curiales, thirty in number, offered sacrifices for the preservation of the thirty curies of the original Roman people.

215. From these collegia of priests, we must carefully distinguish the learned corporations, "colleges of sacred lore," as they have been called,† who had no priestly duties, and no special connection with any

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* Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 175.

† Ennius ap. Varronem, "De Ling. Lat." vii. 44.

‡ Liv. i. 7.

* Mommsen, vol. i. pp. 87 and 175.

† *Ibid.* pp. 177, 178.

particular deity. There were four principal colleges of this kind—those of the Pontifices, the Augurs, the Fetials, and the Duumviri sacrorum.

216. The Pontifices, originally four (or five, if we include the pontifex maximus), but afterward raised to nine, and ultimately to sixteen, had the general superintendence of religion. They exercised a control over all the priests, even the Flamens. They were supposed to be thoroughly acquainted with all the traditions with regard to the appropriate worship of each divinity; to understand the mysteries of numbers, and to be deeply versed in astronomy—whence they settled the calendar, determining when each festival was to be held, and what days were *fasti* or *nefasti*, *i.e.*, days suitable for the transaction of business, or the contrary. All prodigies and omens had to be reported to them; and with them it lay to determine what steps should be taken to appease the gods in connection with each. They had to furnish the proper formula on all great religious occasions, as the dedication of a temple,* the self-devotion of a general,† and the like. There was no appeal from their decisions, unless in some cases to the people; and they could enforce obedience by the infliction of fines, and, under certain circumstances, of death.

217. The Augurs, originally four, like the Pontiffs, and raised, like them, first to nine, and later to sixteen, were regarded as possessed especially of the sacred lore connected with birds. Augural birds were limited in number, and were believed to give omens in three ways, by flight, by note, or by manner of feeding. The Augurs knew exactly what constituted a good, and what a bad, omen in all these ways. They were consulted whenever the State commenced any important business. No assembly could be held, no election could take place, no war could be begun, no consul could quit Rome, no site for a new temple could be fixed on, unless the Augurs were present, and pronounced that the birds gave favorable omens. In war, they watched the feeding of the sacred chickens, and allowed or forbade engagements, according as the birds ate greedily or the contrary. Divination from celestial phenomena, especially thunder and lightning, was, at a comparatively late date, added to their earlier functions. As their duties enabled them to exercise a veto upon laws, and very seriously to influence elections, the office was much sought after by candidates for political power, and was regarded as one of the highest dignities in the State.*

218. The Fetials, a college of (probably) twenty persons, were the living depositary of international law and right. All the treaty obligations of Rome and her neighbors were supposed to be known to them, and it was for them to determine when a war could be justly undertaken, and what reparation should be demanded for injuries. Not only did they furnish the forms for demanding satisfaction,† declaring war,‡ and making peace,§ but their own personal intervention was requisite in every case. Invested with a sacred character, they were the intermediaries employed by the State in making complaints, proclaiming war, and seeing that treaties were concluded with the proper formalities. In the conclusion of such engagements they even acted as veritable priests, slaying with their own hands the victims, by offering which a sacred character was given to treaty obligations.

219. The Duumviri sacrorum were the keepers, consulters, and interpreters of the Sibylline books, a collection of pretended prophecies, written in Greek, and no doubt derived from a Greek source. They were, as their name implies, a collegium of

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* Liv. i. 46.
† *Ibid.* viii. 9; x. 28.

* Cic. De Leg. ii. 12.
† Liv. i. 32.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ *Ibid.* i. 24.

two persons only,* and in the early times were required to be Romans of a very high rank. As such persons, not unfrequently, were very ignorant of the Greek, the State furnished them with two slaves well acquainted with the language. It was customary to consult the Sibylline books in case of pestilence, or of any extraordinary prodigy, and to follow scrupulously the advice which they were thought to give in reference to the occasion.

220. Such were the learned colleges of ancient Rome. Though exercising considerable political influence, they never became dangerous to the State, from the circumstance that they could in no case take the initiative. Their business was to give answers to inquirers; and, until consulted, they were dumb. Private persons as well as public officers might appeal to them: and calls were frequently made on them to bring forth their secret knowledge into the light of day by the magistrates. But it was of their essence to be consultative, and not initiative, or even executive bodies. Hence, notwithstanding the powers which they wielded, and the respect in which they were held, they at no time became a danger to the State. Sacerdotalism plays no part in Roman history. "Notwithstanding all their zeal for religion, the Romans adhered with unbending strictness to the principle, that the priest ought to remain completely powerless in the State, and, excluded from command, ought, like any other burgess, to render obedience to the humblest magistrate." †

221. The public religion of the Romans consisted, mainly, in the observance by the State of its obligation (*religio*) to provide for the cult of certain traditional deities, which it did by building temples, establishing priesthoods, and securing the continuance of both by endowments. Further, the State showed a constant sense of religion by the position which it assigned to augury, and the continual need of "taking the auspices" on all important civil occasions. In declaring war, religious formulæ were used; in conducting it, the augurs, or their subordinates, were frequently consulted; in bringing it to an end and establishing peace, the fetials had to be called in, and the sanction thus secured to each pacific arrangement. The great officers of the State were inducted into their posts with religious solemnities, and were bound to attend and take their part in certain processions and sacrifices. In times of danger and difficulty the State gave orders for special religious ceremonies, to secure the favor of the gods, or avert their wrath.

222. The religion of the mass of the people consisted principally in four things: 1. Daily offerings by each head of a household (*paterfamilias*) to the Lares of his own house. The Lares were viewed as household gods, who watched over each man's hearth and home, each house having its own special Lares. In theory they were the spirits of ancestors, and their chief, the Lar familiaris, was the spirit of the first ancestor, the originator of the family; but practically the ancestral idea was not prominent. In respectable houses there was always a lararium,* or "lar-chapel," containing the images of the Lares; and each religious Roman commenced the day with prayer in this place, accompanying his prayer, upon most occasions, with offerings, which were placed before the images in little dishes (*patellæ*). The offerings were continually renewed at meal-times; and on birthdays and other days of rejoicing the images were adorned with wreaths, and the lararia were thrown open. 2. Occasional thank-offerings to particular gods from persons who thought

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* The office was subsequently expanded into that of the decemviri sacris faciundis, who ultimately became quindecimviri.

† Mommsen, "History of Rome," vol. i. p. 180.

* The Emperor Alexander Severus had two lararia, and included among the Lares of the one, Abraham, Orpheus, Alexander the Great, and Christ; among those of the other, Achilles, Cicero, and Virgil.

they had been favored by them. These were carried to the temples by the donors, and made over to the priests, who formally offered them, with an accompaniment of hymns and prayers. 3. Vows and their performance. To obtain a particular favor from a god supposed to be capable of granting it, a Roman was accustomed to utter a vow, by which he bound himself to make the god a certain present, in case he obtained his desire. The present might be a temple, or an altar, or a statue, or a vase, or any other work of art, but was almost always something of a permanent character. The Roman, having made his vow, and got his wish, was excessively scrupulous in the discharge of his obligation, which he viewed as of the most binding character. 4. Attendance at religious festivals—the Carmentalia, Cerealia, Compitalia, Consualia, Floralia, Lemuralia, Lupercalia, etc. This attendance was in no sense obligatory, and was viewed rather as pleasure than duty—the festivals being usually celebrated with games (*ludi*) and other amusements.

223. Upon the whole, the Roman religion, as compared with others, and especially with that of the Greeks, strikes us as dull, tame, and matter-of-fact. There is no beauty in it, no play of the imagination, and very little mystery. It is "of earth, earthy." Its gods are not great enough, or powerful enough, to impress the mind of the worshiper with a permanent sense of religious awe—they do not force the soul to bow down before them in humility and self-abasement. The Roman believes in gods, admits that he receives benefits from them, allows the duty of gratitude, and, as a just man, punctually discharges the obligations of his religion.* But his creed is not elevating—it does not draw him on to another world—it does not raise in him any hopes of the future. Like the Sadducee, he thinks that God rewards and punishes men, as He does nations, in this life; his thoughts rarely turn to another; and if they do, it is with a sort of shiver at the prospect of becoming a pale shade, haunting the neighborhood of the tomb, or dwelling in the cold world beneath, shut out from the light of day.

224. If the Roman religion may be said to have had anywhere a deeper character than this—to have been mysterious, soul-stirring, awful—it was in connection with the doctrine of expiation. In the bright clime of Italy, and in the strong and flourishing Roman community, intensely conscious of its own life and vigor, the gods could not but be regarded predominantly as beneficent beings, who showered blessings upon mankind. But occasionally, under special circumstances, a different feeling arose. Earthquakes shook the city, and left great yawning gaps in its streets or squares; the Tiber overflowed its banks, and inundated all the low regions that lay about the Seven Hills; pestilence broke out, destroying thousands, and threatening to carry off the entire people; or the fortune of war hung in suspense, nay, even turned against the warrior nation. At such times a sense of guilt arose, and pressed heavily on the consciences of the Romans; they could not doubt that Heaven was angry with them; they did not dare to dispute that the Divine wrath was provoked by their sins. Then sacrifice, which in Rome was generally mere thank-offering, took the character of atonement or expiation. The gods were felt to require a victim, or victims; and something must be found to content them—something of the best and dearest that the State possessed. What could this be but a human sacrifice? Such a sacrifice might be either voluntary or involuntary. Enhanced by the noble quality of patriotic self-abnegation, a single victim sufficed—more especially if he were of the best and noblest—a young patri-

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* Note the idea of obligation as predominant in the word "religion," from *re* and *lego* or *ligo*, "to bind" or "tie."

cian of high promise, like Marcus Curtius,* or an actual consul, like the Decii.† Without this quality there must be several victims—either a sacred and complete number, like the thirty, once offered annually at the Lemuralia, whereof the thirty rush dolls thrown yearly into the Tiber were a reminiscence, or else an indefinite number, such as the gods themselves might determine on, as when a "ver sacrum" was proclaimed, and all offspring, both of men and of sacrificial cattle, produced within the first month of opening spring (Aprilis), were devoted to death and sacrificed to avert God's wrath from the nation.‡

225. The mythological fables in which the Greeks indulged from a very early date were foreign to the spirit of the Romans, who had no turn for allegory, and regarded the gods with too much respect and fear to invent tales about them. No traditional accounts of the dealings of the gods one with another gave a divine sanction to immorality, or prevented the Romans from looking up to their divinities as at once greater and better than themselves. The moral law was recognized as an accepted standard with them, and its vindication whenever it was transgressed rested with the deity within whose special sphere the offense was conceived to fall. Hercules avenged broken faith; Ops and Ceres punished the lazy cultivator; ill-conducted matrons incurred the anger of Juno; the violation of parental or filial duty fell under the cognizance of Jupiter. Whenever conduct was felt to be wrong, yet the civil law visited the misconduct with no penalty, the displeasure of the gods supplemented the legal defect, and caused the offender in course of time to meet with due punishment. Their belief on this head was, in part, the effect, but it was also, in part, the cause of those profound moral convictions which distinguished the Romans among ancient nations. They were deeply impressed with the reality of moral distinctions, and convinced that sin was in all cases followed by suffering. The stings of conscience received increased force and power from the belief in a Divine agency that seconded the judgments of conscience, and never failed to punish offenders.*

226. It is not the object of the present work to trace the changes which came in course of time over the Roman religion, or even to note the corrupting influences to which it was exposed. The subject of "Ancient Religions" is so large a one, that we have felt compelled to limit ourselves in each of our portraitures to the presentation of the religion in a single aspect, that, namely, which it wore at the full completion of its natural and national development. To do more, to trace each religion historically from its first appearance to its last phase, would require as many chapters as we have had pages at our disposal. The influence of religions upon each other is a matter of so much difficulty, delicacy, and occasional complexity, that it would necessitate discussions of very considerable length. An exhaustive work on the history of religions would have to embrace this ample field, and must necessarily run to several volumes. In the present series of sketches, limited as we have been as to space, we have attempted no more than the fringe of a great subject, and have sought to awaken the curiosity of our readers rather than to satisfy it.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

227. It has been maintained in the "Introduction" to this work, that the time is not yet come for the construction of a "Science of Religion,"

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* Liv. vii. 6.

† *Ibid.* vii. 9; x. 28.

‡ See Festus, *sub voc.* "Ver sacrum," and compare Liv. xxiii. 9, 10; xxxiv. 44; Servius ad Virg. Æn. vii. 796, etc.

* Hor. Od. iii. 2, ll. 31, 32; Tibull. Carm. i. 9, l. 4.

and that the present need is rather to accumulate materials, out of which ultimately such a science may perhaps be evolved. Still, the accumulation of materials naturally suggests certain thoughts of a more general character; and the spirit of the Baconian philosophy does not forbid the drawing of inferences from groups of phenomena even while the greater portion of the phenomena are unknown or uninvestigated. While, therefore, we abstain from basing any positive theory upon a survey of religions which is confessedly incomplete, we think that certain negative conclusions of no little interest may be drawn even from the data now before us; and these negative conclusions it seems to be our duty to lay before the reader, at any rate for his consideration.

228. In the first place, it seems impossible to trace back to any one fundamental conception, to any innate idea, or to any common experience or observation, the various religions which we have been considering. The veiled monotheism of Egypt, the dualism of Persia, the shamanism of Etruria, the pronounced polytheism of India, are too contrariant, too absolutely unlike, to admit of any one explanation, or to be derivatives from a single source. The human mind craves unity; but Nature is wonderfully complex. The phenomena of ancient religions, so far as they have been investigated, favor the view that religions had not one origin, but several distinct origins.

229. Secondly, it is clear that from none of the religions here treated of could the religion of the ancient Hebrews have originated. The Israelite people at different periods of its history came, and remained for a considerable time, under Egyptian, Babylonian, and Persian influence; and there have not been wanting persons of ability who have regarded "Judaism" as a mere offshoot from the religion of one or other of these three peoples. But, with the knowledge that we have now obtained of the religions in question, such views have been rendered untenable, if not henceforth impossible. Judaism stands out from all other ancient religions, as a thing *sui generis*, offering the sharpest contrast to the systems prevalent in the rest of the East, and so entirely different from them in its spirit and its essence that its origin could not but have been distinct and separate.

230. Thirdly, the sacred Books of the Hebrews cannot possibly have been derived from the sacred writings of any of these nations. No contrast can be greater than that between the Pentateuch and the "Ritual of the Dead," unless it be that between the Pentateuch and the Zendavesta, or between the same work and the Vedas. A superficial resemblance may perhaps be traced between portions of the Pentateuch and certain of the myths of ancient Babylon; but the tone and spirit of the two are so markedly different, that neither can be regarded as the original of the other. Where they approach most nearly, as in the accounts given of the Deluge, while the facts recorded are the same, or nearly the same, the religious standpoint is utterly unlike.*

231. Fourthly, the historic review which has been here made lends no support to the theory, that there is a uniform growth and progress of religions from fetishism to polytheism, from polytheism to monotheism, and from monotheism to positivism, as maintained by the followers of Comte. None of the religions here described shows any signs of having been developed out of fetishism, unless it be the shamanism of the Etruscans. In most of them the monotheistic idea is most prominent *at the first*, and gradually becomes obscured, and gives way before a polytheistic corruption. In all there is one element, at least, which appears to be traditional, viz., sacrifice, for it can scarcely have been by the exercise of his reason that man

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* Compare above, pp. 25–26; and see the Author's Essay in "Aids to Faith." Essay [illegible]., pp. 275, 276.

came so generally to believe that the superior powers, whatever they were, would be pleased by the violent death of one or more of their creatures.

232. Altogether, the theory to which the facts appear on the whole to point, is the existence of a primitive religion, communicated to man from without, whereof monotheism and expiatory sacrifice were parts, and the gradual clouding over of this primitive revelation everywhere, unless it were among the Hebrews. Even among them a worship of Teraphim crept in (Gen. xxxi. 19–35), together with other corruptions (Josh. xxiv. 14); and the terrors of Sinai were needed to clear away polytheistic accretions. Elsewhere degeneration had free play. "A dark cloud stole over man's original consciousness of the Divinity; and, in consequence of his own guilt, an estrangement of the creature from the one living God took place; man, as under the overpowering sway of sense and sensual lust, proportionally weakened, therefore, in his moral freedom, was unable any longer to conceive of the Divinity as a pure, spiritual, supernatural, and infinite Being, distinct from the world, and exalted above it. And thus it followed inevitably, that, with his intellectual horizon bounded and confined within the limits of nature, he should seek to satisfy the inborn necessity of an acknowledgment and reverence of the Divinity by the deification of material nature; for even in its obscuration the idea of the Deity, no longer recognized, indeed, but still felt and perceived, continued powerful; and, in conjunction with it, the truth struck home, that the Divinity manifested itself in nature as ever present and in operation." * The cloud was darker and thicker in some places than in others. There were, perhaps, races with whom the whole of the past became a *tabula rasa*, and all traditional knowledge being lost, religion was evolved afresh out of the inner consciousness. There were others which lost a portion, without losing the whole of their inherited knowledge. There were others again who lost scarcely anything; but hid up the truth in mystic language and strange symbolism. The only theory which accounts for all the facts—for the unity as well as the diversity of Ancient Religions, is that of a primeval revelation, variously corrupted through the manifold and multiform deterioration of human nature in different races and places.

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* Döllinger, "Jew and Gentile," vol. i. p. 65.

Beacon Lights of Science

FETICHISM

A CONTRIBUTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE HISTORY OF RELIGION

By FRITZ SCHULTZ, Dr. Phil.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY J. FITZGERALD, M.A.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

DAVID HUME was the first in modern times to reject the transcendental theories of Religion and to seek an explanation for it in the empiric world of man, on psychological principles. "No passions," says he, "can be supposed to work upon such barbarians, but the ordinary affections of human life; the anxious concern for happiness, the dread of future misery, the terror of death, the thirst of revenge, the appetite for food and other necessaries. These are their only motives." *

To these motives of fear and hope Hume now adds, on the one hand, man's ignorance of Nature and of its phenomena; and on the other the faculty of imagination, as factors going to make up the notion of God. "We hang in perpetual suspense between life and death, health and sickness, plenty and want, which are distributed among the human species by secret and unknown causes, whose operation is oft unexpected and always unaccountable. These *unknown causes*, then, become the constant object of our hope and fear; and while the passions are kept in perpetual alarm by an anxious expectation of the events, the imagination is equally employed in forming ideas of those powers, on which we have so entire a dependence. Could men anatomize nature, according to the most probable, at least the most intelligible philosophy, they would find that these causes are nothing but the particular fabric and structure of the minute parts of their own bodies and of external objects; and that, by a regular and constant machinery, all the events are produced, about which they are so much concerned. But this philosophy exceeds the comprehension of the ignorant multitude, who can only conceive the *unknown causes*, in a general and confused manner; though their imagination, perpetually employed on the same subject, must labor to form some particular and distinct idea of them. The more they consider these causes themselves, and the uncertainty of their operation, the less satisfaction do they meet with in their researches; and, however unwilling, they must at last have abandoned so arduous an attempt, were it not for a propensity in human nature, which leads into a system that gives them satisfaction. There is a universal tendency among mankind to conceive all beings like themselves, and to transfer to every object those qualities with which they are familiarly acquainted, and of which they are intimately conscious. We find human faces in the moon, armies in the clouds, and by a natural propensity, if not corrected by experience and reflection, ascribe malice or good-will to everything that hurts or pleases us. Hence the frequency and beauty of the *prosopopœia* in poetry, where trees, mountains and streams are personified, and the inanimate parts of nature acquire sentiment and passion." "No wonder, then, that mankind, being placed in such an absolute ignorance of causes, and being at the same time so anxious concerning their future fortune, should immediately acknowledge a dependence on invisible powers, possessed of sentiment and intelligence." Such is the account which Hume gives of Polytheism. He does not, it is true, make an application of his theory to Fetichism directly, though much of what he says about the rise of Polytheism will serve equally well to account for fetichism.

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* David Hume, *Works*, Vol. IV.

Benjamin Constant, inasmuch as he looks for the origin of religion in man himself, agrees with Hume; but inasmuch as he postulates a special faculty, "the religious sentiment," which is not demonstrable, he again quits the empirical standpoint. Meiners, in his History of Religions, agrees fully with Hume, whose theory he states, and then makes this application of it to the subject of fetichism: "Fetichism," says he, "is not only the most ancient, but it is also the most universal form of religion. It furnishes incontrovertible proof that the lack of correct knowledge was the true and only cause of polytheism; and that for the uncultured savage everything is God, or may be God." * Kaiser, in his "Biblical Theology," places the origin of religion, not in this or that sentiment, but "subjectively in the entire character of man," and "objectively in Nature, to which man is related." † He holds that primitive man was without the impress of Spirit, that he was developed out of inferior organisms and that his first attempt at a religious belief took the form of fetichism. "The first, or the best piece of wood, or stone he meets,—some animal, some star will be esteemed a god." "While the intellectual faculties are still dormant, and in the absence of knowledge and experience, of invention and culture, whether mental or moral, we are not to be surprised if man regards proximate causes as ultimate, and pays worship to material objects, especially those which arrest his attention by their brightness, their velocity, their great size, etc." "The necessities of the case, and history itself prove that fetichism is the primitive religion of man. The base of human culture rests upon the earth, but its summit penetrates the invisible spaces of heaven, and reaches into infinity."

This theory of Kaiser's, in so far as it differs from Hume's and agrees with that of Meiners in asserting that fetichism is the primitive religion, is rejected by Theodor Waitz in his "Anthropology of Savage Tribes." He holds with Hume, that "a rude systemless Polytheism" was the primitive religion; and his arguments are identical with those of Hume as already set forth.‡ According to him, fetichism springs from polytheism, and here he agrees with Pfleiderer. But whereas according to Pfleiderer external causes bring about its development, Waitz assigns for it causes purely internal and psychological. "The negro," says he, "carries the belief in an animated Nature to its uttermost limits; but as his mind is too rude to conceive of *one* universal animated nature, his imagination leads him to regard every trifling object around him as endowed with life. In every material thing he sees a spirit, often of great power, and quite disproportionate to the object itself." This object and this spirit make up a whole, the *fetich.* Waitz, however, does not explain to us the reason why the savage takes this view of material and inanimate things, and yet this is a question of high importance.

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* C. Meiners, Allg. Krit. Gesch. d. Religionen. Hannover, 1806, Vol. I. S. 143.

† Gottl. Phil. Christ. Kaiser, Die biblische Theologie oder Judaismus u. Christianismus nach der grammatisch-historischen Interpretationsmethode u. nach einer freimüthigen Stellung in die Kritisch-vergleichende Universalgeschichte der Religionen und in die universale Religion. Erlangen, 1813. Theil, I. S. 2.

‡ Th. Waitz, Anthropologie der Naturvölker.

And precisely this point do I find treated with great clearness by Reinhard in his valuable "Historical Sketch of the Rise and Progress of Religious Ideas."* From the fact that religion is to be found among men, whatever their condition, he concludes that it must have its basis in the human mind itself, and he holds that if we would study the origin of religious ideas we must go back to the ages of barbarism, that is, to primitive times. That religion then was monotheistic cannot be shown: but on the other hand fetichism always characterizes the lowest stage of intellectual development. [The account given by Reinhard of the rise of fetichism, being substantially that which is set forth in the present work, need not be given here, as it will be found in full detail in the subsequent chapters; and as Feuerbach agrees in essentials with Reinhard it will be enough to make a general reference to his work upon this subject.†]

The true way of arriving at an understanding of fetichism is by observing savage life; and here, books of travel are of great importance. Among these there is none more instructive than A. Bastian's "Visit to San Salvador, Capital of the Kingdom of Congo: a Contribution to Mythology and Psychology."* As the author never transfers to the savage his own thoughts and motives, but views him as he is, from the psychological point of view, his work is properly called a contribution to psychology, and with equal justice a contribution to mythology, since fetichism is the first step in religion.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIND OF THE SAVAGE IN ITS INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL ASPECTS.

By fetichism we understand the religious veneration of material objects. If such objects are to be worshiped, they must first of all appear to be worthy of veneration, or, in other words, the worshiper must so consider them. The fetich, however, *e.g.* a piece of metal, still continues to be, in external form and in essential constitution, the self-same thing, whether observed by a European or by an African. Hence that which renders it a fetich is nothing intrinsic to the thing itself, but the view which the fetichist takes of it. If therefore we would understand fetichism in its true nature, we must investigate the savage's mode of apprehending objects, or in other words, we must study the intellectual status of the fetichist. Fetichism has an historical position in all nations which stand lowest in intellectual development, that is, among savages, so-called. Our first task, accordingly, will be to ascertain the savage's intellectual status. We propose therefore to sketch the savage mind first in its logical, and then in its ethical aspects.

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* Phil. Christ. Reinhard, Abriss einer Geschichte der Entstehung der religiösen Ideen. Jena, 1794.

† Ludwig Feuerbach, Das Wesen der Religion. Vorlesungen über das Wesen der Religion. Nebst Zusätzen u. Aumerkungen. Leipzig, 1851.

* Afrikanische Reisen von Dr. A. Bastian. Ein Besuch in San Salvador, der Hauptstadt der Königreichs Congo. Bremen, 1859.

1. *The Intellect of the Savage.*

The understanding has cognition only of those objects which are given to it in experience, and its range is consequently restricted by the limits of its experience. But what are the objects of experience? Those which are to be found in the man's *world:* and hence a man's cognitions can never go beyond *his world.* We say *his* world, meaning the universe, as far as he knows it. If therefore we would fix the intellectual status of any individual, we must first ascertain the number and the nature of his cognitions or objects.

As the understanding, then, has no cognitions save those which come to it out of its world, it follows that the number and the nature of one man's cognitions, or objects—in other words, the empiric contents of his mind—will differ from those of another, just as their respective *worlds* differ. Thus the sum-total of cognitions held by a mountaineer is different from that held by a seafaring man; and an Eskimo's cognitions are different from those of a Hindu, in proportion as their respective worlds differ; and they mutually resemble each other, in proportion as their worlds are alike. The *number* of objects (cognitions) differs in the same way. Thus the savage has but few, while the civilized European has many. From the paucity or the multiplicity of these flow consequences of the highest importance for a just estimate of the respective individuals. The greater the number of objects which a man has, the better equipped and the more cultivated will be his understanding, the more alert his thinking faculty, and the higher his development as a human being. On the other hand, the fewer his objects, the lower is his grade of development. It is universally true that man grows only as he apprehends objects.

The most fully developed intellect, therefore, is that which possesses the greatest number of objects. But if I would have many objects, I must discriminate and distinguish between them sharply; for unless they be thus defined, they tend to amalgamate, and so the number of objects would be diminished. Hence it is only in proportion as the understanding draws distinctions, that its objects are manifold and varied; and *vice versa,* it can make sharp distinctions only where its objects are varied. From this it follows that the faculty of accurate thinking or of sharply defining depends immediately and necessarily upon the number of the objects; so that, given the number of a man's objects, we might determine the strength or the feebleness of his thinking powers, or of his intellectual faculty. But since the objects are distinct only in so far as the understanding discriminates between them, the number of the objects must depend upon the sharpness with which these distinctions are drawn.

The status of a people as regards civilization might be determined by the greater or less accuracy with which they discriminate between objects; and the lowest grade of culture will accordingly be characterized by a lack of the power of discrimination. In the domain of *thought* that man only will attain eminence who can make distinctions where others do not. All erroneous and illogical thinking owes its rise to a weakness of the intellect, which fails to perceive really existent distinctions. The critic is a critic only in so far as he perceives distinctions, and consequently disparity, between objects which another takes to be identical. We call a man well-bred, or refined, in the social sense, who in every circumstance of life knows how to adapt his demeanor to the various individuals he meets with: but this he cannot do unless he can appreciate differences of character and of circumstance. The rude and unobservant treat all alike, under all circumstances, as though no differences existed. A man of refined *moral* sense is he who, in judging of what is due to each individual, makes the nicest distinctions: and, on the other hand, the less accurate the distinctions a man makes in moral questions, the more one-sided, prejudiced, and vicious he will be.

Accordingly, the lowest stage of intellect is characterized by a lack of many distinctions which are found in higher stages: or in other words by the absence of many objects possessed by the higher stages.

As compared then with a well developed intelligence, one which is undeveloped has a very contracted sphere of objects. The world it inhabits, its object-world, must be very narrow and restricted. Consider only the grade of intelligence which animals attain, and the number of objects which they have: both stand equally low. The intellect of the child is less developed, logically and ethically, than that of the adult; and the reason is, that the objects of the former are inferior to those of the latter, whether as regards their number or their value. The child is yet ignorant of those things which are the objects of the adult. Abstract conceptions, such as virtue and vice, are strange and incomprehensible to him. His conceptions are all of a concrete nature, such as are given him in his *world;* and this world is restricted to the nursery, to his home, or to the town in which he lives, all regarded as objects of sense. His world widens by degrees, but it is only by becoming engrossed with still new objects, that he reaches the stage of culture attained by his times or by his nation. If these objects had not been presented to him, he would have remained a child all his life, as far as intellectual growth is concerned. The child's world is contracted, and so is his intellect: but this world of his lies immediately within the compass of a larger world. Betwixt the two there exist most intimate relations, and an uninterrupted commerce, and hence the child's world and intellect are ever expanding.

But in the case of the savage there is no such commerce between his little world and the great world around, and hence he fails to advance beyond a certain degree of sensuous apprehension. When our child has made some progress in the formation of sensuous conceptions, he comes in contact with a whole world of abstract and scientific notions, which are instilled into his mind at school. He learns reading and writing, and hears of heaven and earth, and of foreign countries and nations. The results of centuries of laborious study are set before him on the blackboard, as it were. His will also is disciplined and his passions controlled; he is taught how best to shape his conduct, and hence he is not under the necessity of making a long series of painful experiments. But these intellectual notions and objects are utterly wanting in the world which surrounds the savage. His whole life long he continues in the stage of mere sensuous apprehension; and even this will fail to furnish him with as many objects as the child possesses: for we can contemplate only that which is within our world. What then does a savage see, an Eskimo for instance? Ice and snow, bears and fishes, and—Eskimos. Nothing more; for "the whole expanse of Greenland is in great part covered with ice from 2000 to 3000 feet in thickness, as we judge from the height of the fragments of glaciers dropping into the sea." Nature therefore presents to the contemplation of the Eskimo no objects, save ice: there is no change, but everlasting sameness; and man too remains unchanged and undeveloped. With regard to the Eskimos, Captain Parry says that they are not aware that there is any world different from their own, or that Nature may wear an aspect other than that with which they are familiar. The savage's world is narrow, the number of his objects contracted, and therefore is his intellect undeveloped.

Hence the broader the world in

which a man lives, and the more his various conceptions are multiplied, the better equipped is his brain for the exercise of thinking: and *vice versa*, the narrower his world, and the fewer his conceptions, the less practiced is his brain in making distinctions, and the less able is he to *think*. It is a truth confirmed by every one's experience that the thinking faculty, like every other, needs practice to give it dexterity; and that unless it is rigorously and continuously exercised, it will still lack expertness, no matter what may be the natural advantages. If a man begins to be a student at forty, without any previous acquaintance with books, he sets a task for his intractable brain which it is still as ill-fitted to perform, as a Chinese lady with compressed feet would be to dance like Pepita. For "passé cet âge, les opinions sont faites; quant aux fondements, ils sont bâtis, maçonnés, inébranlables; autour d'eux l'habitude, la paresse d'esprit, les occupations pratiques sont comme un ciment que rien ne peut dissoudre." *

Bearing these principles in mind, let us consider the state of some wretched savage, some native of Tierra del Fuego, for instance. He has never come in contact with civilization, has never heard of abstract terms, nor knows anything of the outer world, which for him is undiscovered land, as was the New World for Europeans before Columbus's times. He knows only the barren deserts of his native home, where there are neither towns nor houses. He has never entered a school; and his only desire is the gratification of his hunger, his lust and his indolence. His conceptions are all sensuous, nor are these numerous, being such only as come to him from the few miles of territory around him—from arid wastes and bare rocks, from birds and fellow-savages. Hence the number of his concrete notions is very small; nor can it increase, for he never quits his native place and never sees new objects. The necessary consequence, on psychological grounds, is that he is unable to apprehend or to think like a civilized European. It is for this reason that the instruction conveyed to savages by the missionaries is received by them "as meaningless words, and quickly absorbed into their fetichism, without producing any lasting effect." * Their power of apprehending must be exceedingly feeble, and they "will not trouble their brains with nice distinctions." † Now we can understand why it is that "thinking is a very laborious exercise for the savage;" and also why it is that "when he is questioned as to intellectual things, he quickly complains of weariness and headache." ‡ The thinking faculty of the Bushman is unable to seize the simplest ideas and is characterized by extreme stupidity.§ The Abipones, who are more advanced in culture than the Bushmen, have numbers only as high as *three*. *Four* they express by three-and-one; *five*, by the fingers of one hand; *ten*, by those of both hands; *twenty*, by the hands and feet: but when the number exceeds twenty, they express it by taking up in the hand an indefinite quantity of sand.‖ The Corannas experience difficulty in counting beyond *three*;¶ a nation in Guinea has numbers as high as *five*,** and some Brazilian aborigines, as high as *four*: whatever exceeds that number is

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* Taine, Les Philosophes Classiques du XIX. Siècle en France.

* Bastian, S. 102, *Aumerkung*.

† *Ibid.* 143. This does not imply the incapacity of a savage's child, when instructed, to attain a higher degree of intellectual culture. "The negro is tolerably apt to learn, but his whole development depends on the first instruction he receives. When taken into the factories, his brain is a tabula rasa, but ready to receive new impressions." (Bastian, 140.)

‡ Burchell, Travels in the Interior of S. Africa, II. p. 307.

§ *Ibid.* I. 338.

‖ M. Dobrizhofer, Historia de Abiponibus. Vienna, 1784.

¶ Campbell, Travels in South Africa, 71, 281.

** Bowdich, Mission to Ashantee, 542.

many.* It is difficult for us to imagine ourselves in so lowly an intellectual status as this: but that such status is possible, we may see in the analogous case of young children, who are unable to appreciate a number when it exceeds four or five. But the American Indian, whose world possesses a greater number of objects, and who is continually engaged in the struggle with wild beasts and other foes, leads a more active life. As he has more objects, so he has a greater number of conceptions, and hence his intellectual power is greater. Still his conceptions are little better than mere sensuous impressions. Now these impressions he is receiving daily as long as he lives, and it is no wonder if in distinguishing between them he acquires a degree of acuteness which we lack, owing to our being more taken up with abstract notions. Hence the Indian's nice discernment of scarcely perceptible tracks on the prairie, and of scarcely visible signs in the primeval forest. Hence, too, his power of taking in notions that are somewhat abstract: though this power of his must not be exaggerated. "In North America many Indians can count up to a thousand by scoring;"† but only up to a thousand, observe, and that only by scoring. Some African nations use the numbers *five* or *six* as the basis of their numeration, instead of *ten*, so that *five-and-two* or *six-and-one* will express seven.‡ It is plain that these tribes must lack all the advantage derived from numeration. They cannot reckon and yet without reckoning according to the four simple rules of arithmetic, commerce is impossible. It is impossible *suum cuique reddere* without some system of measurement, and this requires numeration and reckoning.§ Hence simply for the reason that their numeration is defective, apart from all other reasons, savages fail duly to appreciate the difference between ***meum*** and *tuum*. It needs no words to show that they totally lack all such scientific knowledge as is based on measurement.

"They are wont to make an inexact division of time into moons and days, and many of them are ignorant of any division save the diurnal. The day they divide according to the sun's course into three or four parts of indefinite length." * Chronology they have none, nor indeed is such a thing possible among a people whose memory scarce goes back of yesterday. † The mere narration of historical facts were therefore an impossibility for them, even if they had a history. But as their lives are uneventful, they furnish no material for history. Let us consider what events transpire among them that might be deemed worthy of remembrance. The day opens; they feel hungry; they take some game; they sleep: then they repeat *da capo*. "Though the American Indians resemble the natives of Africa and of the Polar Regions in their distaste for work, they differ from them in this that they love repose above all things; while the others rather love to give themselves up to sport and enjoyment. The Indian never exerts himself, except where exertion is unavoidable, and when the hunt is over he enjoys undisturbed repose in his hammock."‡ Hence the life of the savage is uneventful, monotonous, stagnant. The individual may be developed to a certain degree; but not so the tribe. "The total development of all the successive generations of a Bushman stock is little more than the development of the first Bushman." § "Some tribes have legends and ballads recounting sundry warlike exploits of their forefathers, but these records do not refer to events of any antiquity. Most savages are as destitute of historic records as though they were the primitive stock of mankind, and just sprung into existence. The Greenlanders, who stand considerably above the lowest grade of savagery, have, instead of history, only genealogies, oftentimes of ten generations."* Similar genealogical lists, but not so long, are found among Negroes, Indians and South Sea Islanders: but never actual history. In fact, they regard the past as very unimportant; and even those among them whose intellect is somewhat developed prefer legend to history.

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* Eschwege, Journal von Brasilien, I. 168.

† Wuttke, Bd. I. S. 156.

‡ Th. Winterbottom, Acct. of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone. Lond. 1803, p. 230.

§ *Cf.* Kuno Fischer, Logik, 2, Aufl. § 94, ff.

* Wuttke, I. S. 156.

† Bastian, S. 100.

‡ Wuttke, I. S. 164.

§ *Cf.* the Author's work **"Die Thierseele."** Leipzig, 1868, Cap. I. § 2.

As the world of such savages is extremely narrow and circumscribed, the number of conceptions formed by them is necessarily very scanty. Their notions are merely of the things of sense, and they *think* not at all—if by *thinking* is meant the elaboration of conceptions not immediately referable to sensible objects. He who entertains no thoughts is unable to give expression to thoughts. Hence, from the conditions of life amid which savages are placed it flows as a necessary consequence, that their language will be as undeveloped and as scanty as their circle of conceptions.† They can have words only for those objects of which they are cognizant. But as these objects are but few, it follows that their vocabulary must be scant. Then, inasmuch as they have no abstract notions, they cannot have any words to express objects not directly perceived by the senses. In the next place their language will be very deficient in those formulas which simply indicate the mutual relations of objects, as recognized by the human mind, and hence will lack inflexions, conjunctions and prepositions. Accordingly the Negro languages are generally very defective: the language spoken in Acra and in Fanti has neither adverbs nor prepositions: neither a comparative degree, nor a passive voice.* From this we may conclude that the people who speak these languages are still ignorant of some of the most elementary distinctions between conceptions, and that they remain through life in the same low stage of intellectual development in which children among us are found when they are learning to speak. It is stated that the Bushmen of South Africa are not distinguished from one another by separate names,† and Herodotus makes the same statement as to a tribe dwelling in the Sahara, the Atarantes: "They alone of men, so far as I can learn, are without names."‡

Inasmuch as the circle of their conceptions embraces only sensible objects, it is to be expected that on the whole they will discriminate more nicely between such objects than we can, provided a considerable number of them come under their cognizance. The reason of this is that their senses are constantly exercised, and that they have no abstract notions to divert their attention. Hence the North American Indians perceive distinctions, and mark these distinctions with special names, where we use one general term. Thus, for instance, in place of our one verb "to go" they have many words, one signifying "to go in the morning," another "in the evening," another "to go in moccasins," etc. Everything is viewed as unique and individual, and as though it had no connection, no relation with other things. This is owing to the fact that the savage does not compare his conceptions with one another, a process performed not by the senses but by the intellect. Hence it is that the languages of the Indians abound in sesquipedalian word-combinations to express purely concrete notions. But these combinations are as void of intellectual suggestion as they are minute in describing every outward aspect and every minor particular of the object; and this very minuteness so fatigues and distracts the attention, that the main object is often obscured and hid from view. Awkward story-tellers have the like habit. Instead of going direct to the kernel of the story, they ramble away from it, and go into such long and minute explanations, that at length they do not themselves know what they had intended to communicate.

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* D. Cranzen's Historie von Grönland. Barby, 1762, I. 261.

† *Cf.* Steinthal, Die Mande-Neger-Sprachen, psychologisch und phonetisch betrachtet. Berlin, 1867.

* Bowdich, p. 470.

† Lichtenstein, R. um südl. Afrika (1803–6), I. 192, II. 82.

‡ Herodot. IV. 181. *Cf.* Plin. Hist. Nat. V. 8.

This redundancy of words is really a sign of a weak and uncritical understanding, unable to handle all its material by the principle of unity. Each phenomenon as it appears is taken to be *sui generis*, and is designated by a special name. Hence such languages, dependent as they are on the slightest external changes of objects, must be themselves ever changing, and the more so, as they are not fixed in writing. "In South African villages, where the children are left by themselves for months at a time, they often are found, when their parents return, to speak a language unintelligible to the latter, and the missionaries have observed that this language of the children is different for almost every generation of them. Among the Australian tribes, who taboo every word whose sound could remind them of a dead relative, and substitute a new term, this change of language must be of still more frequent occurrence. The savage coins new words as he needs them; and when the laws of grammar will not bend to his purpose, or when he is ignorant of them, he makes laws to suit himself. So long as languages are not consolidated and fixed in writing, they are ever in process of construction: and the elaborate grammars written by the old missionaries with the assistance of their ingenious penitents would be as unintelligible to the latter as the systems of religion attributed to them."[*] "The American languages, generally rich in grammatical forms and in compound words, but poor in expression, because the Indians do not think, are such incoherent conglomerates that when families or tribes break up, a notable divergence of language among the sundered fragments is the immediate consequence."[*] The reason of this is that each of the fragments finds itself amid conditions differing, if only slightly, from those surrounding the others. As the objects differ, so will the conceptions, and the languages in the same proportion; for *mind* and *world* are dependent on one another. Whenever a savage tribe is not tied down to its native soil by its possessions or by some law of necessity, and wherever its migrations are not checked by the previous occupation of the surrounding country, it readily breaks up into smaller clans, and each one of these will soon have its peculiar dialect. This is the case in America; and Prince Max von Neuwied gives specimens of thirty-three different North American languages which he himself had met with.[†] In what was once Spanish North America there are over twenty, and in all America about 500 languages entirely different from one another.[‡]

2. *The Morality of the Savage.*

We have seen how narrow and contracted is the intellectual sphere, the mental horizon of savage tribes, owing to the circumstances by which they are surrounded. Their mental power is not greater than that of the child. But besides mind, man is also possessed of will, and it is will that constitutes his moral character. Our present task therefore is to study the operations of the savage's will, his moral character.

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[*] Bastian, S. 38, 39, 40.

[*] Max von Neuwied, Reise in Brasilien, II. S. 213.

[†] *Ib.* II. 445–645.

[‡] Humboldt, Essai polit. I. 352; Adelung und Vater, Mithrid. III. 2, 370; V. Neuwied, II. 302; Beechey, Voy. to Pacific, II. 139. For Negro languages *cf.* Bowdich, 454.

Man's will cannot aim at an abstraction, or at the indefinite, but must always have its determinate object. In this it resembles the understanding, which must also have a definite object. But if the understanding has no conceptions, the will can have no objects; for only that which is the object of the understanding can be an object of the will. Hence the savage can desire only those things which are found in the world of which he has cognizance. But this world is different for different races: for one, it will contain many objects; for another, but few. As for the savage, his world is very contracted. Let us now consider what must be the effect upon the savage's will of a greater or a less number of objects.

That can be an object of will which is perceived by the understanding. The first object which a man is conscious of, and the one which, as being inseparable from himself, he must always have, is himself,* his own organism, and whatever necessarily has its rise in it. Man is an organism: whatever originates in this organism and becomes an object of consciousness—*e. g.*, the natural instincts and appetites (hunger, lust, desire of repose)—must necessarily be also an object for the will, and these objects of the will must exist in all men, whatever their culture, simply because man is an organism. But to these objects which are common to the whole race, others are appended which vary according to the conditions of life in which a man is placed; and in proportion as the world around him is rich or scant in objects, diversified or uniform, his consciousness will take in more or fewer objects.

Hence the objects of will may be divided into two classes: first, those which are inseparable from the organism, and which we may call the Instincts; second, those which are found in the world without. Man wills both of these: still it is clear that, all things else being equal, a man will expend less will-force upon individual objects, in proportion as their number is greater. Further, it is clear that in proportion as he exerts his will in one direction, he relaxes it in another. Hence the greater the number of objects found without the organism, and the stronger the energy of will with which they are desired, the more is the will withdrawn from those immediately connected with the organism, that is, from the natural instincts. Conversely, too, the fewer objects a man has, derived from the outer world, and the less his will is attracted by these, the more will he be controlled by his instincts, and the more time and attention will he devote to the gratification of these. Hence it is no wonder if the so-called civilized man controls his instincts more easily than the savage, seeing that his will is directed toward so many objects outside his organism. But on the other hand, we need not be surprised at finding savages, who are controlled by these instincts, committing excesses in the gratification of them, which to us appear to be brutal and shameless.

The savage has no intellectual objects, and consequently no intellectual occupations. He can occupy himself only with such objects as are given to him in consciousness; hence only with such as remain after we shut out all intellectual objects, viz.: hunger, lust, indolence. As objects in the external world he has none, or but few, he cannot occupy himself with them.

When he has appeased his hunger, there is nothing more for him to do, so he will play, or sleep, or engage in debauch; and as this is the only course open to him, he will go to excess. He must needs act thus, nor can he do otherwise; and surely that is not to be accounted a crime in him, which is the necessary product of his natural condition. The unrestrained gratification of natural instincts is as clearly right in the savage (taking his

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* *Cf.* Schopenhauer, Vierfache Wurzel, 3 Aufl. § 22.

world into account) as it would be wrong in us, whose world is very different from his. Hence morality, as interpreted by us, has no application to the savage. Our refined distinctions in question of morals do not exist for him: his obtuseness of understanding is such that he cannot grasp them. Our definition of *good* and *evil* applies to him as little as to beasts, and it were unjust to measure him by such a standard, or to require him to conform to it. He can recognize no law save that of instinct, so long as his world remains contracted. Whatever his instincts require, that he seeks; what they reject, that he avoids. As his will is attached to trifling objects, they being the only objects he possesses, he must needs esteem as highly things of no value to us, as we esteem things of high importance to us, though of no account to him. Hence matters perfectly indifferent to us will have for him moral importance (if we may so speak); and conversely, what we take to be highly important will be indifferent to him, because his will is not directed toward it. By the aid of these principles we can explain such traits as the following: Certain Bushmen, being asked by a European what they meant by good and what by bad, could not give any reply: but they held fratricide to be perfectly harmless.* The Kamtchatdales hold that an act is sinful which is unlucky: for instance, to visit hot springs; to brush snow off the shoes out of doors; to seize a red-hot coal otherwise than with the fingers, when you would light your pipe, to bring home the first fox you have taken; to tread in the tracks of a bear, etc.† The Orangoo Negroes hold it sinful to spit on the earth,‡ while the natives of Labrador regard nothing as sinful save only the murder of an innocent man.§

In the gratification of his indolence, hunger and lust the savage can acknowledge no restraint, as he has no outward objects to counterbalance them. But here another point is to be considered, namely, that this unrestraint tends to grow from day to day. Egoism prompts each individual savage to assert his mastery over all others. Hence the quarrels and competitions of man against man, each striving to surpass the other. But since this competition must regard only those activities which occupy the savage, and as these three instincts furnish his chief occupation, it follows that the natural condition of unrestraint will be carried by competition to a truly bestial degree of perfection in indolence, gluttony and lust. The Missouri Indians used to practice promiscuous intercourse as a point of honor.* In like manner, in Tahiti and the adjacent islands, there was the association of the Arreoi, who made it a point of honor to practice unchastity in all its degrees.

The Indian never exerts himself except so far as strict necessity requires. After the hunt, unbroken repose. The women do all the work, as is the universal rule among savages. "An Indian chief once said to a white man, 'Oh, brother, you will never learn what happiness it is to think of nothing and to do nothing: this is, next after sleep, the most delightful thing on earth. That was our condition before we were born, and will be our condition after we die.' Then, after expressing his contempt for the restless life of the white man, he went on: 'But we live for the present moment. The past is but smoke driven by the wind. As for the future, where is it? As it has not yet come, we shall never see it perhaps. Let us then enjoy the day that is, for to-morrow it will be gone far from us!'" † It is plain that among such people, to whom the past has bequeathed no problems to be solved, no tasks to be performed, and who will themselves bequeath none to futurity, there can be no advance in knowledge or in morals. "The boy accompanies his father: if the latter follows any pursuit—fishing, for instance—the son too learns the craft. But inasmuch as the Negroes pass the greater part of their time in doing nothing, the education thus obtained is of no importance." [*] In the South Sea Islands the grandees have the food put in their mouths bit by bit.[†] In Tahiti the missionaries, having endeavored to introduce the art of weaving, all the girls who had come to learn quit work after a few days, saying, "Why should we work? Have we not as much bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts as we can eat? You who need ships and fine clothes must work: but we are content with what we have." [‡]

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* Burchell, I. 338, 340.

† G. W. Steller, Beschreibung von Kamtschatka. Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774, S. 274.

‡ Bastian, 261.

§ Nachrichten aus der Brüdergemeinde, 835, No. 5.

* M. v. Neuwied, Nordamerika, II. 131.

† Crevecœur, Voy. dans la haute Pensylvanie et dans l'état de New-York. Par. 1801, Vol. I. p. 362.

Lust and gluttony are regarded by all savages as the acme of earthly felicity. The inhabitants of Northern Asia perform wonderful feats of gormandizing. Three Yakuts will devour a reindeer at one meal, including the contents of the intestines, and a single Yakut once devoured 28 lbs. of porridge with 3 lbs. of butter.[§] The baptized Kamtchatdales often say, as they recall the past when they were still heathen: "When do we ever have jovial days now? Time was when we used to bespew the whole floor of the hut three or four times a day, but now we can do it but rarely even once a day. Formerly we could wade ankle-deep in spew, now the soles of our feet even are not wetted."[‖] "In all Negro languages the word *belly* is one of great import."[¶] Politeness requires that one inquire if all is well with his neighbor's belly. The South Sea Islanders call thoughts, *words in the belly*. The stomach of one who dies is kept as a relic; and the Kroo Negroes hold that the stomach ascends into heaven after death.[*]

As regards the passion of lust, the absolute shamelessness of the savage almost surpasses belief. The Bushmen have only one word to signify girl, maiden and wife; they consort together like cattle, have no real marriage, and the men exchange their women freely.[†] "Woman is a chattel, to be bought and sold, having no rights of choice or of refusal. Being a mere possession, not the object of love, when by reason of age or for any other cause she can no longer minister to lust, she becomes a despised thing, without any rights, often contemned even by her own children, shut out from the ceremonies of religion, oftentimes even forbid to come near the sanctuary as being unclean, and in death she is esteemed unworthy of being lamented."[‡] "In Nucahiva the bride is the property of all the male guests for the space of three days."[§] Bushmen and California Indians make no account of blood-relationship, and incest is common among many Indian tribes.[‖] Among the Aleutian Islanders brothers and sisters, children and parents, have sexual commerce with one another, alleging the example of the seal.[¶] South American savages, the Puris, Botokuds and others, and most of the New Holland tribes, go entirely naked, while among the South Sea Islanders, at least the men, if not both sexes, wear no bodily covering. Some Indian tribes use clothing to protect them against the weather, but disregard the claims of modesty.[**] Sodomy is wide-spread in certain tribes.[*] The South Sea Islanders abandon themselves at a very early age to the most unbridled licentiousness; and their songs, dances and shows are instinct with sensuality.[†] The Tungoos have wanton dances which conclude with the stripping off of all clothing and indulgence in unlimited debauchery;[‡] and immoral dances prevail throughout all Northern Asia.[§] The Greenlanders and Eskimos are notorious, but the life led by the Kamtchatdales in former times was bestial. All their thoughts and imaginations were concerned with unchastity, and even little children delighted their parents by licentious indulgence. Adultery was universal, and the women used to boast of it. Strangers were required to make return for any service they received, by ministering to the ruling passion; and men and women engaged in unnatural and sodomitic commerce. They were acquainted with syphilis, as they themselves admit, long before the advent of Europeans.[||]

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[*] Halleur, das Leben der Neger West-Afrikais; Ein Vortrag. Berlin, 1850, S. 31. *Cf.* Bosmaun, R. nach Guinea, 1708, S. 148.

[†] Forster, S. 206.

[‡] Beechey, I. 337.

[§] Cochrane, Travels on Foot through Siberia, 155; J. Sarytschew, Achtjälhrige Reise im nordöstlichen Sibirien, auf dem Eismeere u. dem nordöstlichen Ocean. Aus d. Russischen übers. Leipz. 1805, I. S. 129.

[‖] Steller, Kamtschatka, S. 286.

[¶] Bastian, S. 35.

[*] *Ib.*, S. 207.

[†] Lichtenstein, R. in Afrika, II. 376; Campbell, 13.

[‡] *Cf.* Wuttke, I. 177.

[§] Langsdorff, Reise, I. 132.

[‖] Eschwege, Journ. v. Brasilien, I. 121; Mackenzie, Travels through N. America, 108.

[¶] Langsdorff, II. 5843.

[**] Mackenzie, 5471. *Cf.* Wuttke, I. 182.

Where there in no moral family life there can be no family, in our sense of the word, that is, with the members united together in love and friendship. Here the rule of the stronger prevails, and the man is everything. "The idea of the State is nowhere[¶] developed, and the individual, instead of gaining strength from union with others, imagines himself to be safe from danger only when he oppresses all around him. The father makes slaves of his children, and the husband enslaves the wife, in order that he himself may be free: and he is free so long as he does not meet some one mightier than he, for then the domestic tyrant falls himself under the control of an inexorable master. His neighbor he regards as his foe. In short, nothing can be more foreign to the savage mind and the state of savagery than the dogma of Universal Equality."[*] "The child has no rights, being simply the chattel of his parents, who can do with him as they please, without being bound to him by any obligations. Rarely do they exhibit any true parental love for their children, beyond the fondness of animals for their young; and when a child is born to them inopportunely, or when they take a dislike to it, it is put to death; and the fearful crimes of infanticide, fœticide, abortion, abandonment and sale, and even slaughter and eating of children, are so common as to explode all the sentimental idyllic tirades that have ever been sung about the innocent life of man in the state of nature."[†]

When such are the relations between parent and child, education is out of the question. The American Indians are pleased when they see the child strike its mother and refuse to obey her. "He will one day be a brave warrior," say they. Among them obedience and respect for parents are very rare.[‡] Among the Kamtchatdales children never ask their parents for anything, but take it without more ado: and they never manifest joy on seeing their parents after a protracted separation from them.[§] Among the Tungoos duels between father and son are frequent, and not seldom terminate fatally.[||] The Arekuna, as in Guiana, bring up children and monkeys together. The monkeys are members of the family, eat with the other members, are suckled by the women, and have great affection for their human nurses.

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[*] Eschwege, I. 132; Franklin's First Voyage, 7273.

[†] Mackenzie, 108.

[‡] Ermann, Reise um die Erde II. 36.

[§] Cochrane, 298.

[||] Steller, Kamtschatka, 287, 350, 357.

[¶] Among savages.

[*] Bastian, S. 67, 68.

[†] Wuttke, Gesch. der Heidenthums, I. S. 185.

[‡] M. v. Neuwied, Nordamerika, II. 129; Mackenzie, 106; Franklin, First Voy. 73; Eschwege, I. 121; Spix u. Martius, Reise, I. S. 380.

[§] Steller, Kamtschatka, S. 353. *Cf.* Wuttke, I. 187, ff.

[||] Georgi, Beschr. einer Reise durch das Russische Reich im J. 1772, S. 242. *Cf.* M. v. Neuwied, R. in Brasilien, I. 141, 146.

Oftentimes a woman is to be seen with a child and a monkey at the breast, the two nurselings quarreling.*

As the parents care little for the children, so in turn the children care little for the parents. When the American Indians go out on their hunting expeditions they often leave behind in a state of utter destitution the aged and the infirm who are unable to make the tramp:† and in most of the tribes it is customary for relatives to dispatch the old and the feeble without remonstrance from the victims. ‡ The Bechuanas have less regard for the aged than for cattle, and abandon them to their fate without compunction.§ Their neighbors, the Corannas, expose the old people to wild beasts, they being, as they say, of no account, and only serving to use up the provisions.‖ Among the Bushmen the daughter often turns her old mother out of the hut, and leaves her to be devoured by wild beasts. Sons put their fathers to death with impunity.¶ The Kamtchatdales often eject the sick from their house and cast them to the dogs; ** and the Eskimo often bury alive old sickly widows, and not unfrequently suffer old men to perish of hunger.††

3. *Conclusion.*

We have now set forth the intellectual and moral condition of the savage so far as was needful for our present purpose. Our criticism, aided by experimental investigation, unfolds before our eyes a picture very different from what certain enthusiasts would paint, who hold the present condition of civilized man to be a corruption, a degeneration from the primitive innocence and purity of man in his natural state. An indolent savage, who has neither objects nor aims nor ambitions to occupy his mind, can never be *moral.*

Of course the picture we have painted does not represent with equal fidelity all savages, for there are degrees of higher and lower even in savagery. We are not called upon here to ascertain the specific differences of these various degrees; it is sufficient if we have an idea of the average condition of the savage intellectually and morally considered.

The savage's world is narrow and contracted, presenting but few objects, and hence he has but few conceptions. But the fewer his conceptions the less does he distinguish between them; *i.e.*, the less he thinks, the less is his faculty of thought exercised, and the greater is his stupidity. Then, his will can be directed only upon the objects given him through his understanding. But since external objects there are none to engage it, of course all its energies must be expended upon internal objects, of which he is conscious through his organism. Hence he is as free from restraint as a beast in the gratification of his instincts. Such is the savage, and such he must be; for intellect, world and will are inseparable; one never stands without the others; they stand ever together, or they exist not at all. It is needless to inquire which has precedence, for they all three make up the essence of man. His intellect extends as far as his world, and his will extends only so far as his intellect, or his world. Conversely, too, his world extends only so far as his intellect and his will.

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* R. Schomburgk in the "Ausland," No. 288.

† Mackenzie, 431; Franklin, First Voyage, 192; Second, 91.

‡ Robertson, History of America, I. 466; Mackenzie, ib.

§ Campbell, Trav. in S. Africa, 49, 245.

‖ *Ib.*, Second Journey, 258.

¶ *Ib.* 272.

** Steller, S. 271.

†† Cranz, Grönland, 201; Beechey, II. 394. Bastian makes a similar statement as to Negroes, S. 320.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SAVAGE MIND AND ITS OBJECT.

In the preceding chapters we have been laying the foundation for a correct understanding of fetichism, and have ascertained the range of the savage intellect. As fetichism is really a mode of intellectual apprehension, we had first to study that particular phase of the understanding wherein a sensible object obtains significance as a fetich. It remains for us now in the present chapter to show what is the necessary relation of the savage mind to its object; for it is this relation which gives rise to the fetichistic apprehension of objects, and which accounts for it.

1. *The Value of Objects.*

As things are for us what we apprehend them to be, so their value for us will be in accordance with our apprehension of them. Now the mind has a clearer and more exact apprehension of objects in proportion as it distinguishes between them more clearly. Therefore the sharper the distinctions we can make with regard to the minutest details of an object, the more exactly can we determine its value. An object is distinctly apprehended, only when we can discriminate between it and other objects. If therefore I would form a clear understanding and an accurate estimate of a thing, I must also clearly understand all other objects related to it; and so I cannot rightly estimate anything without an acquaintance with a number of other things. My estimate of things will thus vary according to the number of objects of which I take cognizance. But since all things stand to each other in a causal relation, it follows that a *perfectly* exact estimate of any single object can only be had when the entire series is known. For the greater the number of the objects apprehended, the better do we understand the interrelations of them all, and so the causal value of each. On the contrary, the smaller the number of objects, the less accurate will be our estimate of each.

The mind, then, whose object-world is very contracted must of necessity form a very different estimate of things from that formed by a mind which has many objects, nor will its estimate be as exact as that of the latter. From all this it follows that the estimate formed of things by children as well as by savages must be very different from our estimate, as their world is very contracted and the number of their objects very limited.

The untutored intellect which, as having but few objects, is defective in the power of distinction, cannot estimate the true value of things. It is liable either to overestimate objects or to undervalue them. It can estimate only the objects which it has. As it knows only these and is ignorant of all others, it cannot compare the known with the unknown, and the known must of necessity be esteemed the best and the most precious. The peasant who has never left his native soil, regards his home as the most desirable place on earth, though the soil be half bog. Be the objects which the untutored mind contemplates never so lowly, and worthy only of contempt as viewed by a mind which has a wider range, still it will set an exorbitant value on them inasmuch as they are the only objects it contemplates. On the other hand, as there are many objects which do not occur to the undeveloped mind (*v.g.* objects of a purely intellectual value) these it will not estimate aright, or in other words, not according to their true worth. It will undervalue them. The peasant values his field of rye, not so the rare varieties of flowers growing in the neighborhood; he knows nothing about these. If his mind were stored with as many plant-objects as is that of the botanist; if he were acquainted with their different classes and their mutual relations, he would value these rare flowers; as it is, he plucks them up as weeds and casts them away. His undeveloped understanding does not apprehend distinctions between things, and as he cannot distinguish between them, they are all alike to him. For him leaves are leaves, and he knows no such distinctions as heart-shaped, lancet-shaped leaves, etc. Objects with which he is unacquainted he undervalues in proportion to his ignorance of them.

The fewer and less important the objects which a man possesses, the more excessive will be his overestimate. He will discern valuable treasures in trifles which, to a mind of greater range, will appear as very nothings. If a man is worth a million of dollars, a few pence will be a trifle in his eyes; but if a man has only a few pence, then one penny will have a considerable value for him. If then we would determine what are the objects which a man will regard as valuable, we must take account of how many objects he has. What then are the objects that a child will prize? Those which he has. What are these? Let us consider those which he *has not.* He has none of those which lie within the domain of science or of art. He has none of those things which the adult values, steady occupation, its products, its remuneration, etc. He values only those things which he knows and has, and these are the merest trifles, his playthings.

Children must of necessity prize these trifles, for they have no knowledge of the more important objects known and prized by adults. It is worth while to observe how the understanding is enlarged in proportion to the number of objects to which it addresses itself. As it becomes acquainted with new and more important objects, its standard of values changes; yet so long as these new objects are unknown, it esteems as most important those objects which it already has. In youth we have a very different estimate of things from that which we have in old age, for youth does not value those things which are most prized by age. In like manner the child does not value the objects which are of importance to youth. The child values only the objects with which he is acquainted. But these must be of but little importance, for it is only by slow degrees that the mind comes to value objects of real importance. Inasmuch as every object is a novelty to the child, it is a necessity for him to take the same interest in trifling objects which we take in more important ones. The child is receiving an education, and has enough to occupy his mind in the contemplation of familiar household things. For these alone he has eyes, ears, attention. After a man is grown up and no longer admires, for instance, his watch, merely glancing at the dial to ascertain the time of the day, he forgets the time in the past when things now the most familiar were to him new and strange, and wonders that the child should want to look at the watch again and again, and to listen to its ticking. Yet nothing is more natural or more inevitable for as yet everything is a novelty to the child. We say that children *play* with things. If by *play* we mean simply pastime, amusement, we do not correctly describe the occupation of the child, who is as seriously employed with his toys as an adult might be in the management of state affairs. The child's play is work, study, acquisition of knowledge, and occupation of the mind suited to the measure of his faculties.

We have been somewhat prolix in describing the relation of the infantile intelligence to its objects, for the reason that it throws light upon the matter in hand, viz., the relations between the mind of the savage and its objects. The savage's mind is in the same embryonic state as that of the infant. It has but a limited range of objects, and therefore will value these, however inconsiderable they may be, as we value objects of greater moment. Let us take an inventory of the possessions of a naked savage, a Bushman, for instance. He has none of the products of industry or art; he weaves not, neither does he spin; he neither plants nor gathers in a harvest; he has not even a knife beyond some sharp-edged stone he chances to find. He knows nothing of such objects. Previous to his coming in contact with Europeans he has no idea of such a trifling thing even as a brass button, or a nail. What then does he possess? A few articles that he has chanced to find, that he has picked up off the ground, or found growing on trees, or taken from wild beasts. His possessions consist of stones, shells, a club, fruits, peltries, a dead carcass, skulls and bones, teeth, horns, gaudy feathers, fishbones—such is the sum total of his property. "The Bushmen have scarcely any possessions. If they steal a few head of cattle, they devour as much as they can, and leave the remainder on the ground."* The negroes of West Africa are more favored. "Simpler even than his house is the furniture—a bed made of leaves and rushes, a block of wood for a pillow, a few pots and bowls, a gun and a long knife, with a few large and small calabashes, the large ones used as wardrobes (his clothing being a few yards of cloth to wrap around the body), and as receptacles for ball, lead, powder, etc.; the small ones serving as flagons. And that is about all the furniture to be seen in a negro's hut."†

Beyond this inventory the savage neither has nor knows of any possessions. He must therefore overestimate these objects. Accordingly a fishbone will serve him for an ornament.‡ "They trick themselves out with feathers, shells and the like, which they consider things of beauty."§ If now they meet with some strange object, a nail, for instance, or a glass bead, or a bit of tinsel ornament, it excites their wonder, and they long to possess it. "The sister of a South Sea Island king whose subjects thought themselves highly civilized, stole a couple of iron nails from Cook's vessel, and her brother connived at the theft."* "A negro who wears European clothing at once ranks with Europeans, though he be as black as coal. There are gradations of rank, however: a fellow that wears only one article of European costume, the vest, for instance, or the hat, ranks as a mulatto. To hold rank as an out and out European, he must wear the full costume, his head being crowned with the hat."† "Oftentimes as I stood in the presence of ebon Majesty, the king would be possessed by the god of poesy, and my interpreter would inform me that he was singing my praise and great renown. This was extremely gratifying and of course flattered my vanity in no small degree. Unfortunately, however, my attention was on one occasion specially directed to the noble strains wherein the Greots, or bards, committed my fame to posterity; and it was suggested that the least I might do was to give them a kronthaler: so I had the curiosity to request of my interpreter a more minute analysis of the pæan. The Greots were lauding in transcendental metaphors, my hat, which just then was not according to the latest *mode de Paris;* and in its last days that hat cost me double the price I had paid for it new. The Lord of Shemba-Shemba I suppose sung the praises of my shoes, as shoes in that land are the prerogative of the Blood Royal. Princes alone are there permitted to wear shoes, to travel in mat hammocks, or to carry umbrellas."‡ The inhabitants of the Pelew Islands used to append to their ears all the valuables they cribbed from Europeans, scraps of leather, bits of paper, etc.

This fact, which has a psychological basis in the intellect of the savage, must be taken into account in the study of fetichism; and this for two reasons, viz.: First, it will, in connection with other facts, enable us to see how an object comes to be regarded as a fetich. Then it will guard us against the error of thinking that every object that the savage prizes is for him a fetich. It is true, any object may become a fetich; still, every object is not necessarily a fetich. We might here recall what Azara says about the savages of the Rio de la Plata: "When the ecclesiastics saw certain figures engraved or pictured on the pipes, bows, clubs and pottery of the Indians, they at once concluded these were idols, and burnt them up. The Indians still employ the same figures, but only to please the fancy, for they are without religion."*

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* Lichtenstein, Reise im Südl. Afrika, 1803–6. Berlin, 1811, II. 321, 83.

† Halleur, 23, 18.

‡ Bastian, 317.

§ Halleur, 19.

* Forster, Bemerkungen, S. 338.

† Halleur, 19.

‡ Bastian, S. Salv. 56.

2. *The Anthropopathic Apprehension of Objects.*

It is plain that in the view of the savage, objects will have a very different value from what they have for us. But furthermore, owing to the contracted range of the savage's mind and his consequent deficiency of mental power, or, which is the same thing, his defective faculty of distinction, an object, whether living or inanimate, will have for him a very different meaning from what it has for us.

The savage differs but little from the mere animal, nor does he himself draw the same line of distinction between the two which we draw. Inasmuch as his consciousness, which extends only as far as the objects which enter it, is extremely contracted, he is on this ground also less distinguished than we from the unconscious nature which surrounds him. He has but few objects, and so distinguishes but few; and thus his power of ascertaining substantial differences between things lies all unemployed, uninstructed and feeble. Consequently, he does not see things with the same distinctness as we do, and hence it is clear that in his view nature must appear more homogeneous than it does to us. But we must consider this point more closely.

We too regard all nature as one and homogeneous, and view all beings as essentially homogeneous, but yet on characteristic grounds very different from those of the savage. After having traveled in many devious paths, and so far even exaggerated the distinction between Man and Nature, as almost to dissolve the tie which binds them together, and thus established the characteristic differences between the two, we came to recognize the truth that in the last analysis man is not essentially distinct from nature, and we regard nature as homogeneous in all its parts, though for reasons very different from those of the savage. The difference lies in this, that we consider nature in its several parts: that we arrive at the knowledge of its homogeneity through the consideration of its distinctions and differences, and that nature lies before us as a very complex object, which has been investigated in many of its parts. The savage knows nothing of these distinctions and definitions: to him nature is all unknown; yet he too regards it as homogeneous, but on these grounds:

He is unacquainted with the peculiar nature of those things he comes in contact with, having never investigated them; he knows nothing of their inner specific properties and constitution. He recognizes a distinction only between their external phenomena, as regards their form, color, smell or taste. Then, he has never made his own being a subject of contemplation either from a psychological or from a physiological point of view. He is therefore ignorant of the distinction between himself and other beings. Accordingly his apprehensions of outward objects will picture them not according to their real nature, which he has never investigated, but in quite different shapes. It is impossible for him to attribute to objects properties he never yet has apprehended. He has no conception of the true, specific nature of things, and consequently his apprehension of them is defective. Whatever object he perceives he invests with those properties of which he has already a notion, and then for him the two things are inseparable and identical. This process is inevitable, and the savage never doubts but that his perception is entirely correct, for he has no suspicion of having transferred to the object the incongruous impressions of his own mind. And indeed why should he doubt? In order to entertain a doubt whether or no his apprehension corresponds with the reality, the thought must first have arisen in his mind that perhaps the object might be apprehended differently: but this presupposes a mind furnished with a great variety of conceptions, and that has investigated much, so as to be possessed of a number of different actual and possible notions. Precisely because the cultured mind possesses such an abundance of varied notions, any one of which may appear to represent some new object which attracts its attention, it will not accept its first impression as absolutely correct and final, but will be skeptical for a time, while it sifts and weighs, in order to choose among many conceptions that which exactly fits the matter in hand. Now the savage has no such store of conceptions. He possesses but few himself, nor has he the slightest suspicion of any others. As the savage of Tierra del Fuego has no notion of Europe, Asia, Africa, etc., and just as he has not the remotest idea of what a magnifying glass is, so he is utterly unable to conceive of any other mode of apprehension but his own, and therefore he can entertain no doubt as to the correctness of his notions. Having no suspicion of the existence of any notions beyond those he himself possesses, he necessarily thinks his are the only ones possible. The adversaries of Columbus saw, according to the ideas they entertained, that his undertaking was chimerical: they regarded their own notions as the only correct and conceivable ones, and were free from all doubt. Who could have imagined the possibility of traveling by land without the employment of draught animals, before the invention of the steam-engine. It is impossible for the savage to doubt the correctness of his notions, as there are no others by means of which he might set them right. Having no suspicion of any others he is obliged to see all things in the light of his own understanding alone, and to transfer to everything he meets the impressions already existing in his mind.

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* Azara, Voyage dans l'Amerique Meridionelle. Paris, 1809, T. II. p. 3.

Hence it is plain that the savage must regard all objects, as far as concerns their inner nature, as being endowed with those inner properties only, of which he has formed to himself some notion. Now what are these? Not the inner properties of the objects themselves, for of these he knows nothing. The only properties of this kind with which he is acquainted are those of his own mind. But how far does his knowledge of his own mind extend? He knows nothing of its psychological laws, nothing of its essential character, so to speak: he is acquainted only with accidental properties: his transient impressions and emotions, his momentary humors, and his aimless pursuits. These notions he necessarily transfers to exterior things, as their inner properties; for on the one hand he has no idea of the real inner nature of the objects, and on the other he is acquainted with no inner properties whatever, save those of his own mind. He must necessarily consider all nature, and not alone animals but even inanimate things, as living, thinking and willing, even as he himself lives and thinks and wills: that is to say, he takes an *anthropopathic* view of nature. We shall in the sequel find abundant proofs of this position, for it is a fact that has been time and again recognized, admitted and proclaimed. We have attempted only to assign its psychological grounds. It is the utter ignorance of the savage that directly leads him to view nature in this light, for we must bear in mind that for a man in the earliest stage of development, viz., a savage, everything, however trifling, is as novel, as unknown and as wonderful as a rattle is for the infant. As the man gradually advances toward civilization, this mode of viewing nature is given up, yet far more slowly and more grudgingly than we might be disposed to expect. For it is with this habit as with every system of ideas. If those who went before have adopted it, and their whole life long cherished it, and held it for true, it becomes implanted in their children into whom it was inculcated during their early years, and in them becomes a truth, resting on the authority of their ancestors. The belief grows stronger day by day, and finally becomes indisputable dogma which is not to be set aside even though it be in conflict with facts. Thus the anthropopathic view of objects endures even where men's acquaintance with nature is no longer in the lowest grade.

If we transfer ourselves into the narrow field within which the savage observes nature we shall find this result so inevitable, that any other result will appear to be impossible. Though I have said that we ourselves, no less than the savage, must regard man and nature as homogeneous, still we must admit this difference between our point of view and his: by investigating nature we have come to recognize man as a product of nature. We say, man is as the rest of the universe. But the savage knows neither the nature of other things, nor yet his own; as regards the latter, he is acquainted merely with his varying impressions and desires. Therefore he can only say: Nature is like Man, *i.e.*, has the same petty, individual and altogether subjective impressions and desires. When Schopenhauer says, The Universe is Will, for man in the last analysis is Will, and at the same time merely a part of the Universe, he asserts that the common being of *all* men is also the being of the Universe. On the contrary, the savage says: The individual being which pertains to one man, to me alone, to this particular savage creature, with all its petty, personal propensities, is the being of the universe. The distinction is broad. Schopenhauer says: The Substance of man is the being of the Universe. The savage says: Accidental properties (which differ for different individuals) are the being of the Universe.

Thus the intellectual status of the undeveloped man, the savage, necessitates a mode of contemplating nature very different from ours. He ascribes to all things essentially the same properties he possesses himself: he cannot avoid considering all things as being endowed with the same inner properties he discerns in himself, for he has no critical power of discriminating. For him, therefore, every object lives, wills, is kindly or unfriendly disposed; and thus everything inspires him with fear and awe, "so that he scarce ventures to touch any object: even the very plant which affords him nourishment he plucks from the ground with propitiatory rites."* In America and in Northern Asia all things are supposed to be possessed of souls—works of nature and of human art alike. These souls they consider as something dwelling in the object and inseparable from it, which can benefit or harm mankind."† The more these objects resemble man in their general appearance the more readily will they be regarded as actually human. First, therefore, would come the anthropopathic apprehension of animals, then of all the phenomena of motion—the sea, rivers, clouds, the wind, lightning, fire (which some savages regard as an animal,‡ as did the ancient Egyptians, according to Herodotus); § plants would follow next, and then finally rocks and mountains. This subject we will consider in detail farther on. "Natural objects pass for mighty spirits. Thus, for instance, among the Australians the rock-crystal is esteemed sacred; the savage attributes special good qualities to stones of bright colors. The bloodstone is supposed by the Indians of South America to be possessed of beneficent qualities. Even the products of human skill, such as watches, telescopes and the like, are inhabited by spirits. An intelligent Bechuana said, on first seeing the sea and a ship, 'This surely is no created thing, it has sprung into existence of itself, and was not made by man.'"* This anthropopathic view of nature is the very essence of poetry: and hence it is that the view which the savage takes of nature appears to us so poetical, though he himself is so accustomed to this mode of apprehension that he is utterly unconscious of the poetry.

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* A. Bastian, Beiträge zur vergleichenden Psychol. S. 10.

† Meiners, Hennepin, Lafiteau, Steller, etc.

‡ Wuttke, I. 59.

§ Herod. III. 16.

As man can ascribe to objects only those notions and passions which he has himself, the savage attributes to his fetich precisely his own wild, unbridled desires in all their natural unconstraint, and magnified to the highest degree; his hunger and thirst, his love and hate, his anger and his rage. Still the object continues to be, in the mind of the savage, that which it is in its external form. It is not as if the savage in his anthropopathic apprehension represented to himself a self-existent superior Power, a self-existent soul, which merely assumed for a time the external shape of the fetich. No: the stone remains a stone, the river a river. The water itself, in its proper form and with its native properties is invested with anthropopathic characteristics. This is very different from a symbolic conception. Here the object as it presents itself in all its external manifestations, is identical with the anthropopathic conception. When a thing comes to be regarded as in some way the symbol of another and a different thing, then the mind has made a very considerable step in advance.

The object has therefore a greater value for the savage than for us, both as a commodity and as something anthropopathically regarded as possessing life. "One of the followers of the envoy Isbrand exhibited before a crowd of Ostiaks who wanted to sell fish to the embassy, a Nürnberg watch, fashioned in the shape of a bear. The Ostiaks viewed the article with great interest. But their joy and astonishment were increased when the watch began to go, and the bear began to strike the hours, and his head and eyes to be in motion. The Ostiaks bestowed on the watch the same honor they paid to their principal Saitan, and even gave it precedence over all their gods. They wanted to purchase it. 'If we had such a Saitan,' said they, 'we would clothe him with ermine and black sable.'"* "Father Hennepin, during his stay among the savages, had in his possession a compass and a large kettle in the form of a lion. Whenever he made the needle vibrate, the chief with whom he lodged assured all that were present that the white men are spirits and capable of doing extraordinary things. The savages had such fear of the kettle that they never would touch it, without having first wrapped it up in beaver pelts. If women happened to be present, the kettle had to be made fast to a tree. Hennepin offered the kettle to several chiefs as a present; but none of them would accept the gift, for it was thought that an evil spirit dwelt within it, who would slay the new owner."†

The same anthropopathic apprehension of things is to be observed in children. The little girl who in perfect seriousness regards her doll as a playmate, who strips and clothes it, feeds and chastises it, puts it to bed and hushes it to sleep, calls it by a personal name, etc., never imagines that all her care is expended on a lifeless thing. she does not make any such reflections as these: This is all merely an illusion that I indulge on purpose; a play that I engage in, but with the distinct understanding that it is only play. She has no thought that the doll is a lifeless thing; for her it is possessed of a human life, which is bestowed upon it by the child herself. The boy's hobby-horse is for him no mere symbol. This anthropopathic view of lifeless objects is to be seen among people everywhere. Especially do we observe it in the way people vent their rage in blows and abuse bestowed on inanimate things that have occasioned them some hurt. In the heat of passion, reflection and judgment are silenced, and then momentarily the mental range is contracted as it is in the savage permanently. An Indian who in his cups had received a burn expressed his indignation against the fire in the most abusive language, and then *mingens eum extinxit.**

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* Waitz, I. 457.

* Isbrand, Voyage de Moscou a la Chine, in Vol. VIII. of Voyages au Nord, p. 38.

† Hennepin, in the Voyages au Nord, IX. 332, 333. *Cf* Constant, La Religion, I. p. 254

3. *The Causal Connection of Objects.*

We now proceed to study the operations of the mind in its profoundest depths. The act of consciousness implies the perception of the principle of causality. We *perceive* objects by referring to outward phenomena, as to a *cause*, certain modifications produced in our nerves of sense, and we connect objects themselves with one another by the same causal nexus. In the latter process the mind arranges the objects in a certain orderly series, so that one shall appear as accounting for another, or explaining it. Thus one object would be cause, and another, effect. The mind invariably perceives this relation in all the objects which come under its cognizance; and even in the most trivial conversation the several conceptions are explanatory, illustrative, confirmatory of one another, and so inter-related causally. It is a law of the mind therefore that it shall regard its objects as standing to one another in the relation of cause and effect.

Now it is clear that the mind can discern this relation only between those objects of which it has consciousness. But the more restricted its range, the fewer will be its objects. A mind which possesses but few objects will be liable, owing to this very paucity of objects, to assume immediate causal relations where they do not exist: in the absence of the true cause, it will take for cause some object within its own range. This is the real ground of all error, and any erroneous apprehension whatsoever might serve as an example of what we here assert. In the course of this chapter we shall fall in with many examples, but we cite only the following in this place: The true cause of the so-called rain of blood in Southwestern Europe was long unknown. People accordingly connected this unknown and unexplained phenomenon with a conception which they already had, and said, "It rains blood," and so believed, until it was discovered that the color of the rain was owing to the presence in it of particles of sand from the Sahara.* "When the keel of Portuguese ships first furrowed the waters of the Atlantic, the savages viewed with consternation the white-winged ships driven along their coasts by a power to them incomprehensible." They had never seen a ship. What could this apparition be which was borne along as it were on wings? One only conception had they which could aid them in accounting for the motion, and they said, "They are cloud-birds come down on earth." † It is just because the mind can assign only those objects as causes, which it already possesses, that you hear men uttering so much nonsense when they discourse about things quite without their sphere, but which they try to explain by conceptions belonging within it. In short, this is the origin of all that science which would account for phenomena by an *à priori* theory, as when the motions of the planets were explained on the theories of Ptolemy or of Tycho Brahe. The common people from their stand-point could account for the occurrence of erratic blocks only on the theory that they were fragments of giants' clubs broken in battle, or that they were dropped by giantesses out of their aprons.† The explanations given by Playfair and Venetz lie quite beyond the popular apprehension.

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* Adair, Hist. Amer. Indians. Lond. 1775, p. 117.

* M. Perty, Die Natur, p. 283.

† Bastian, S. Salvador, S. 269.

So much therefore is clear, that the undeveloped understanding will of necessity connect in causal relation a number of objects which do not in reality stand to each other in the relation of cause and effect, reason and consequence. The question for such a mind is, to which of the objects of its consciousness it shall specially attribute causality.

The cause, as being the producer, will naturally be regarded as strong, powerful, effective, and so gifted with peculiar attributes . for only that which is possessed of power can produce. Whatever therefore we regard as preëminent in its kind , whatever appears to us as specially notable, peculiar or important, we rate as the cause of other phenomena which we regard as its effects, if only the circumstances of time and space permit such a view. This perception of causality the mind must get from objects within its own range. Now, as we have already seen, the narrower the mind's range, the higher will be its estimate of objects. Therefore, the more restricted the field of consciousness, the more inconsiderable will the objects be which pass for causes —inconsiderable in our view, though of high moment in that of the savage. If we now recall to our minds what has been already observed with regard to the savage's anthropopathic apprehension of objects, the following example will be readily understood, while at the same time it will serve to illustrate the preceding remarks. An iron anchor must be regarded by the savage as a very strange and peculiar object, for he could never mold such an instrument, nor does he see the like every day. "A Kaffir broke a piece off the anchor of a stranded vessel, and soon after died. Ever after the Kaffirs regarded the anchor as something divine, and did it honor by saluting it as they passed by, with a view to propitiate its wrath." * An anchor is, in the eyes of the savage, something so remarkable and so strange, and he is so utterly ignorant of the use it serves, that there was a concourse from all sides to see it, and all were filled with admiration. Their interest was as great as that of an astronomer when he discovers a new planet. That any man should have the hardihood to break off a piece of this singular object was no less matter of astonishment for the Kaffirs than the anchor itself. Well, the man died suddenly. What caused his death? They could find no natural cause: but there was the anchor, and this man had broken off a piece of it. Here were facts which spoke for themselves. So the anchor, the injury done to it, and the death of the Kaffir were without more ado ranged in the order of cause and effect, and the anchor was advanced in the estimation of the savages. The anchor had been injured and outraged and would have its revenge: here we have a specimen of anthropopathic apprehension of an inanimate thing. It slew the impious wretch: here we have an object that appears to be of some importance viewed as the cause of something else, viz.: the death of the transgressor. Henceforth that anchor is a dread and mighty Thing; so they greet it as they pass, to keep it in a good humor.

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* Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie, I. Aufl. S. 306–7.

* Alberti, die Kaffern, S. 72; Lichtenstein, Reise, I. 412.

We find in this example four factors. First, the consideration of this strange object as something altogether peculiar, singular and important, simply *because* it is strange. Second, the anthropopathic apprehension of this object as something that lives, feels and wills.* Third, the establishment of the relation of cause and effect between this object and other things. Fourth, the apprehension of it as something mighty, which is therefore to be treated with reverence, to the end it may be friendly; or, in other words, as something which, in virtue of the inner nature attributed to it, becomes an object of veneration. We are now in a position to understand what is meant by a fetich. When an object is viewed in the fourfold manner above set forth, it is then a fetich, and fetiches are therefore objects in which these four factors are united.† The objects here are all sensible objects.

We have now empirically demonstrated that these are the necessary consequences of the savage's intellectual status, viz.: an over-estimate of inconsiderable objects, an anthropopathic apprehension of objects, an erroneous perception of causal relations, and the veneration of objects supposed to be causes. So the fetichistic mode of apprehending things flows quite naturally and inevitably from natural and empiric grounds. Granted only a contracted and undeveloped intelligence, and you have fetichism as the inevitable result. The mental status of the savage finds its natural expression in fetichism: fetichism is its System of the Universe, its philosophy, its religion; and hence fetichism, as being such System, Philosophy and Religion, finds its explanation when we have gained anything like correct notions of the savage intellect.

We will cite a few more examples to show how fetichism is made up of our four factors. "A negro of some distinction, an acquaintance of Römer's, was about to take refuge in a Danish fort, with his family and his valuables, to escape from the attack of a merciless enemy. On quitting his hut in the morning he stumbled on a stone with such violence that he suffered considerable pain. This accident caused him to regard the stone as a fetich. He at once picked it up, and never more parted with it, as through it he succeeded in escaping from the dangers which had threatened him."* "An American savage chose the crucifix and a little image of the Virgin that had come into his possession, for his Manitus. He never parted with them, after he had found, as he believed, that they protected him sundry times against the arrows of his enemy."† "As the Yakuts first saw a camel during an outbreak of the small-pox they pronounced that animal to be a hostile deity who had brought the disease among them.‡

The taboo of the South Sea Islanders is by many writers supposed to resemble the fetich, and even to be identical with it. Still the two things do not appear to be identical, if we accept the account which Gerland gives of the taboo. (Waitz's Anthropologie, Band. 5.) Waitz gives an excellent definition of the fetich: A fetich, says he, is an object of religious veneration, wherein the material thing and the spirit within it are regarded as one, the two being inseparable. As we have already said, the fetich is any object whatsoever, viewed anthropopathically, or regarded as endowed with human characteristics. Taboo, on the other hand, according to Gerland, is an object which receives religious veneration because it is the temporary abode of a spirit or of a Deity. "We know," says he, "the meaning of the taboo, the religious ban of Polynesia, and the question arises whether the same custom prevails also in Micronesia? It does; but though in the latter islands the belief in taboo is as universal as in Polynesia, still the taboo has not there so extensive a range of objects. (Gulick, Micronesia, in the *Nautical Magazine*, 1862, 417.)" The taboo attaches to meat and drink; and the notables of the Ladrones will not eat eels: the isolated inhabitants of Ponapi, the Marshall and the Gilbert Islands, etc., will not eat the flesh of this or that animal; the common people on those islands must not eat the kava, and on the island of Kusaie they must abstain from the cocoanut, etc.; several trees also are taboo, *i.e.* forbidden (Mertens, Recueil des Actes de la Séance, publ. de l'Acad. imp. Scientifique de St. Petersburg, 29 déc. 1829, 177); the rain-conjurers must not eat the blooms of the pandanus. Also places, temples and persons, *v.g.* great princes, are taboo for the commonalty. Whoever would go a fishing must be continent for the space of twenty-four hours. In conversing with women certain words were taboo: and hus we might go on rehearsing an interminable list of such prohibitions. The word taboo also is used in Micronesia (Kotzebue, Entdeckungsreise, II. 59; Hale, Ethnographie, in his Tarawa vocabulary, s. v. Tabu; Pickering, Memoir, s. v. Tabu, etc.), and in the isle of Morileu the word *pennant* is employed in the same sense. Thus a tree, or a locality, etc., would be *pennant* (Mertens, 134). Nor were the ceremonies employed in Micronesia to lift the taboo less imposing than those in use in Polynesia. Thus Cheyne describes a very protracted festival which he saw observed on the isle of Eap, the chief ceremony consisting of prayers addressed by the priests to the Sea-god, to induce him to quit a vessel that was taboo, and return to his native element. (Cheyne, "A Description of Islands," etc., 157 seq.) From this narrative we learn what is the meaning of Taboo. The god enters a thing and thus withdraws it from common use. The chieftains being of divine origin, their person and property are taboo to the commonalty, as is also whatever they are pleased to declare taboo.* This view of the taboo is very probably the correct one; yet we must not suppose that in Polynesia and in Micronesia the taboo is not also regarded in another light, and apprehended as a fetich. On the isle of Nukunono Fakaafo worship used to be paid to the Tui Tokelau, or Lord of Tokelau; and this was a stone wrapped up in matting and held so sacred that only the king durst view it, and even he only once a year, when it assumed a fresh suit of matting. (Turner, "Nineteen years in Polynesia," 527.) This stone idol, which was ten feet in height, stood in front of the temple, and was, at the time when Hale saw it, ten feet in circumference, owing to its thick wrappages of matting. (Hale, 158; Turner, 527). It was the Tui Tokelau that caused disease, so whoever was attacked would have a new mat wrapped about the god, to propitiate his wrath by means of this rather costly offering.† As this stone was considered so sacred, it was natural for the people to identify it with the deity. Whatever offerings they made to the stone, were made to the god: whatever petitions they had to address to the god, were addressed to the stone. Which is here the god, the stone or the deity? The better class of the islanders, those best instructed by the priests as to their religious belief, would perhaps regard the stone as only the habitation of the god, and consider the latter as distinct from the stone. But would the more ignorant sort make such a distinction? If not, the taboo was for them a fetich.

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* Bastian, S. Salvador, S. 227.

† The first writer to employ the word fetich was De Brosses in his work "Du culte des dieux Fétiches," which appeared in 1760 anonymously, and without the name of the place of publication. As to the origin of the word he says: ". . . certain deities, whom Europeans call Fetiches, a word formed by our traders in Senegal, out of the Portuguese term Fetisso, *i.e.* enchanted, divine, oracular. It is from the Latin root fatum, fanum, fari." Winterbottom, in his "Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone," derives the word from the Port. Faticeira, witch, or Faticaria, witchcraft. The Negroes borrowed not only this but also another word, gree-gree, from the Portuguese. According to Bastian (S. Salv. S. 95) the universal name in West-Africa for a fetich is Enquizi. Another name is Mokisso, or Juju (*Ibid.* 254, 81); also Wong (Waitz, II. 183); among several Amer. tribes, Manitu.

* L. F. Römer's Nachrichten von der Küste Guinea. Kopenhagen, 1769, S. 63, 64.

† Charlevoix, Journal historique d'un Voyage de l'Amérique septentrionale. Paris 1774, p. 387.

‡ Wuttke, Gesch. d. H. I. 72.

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* Waitz, Anthrop. Bd. V. Abtheil. 2; Gerland, S. 147.

† Waitz, Anthrop. V. Abth. 2, S. 195.

Here we have an observation to make. The so-called Religion of Nature, *i.e.*, the religion of the savage, has two aspects, which must be sharply defined and kept separate if we would have clear conceptions on the subject. Under one aspect sensible objects are worshiped; under the other, worship is paid to spirits. It is not asserted that either of these branches of Natural Religion arose prior to the other: they are both perfectly natural phenomena, springing inevitably out of an undeveloped state of intellect. The worship of sensible objects is founded on the relation subsisting betwen the mind and such objects: the worship of spirits is founded on the relation between the mind and the souls of the departed. These two systems run parallel to one another, and here and there unite their currents to form a single stream. This subject I propose to consider in another place. At present we have to do only with the worship of sensible objects, *i.e.*, with fetichism, and we purposely omit the consideration of the other branch of Natural Religion. We do not assert that the only religion of the Negro, for instance, is fetich-worship, though we study the Negro here only in so far as he is a fetichist. Just as in the higher grades of intelligence one individual will surpass another in mental development, so too will one savage excel another, and attain a higher grade of religious development, however contemptible his very highest grade may appear to be in our estimation. Thus the savage has already made one step in advance, as soon as he perceives that the object of his worship is not a being possessed of anthropopathic properties, that it cannot of itself perform those acts which he formerly attributed to it, or when he recognizes as *inhabiting* the object, a spirit separate from the material thing. Fetichism becomes thus elevated by means of the belief in spirits, and the fetich is advanced to the higher grade of the taboo. As the South Sea Islanders are raised above the very lowest stage of intelligence, the taboo is better adapted to them than the fetich. For the same reason, intelligent Negroes regard their fetich as taboo. Halleur gives the following as a specimen of Negro intelligence: "I wished to make a Negro understand the folly of offering to the fetich—a tree, for instance—food, drink, lemons, and palm-oil, as he himself must know that the tree made no use of them. 'Oh,' said the Negro, 'it is not the tree that is the fetich. The fetich is a spirit, and invisible, who lives in the tree. To be sure, he does not consume the material food, but he enjoys its spiritual portion, and rejects the material, which we see.'"* Here is the fetichist become a tabooist, supposing that the description of tabooism heretofore given is correct.

CHAPTER IV.

FETICHISM AS A RELIGION.

1. *The Belief in Fetiches.*

ACCIDENTAL coincidence determines whether or no an object shall be regarded as a fetich, as we have seen in the foregoing examples. The savage, however, cannot entertain a doubt as to the power of his fetich, for he has had evidence of this, and with his own eyes has seen how such and such an object brought about such and such an event: how the anchor slew the man, how the camel brought the small-pox. It is only after he has found his fetich powerless in a considerable number of instances that he is undeceived. But it is a very difficult thing for him, owing to the obtuseness of his intellect, to suspect that the true cause may lie outside of his fetich. Even if his faith is shaken, it is impaired only so far as regards one special fetich, while it remains firm as to all others. He bases his judgment on the most superficial grounds. Thus, a plague broke out in Molembo soon after the death of a Portuguese; the two things were arranged in the order of cause and effect, and as long as the memory of the plague lasted the people of Molembo were very careful that no European should die within the limits of their country.* When cases occur, wherein the savage, according to his way of judging, directly sees the action of his fetich, his belief is confirmed. "In a clearing in the woods," writes Bastian, "I observed on the side of the road a fetich-house, and wished to examine it more closely, but my black carriers could not be induced to carry me to the spot. As I alighted, to go on foot, they almost resorted to violence to withhold me from executing my purpose, and I read in their eyes, when I came back to them, that they regarded me as certain to die very soon. . . . Weary, I reached Quimolenzo toward night, when suddenly my sight failed me, and I felt myself sinking powerless to the ground. A violent fever raged in all my veins, and this continued through the entire night. The following day it was the same, and I was so weak I could not rise from the bed. My people exchanged knowing looks, as much as to say: The spell of the fetich is working; and they were quite sure they would have to bury me before night." † "In front of the American's house (in Shemba-Shemba, West Africa) there was a crowd of people assembled, in the midst of whom a fetich-priest was running up and down with loud cries, jerking hither and thither a wooden puppet decked with tatters of every color, and beating it with a switch on the face and shoulders. I learned that a knife had been stolen from one of the Negroes, and he had applied for its recovery to this priest, who was the owner of a fetich in high repute as a detective of thieves. The unfortunate god appeared to me to have paid dearly for his reputation, seeing that he got a merciless whipping to begin with, to teach him the necessity of attending seriously to his business. The priest having wrought himself up to a high state of prophetic clairvoyance, announced to the spectators, in a tone of perfect assurance, that the next morning they would find the knife alongside the fetich, which he posted in front of the factory. In the morning there lay the knife, for the merchant, disliking a continuance of these ceremonies for an entire week, chose rather to confirm the infallibility of the fetich, than to expose his property to the risk of being plundered, if the people continued to flock around his establishment." *

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* Halleur, S. 39.

The savage has never a doubt as to the efficiency of his fetich, and his faith is all the stronger because ever since he was a child he has seen every one entertaining the same belief, and so his mental fiber is, so to speak, saturated with it. Every one knows the force of early impressions; how the great mass of mankind never emancipate themselves from their influence, and how it is only after many a painful inward conflict that a man escapes from their dominion. But this absolute faith of the savage in the power of his fetich, disposes him to view it with dread; this dread in turn serves to exaggerate the apparent efficiency of the fetich and so to confirm more and more the man's belief in its power. "When a Negro has anything stolen from him he entreats some great fetich to discover the thief. The pomp of ceremony attending the consultation of the fetich oftentimes so fills the thief with consternation that he surrenders the property."[*] The thief being also convinced that the fetich has power to hurt him, gives back what he has stolen, or confesses the theft. "The rich frequently employ a Kassa potion to make their domestics confess their thefts."[†] In Great Bassam they merely lay a fetich-stick upon the body of the accused. If he is guilty, he is sure to confess; his fears will extort the admission.[‡] Beneath the threshold of the king of Dahomey's palace is set a charm which causes his wives internal pains whenever they are guilty of misconduct, and so they often find themselves constrained to make a voluntary confession of their guilt.[§] To this category of beliefs belongs the so-called *Judgment by the Lizard*, which is in vogue among the inhabitants of Senegal. A smith beats upon a lizard with his hammer; the fear of incurring the evil fortune which is supposed to follow from this performance is expected to bring the thief to a confession, and it usually does.[‖] Many similar delusions are recorded in books of travel. But especially noteworthy is the Obeah of the West India Islands, particularly Jamaica, a baneful superstition for the eradication of which the most stringent enactments of law have proved insufficient. Its influence upon the minds of the Negroes is so great that at one period it notably increased mortality among them; at another, stirred them up to mutiny, by impressing them with a belief that they were invulnerable.[¶]

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* Bastian, S. Salv. S. 104.

† *Ibid.* S. 50, 53.

* Bastian, S. 61.

Thus fetiches serve for ordeals, which among the Negroes usually consist of poisonous potions, or of emetics and drastic agents.[*] The fetich has power to punish the guilty: the innocent he will not hurt. As the fetich must come into bodily contact with the subject of the ordeal, the latter is required to drink fetich-water,[†] or water in which the bark of the wild manioc, or some other substance has been steeped. According to Halleur "fetich-water is prepared from the bark of the tree odum. It is supposed that, as this tree is always a fetich, when a person accused of crime drinks the water in which its bark has been steeped, the fetich enters into him and thus discovers either his guilt or his innocence. If the accused party vomits, it is a sign that the fetich has discovered his innocence, and is quitting his body: but if the fetich-water is retained, then the fetich has discovered his guilt, and will not quit him until he has been punished."[‡] "The accused may, under certain conditions, send a slave to take the questionable potion in his stead. Many, however, of their own accord apply to have the fetich-water administered to them, to be purified by the ordeal."[§] Very often the accused has the magical potion given to him without his knowledge, so that the savage lives in constant fear lest any one should employ this redoubtable form of fetich against him. The power of this spell may be estimated from the fact that the trading-post of Bimbia, between the Calabar and the Cameroons, and opposite to Fernando Po, which was at one time a missionary station, has become almost entirely depopulated, owing to the employment of the fetich-water during many years by the notables of the place on every slight occasion.[‖] Nor is the ordeal by fire or that by water unknown in Africa. In Madagascar the accused person has to undergo the ordeal of red-hot iron.[*] Among the Malay Lapongs the glowing iron is applied to the tongue of the accused,[†] while among the Antaymours the ordeal requires him to swim across a stream inhabited by caymans.

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[*] Proyart's Geschichte von Loango, Kakongo u. s. w. Aus dem Französischen. Leipzig, 1777, I. 167.

[†] Bastian, S. Salv. 61.

[‡] Hecquard, Reise an die Küste und in das Innere von Westafrika. Leipzig, 1854, S. 48.

[§] Forbes, Dahomey and the Dahomans. Paris, 1851, p. 55.

[‖] Boillat, Esquisses sénégaliques. Paris, 1853, p. 102.

[¶] Bryan Edwards, Hist. des Colon. Anglaises, p. 266; Waitz, II. 190.

[*] Winterbottom, p. 172; Köler, Einige Notizen über Bonny. Göttingen, 1848, S. 127 seqq.; Cavazzi, Histor. Beschr. der Königreiche Congo, etc., 1694, 94, 108 seqq.; Proyart, S. 141.

[†] Bastian, San Salvador, S. 84, 306. *Cf* S. 203.

[‡] Halleur, S. 34.

[§] Bastian, S. Salvador, S. 85.

[‖] *Ibid.* S. 306.

If a fetich which first owed its distinction to accident, displays its power again on another occasion, it may easily transcend the rank of being one man's fetich and be adopted by an entire family, or even by a larger aggregation. For in America, Africa, and Siberia,[‡] each individual has his separate fetich; each family, and even each tribe, their respective fetiches. The fetich of a tribe is honored with more pious and constant devotion than the inferior fetiches, as having for a longer period shown his efficiency.[§] Thus there are Grand Fetiches, which are regarded with profound awe, and which, in the shape of mountains, trees, rocks, etc., protect the chiefs or the territory of the tribe.[‖] The fate of mankind is by the American Indian thought to depend upon the belt of wampum. The chief of the Muemba is Chiti Muculo, "the Great Stick, the Great Tree," The center of religious and political life among the Wanikas is the Muansa, in whose honor the tribe celebrate roaring festivals, and which is to be approached only by the chief. This holy of holies is a wooden instrument which emits a peculiar buzzing sound.[*] The Grand Fetiches have their mysterious influence intensified, by being, as far as possible, withheld from the gaze of the profane. "The Grand Fetich," says Bastian, speaking of one in Congo, "dwells in the midst of the bush, where no man sees him, or can see him. When he dies, the fetich-priests carefully collect his bones, in order to reanimate them; and supply them with nourishment, so that the Fetich may anew gain flesh and blood."[†]

Nor do the Negroes regard the Christian religion as anything but the worship of a Grand Fetich. Thus San Salvador (called by the natives Congo dia Gunga—the tones of the bells—on account of the great number of its churches and convents) was widely known and feared throughout South Africa, as the home of a powerful fetich.[‡] The negro is so rooted in this mode of apprehending things, that he is ever returning to it, or rather, he never quite gives it up. "It has ever been the study of the missionaries to check the abominable practices of fetichism, and with the aid of the civil power they have succeeded in abolishing the worst features of this Moloch worship, though not in substituting any other religion in its place, and the Negroes have advanced only so far toward conversion as to use salt."[§] The only reason however that induced them to go even thus far was, that they thought salt would cause their children to grow fat. But they soon refused salt again, first because the ceremony cost too dearly, and secondly, because, as they said, the elephant grows fat though he uses no salt. "In Congo, where the ruins of churches have served to perpetuate the memory of the Christian religion, the natives account for their ignorance of Christianity by saying that the Desu of the Portuguese is too mighty a fetich for common folk, and so was reserved for the king alone, while his subjects had more comfort in worshiping fetiches of the time of Chitome, Guardian of the Sacred Fire.* A Christian priest is for them only a fetich priest practicing peculiar fetich ceremonies. "When the slaves, torn from family and friends, were put on shipboard in chains, to drag out a miserable existence over sea beneath a foreign sky, and in foreign lands, the pious bishop of Loanda sat on the stone seat at the end of the wharf and assured them, with his apostolical benediction, of a future replete with joys unutterable, with which the brief period of their probation here below durst not be compared. The poor Negroes understood nothing of the ceremony but this, that the white man's fetich now deprived them of their last hope of ever again seeing their native place. Their names however were registered in the account presented to the Pope by the society de propaganda fide, to be by him duly authenticated and submitted to St. Peter."†

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[*] Leguével de Lacombe, Voy. à Madagascar (1823–30). Paris, 1840, I. 233.

[†] Waitz, Anthrop. V. Abth. I. S. 149. *Cf.* II. 523.

[‡] Charlevoix, p. 344, 346. Lettres édif. Nouv. Ed. VI. 174. De Bry, Descriptio auriferi Regni Guineæ in Part VI. of India Orientalis, VI. 21. Oldendorp, Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den caraibischen Inseln St. Thomas, St. Croix, und St. Jean, herausgegeben von J. J. Bassonet. Barby, 1777, I. 320 ff. Des Marchais, Voyage en Guinée, Isles voisines et à Cayenne en 1725–27 par le P. Labat. Amsterdam, 1731, II. 131, 152. Georgi, Beschreibung, S. 384.

[§] J. B. Müller, Mœurs et Usages des Ostiakes, in the Recueil des Voyages au Nord. Amst. 1731, Tom. viii, 413, 414: "Les Ostiakes ont beaucoup plus de vénération pour leurs idoles publiques, qu'ils ne dépouillent pas et n'abandonnent pas comme les autres; mais ils les estiment au contraire, et les revèrent comme etant d'ancienne date et d'une autorité reçue et avérée.

[‖] De Bry, vi. 21. Des Marchais, I. 297: "Les rois et les païs en ont d'autres qu'ils appellent les grands Fétiches, qui conservent le prince ou le païs: telle est quelquefois une grande montagne, un gros rocher, un grand arbree," etc.

[*] Waitz, Anthrop. III. 190; II. 422, 424.

[†] Bastian, S. Salv. S. 82.

[‡] Bastian, S. Salv. S. 173.

[§] *Ibid.* S. 96.

As all the savage's thoughts and the whole conduct of his life are governed by fetichism, he regards his fetiches as absolutely necessary to his existence. Any rude shock given to this system of ideas and usage, causes emotions in the mind of the savage, as painful as those aroused in men of other beliefs by the act of sacrilege, and the hatred of the blacks for the whites is largely owing to the disregard of this fact on the part of the latter, and to the daily and hourly insults which they thus offer to the black man's religion. Bastian wished to take a bath in a river near a certain Negro village. As he was on his way he was met by the Mafooka, the oldest man in the place, accompanied by the entire population. "On inquiring what he wanted, I found that he desired me not to go any nearer to the water; and he promised that my name should live for all time in the songs of that valley, if I would yield to his most humble entreaty. I scarce thought it worth while to pay any attention to the absurd request, which I judged to have been made simply with a view to deprive me of a pleasure I had long coveted, so I told the gabbing old man to betake him to a warmer region than his own country, and ordered my carriers to go on. This however it was impossible for them to do, for screaming children in swarms grasped them by the legs, and threw themselves upon the ground before them, to block up the way. In heart-rending tones of wailing the Mafooka, in the mean while, struck up a song of woe, the effect of which was increased to the most painful degree by the chorus, in which all joined. The expression of blank despair was visible on every countenance. Poor people! Small wonder it was so: for the next day, on further inquiry, I learned that had I looked upon the stream, its sources would have been dried up forever, and their only supply of water cut off! Rather than bring upon my soul the guilt of so great a catastrophe, I preferred to return unrefreshed. . . . . As we came near another village, my carriers halted, and the interpreter said my coming must be announced beforehand. I therefore dispatched him to make the announcement. On his return he informed me that the usages of that country did not permit any one to pass through the village in a hanging-mat. To avoid delay, I submitted to the regulation: but when he insisted on my going through the same formalities at the next village I ordered the bearers to move on. They hesitated, and only resumed the journey after repeated commands. Scarce had we reached the first hut, when with wild cries the entire population, armed with spears, sticks and muskets, surrounded my mat-palanquin and began to belabor the carriers. In the mean time I had distributed among my coolies the guns I had with me for presents, and, alighting at the moment of the attack, we soon had an unobstructed passage. I passed through the villages thereafter without difficulty, and so I saved much time which else had been wasted in the observance of ancient customs. Wherever I observed that this disregard for ceremony gave very deep offense, I distributed a few gifts among the seniors to appease them."*

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* Bast. S. 96.
† *Ibid.* S. 98.

Thus the savage is the abject slave of customs which to us appear ridiculous; and so little doubt has the Negro as to the truth of his fetichistic religion, that many of them ascribe the contempt of Europeans for the fetiches to the natural stupidity of the white man.† Every Negro, even the sternest autocrats and despots, bow in reverence before the fetich. "Every year the Duke and Duchess of Sundi were required to wage a symbolic contest with the chief fetich priest, by the sacred tree in Gimbo Amburi; they were always worsted, and obliged to acknowledge the fetich's power." ‡ Even if the Negroes do now and then admit the absurdity of their faith and worship, still they cling to them because tradition vouches for them and they themselves know of nothing better.§

2. *The Range of Fetich Influence.*

The efficiency of the fetich is, for the savage, beyond all question, and there is no limit assignable for its influence. I do not mean to say that each individual fetich possesses this unlimited power, but that there is nothing which is not subject to one fetich or another. The question for the savage is what kind of objects may be employed as fetiches to meet various contingencies. Not to speak of the daily discovery of fetich power in new objects, there are sundry things which have long been known as *fetich* for certain defined purposes, and which, as such, are received by all. Now a fetich may be either friendly or hostile toward me. First, he shows himself friendly toward me when he confers a benefit, or when he preserves me from evil. The Cabinda Negroes always carry their little idols (Manipancha) about with them; commune with them in a state of high nervous excitement; counsel with them as to the future; obtain from them news about home and family, and have firm faith in the revelations which they suppose they receive from their fetiches.* Some American Indians carry similar figures, carefully wrapped up, in their medicine-bags. On solemn occasions they are taken out and treated with great reverence.† In short, no action of any moment is commenced, whether the chase, or fishing, or war, without first consulting the fetiches as to its ultimate success and as to the best mode of commencing it.‡ As in the ordeal, the fetich here appears as a Being that knows hidden things: in the ordeal, things past, here things to come. This is the original of the Oracles. On the Gold Coast the most renowned Oracle is at Mankassim.§ But the fetiches confer other benefits, besides revealing the past and the future. They bring "luck;" and for this purpose they are carried on fishing and hunting expeditions and when the tribe goes to war. There are fetiches for river fish and for sea fish; for favoring winds; for a cheap market; for health; for clear sight, etc.‖

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* Bastian, 60, 108.

† Livingstone, Missionary Travs. (Germ. Trans.). Leipzig, 1858, II. 83.

‡ Bastian, 204.

§ Bosmann, III. 281.

* Bastian, S. 81; Tams, Die portug. Besitzungen in S. W. Afrika. Hamb. 1845, S. 89.

† Schoolcraft, Information, etc., V. 169.

‡ *Cf.* Meiners, Allg. Krit. Gesch. d. R. Bd. 1, S. 176.

§ Cruickshank, Eighteen years on Gold Coast (1834), p. 227.

‖ Bastian, S. Salv. S. 80; Des Marchais, II. 130 seqq., 152 seqq.; Bosmann, 179 ff.;

"The usual form of a fetich specially intended for those on a journey is a ball of red cloth, within which the fetich priest encloses some powerful medicine, generally the extract of some plant (milongo). Further, the Negro suspends all about his person cords with most complicated knots, roots, bullets, and in a word any object that strikes his fancy. The Bushman who acted as my guide in Shemba-Shemba had an image three feet long dangling from his belt, which he never would think of removing. In fact, the heavier the load with which you burden a Negro, the greater the number of fetiches he in turn will add, to make things even." * The ordinary fetich is generally a very unpretentious object—often a couple of leaves from a tree.† "The poorer Negroes of the interior are often quite content if they only have a cord to tie around the calf of the leg. Frequently this cord is of matebbe, which, like plumes in the hair, gives invulnerability. The Kroo Negroes almost universally wear this cord around the shank, but more loosely than the Caraibs. The Catholic missionaries were for a while much elated with the thought that they had rooted out this particular form of fetichism, by substituting for the common cord one twisted out of palm-leaves blessed on Palm Sunday."‡ Among the Kaffirs the warriors are rendered invulnerable by means of a black cross on their foreheads and black stripes on the cheeks, both painted by the Inyanga, or fetich-priest. This contrivance makes the warrior invisible, while it deprives the enemy of his sight and fills him with terror.§ The Negro's faith in his fetich which renders him invulnerable and disables his enemy's arm is so strong, that he will court danger, suffer arrows to be shot at him, and allow his arms and legs to be hewn off.*

But yet some discretion is to be used in the choice of the material which constitutes the fetich, and the savage will very naturally suffer his choice to be determined by the value of the object he selects. The natives of Siberia prefer metallic fetiches to all others, these being, as they suppose, by reason of their great age, possessed of a longer experience and a higher wisdom than are possessed by other materials less durable by nature.†

In warding off evil the fetich does but exhibit the other side of his beneficent disposition. There are fetiches against thunder; to extract thorns that have penetrated into the feet; against wild beasts: to save one from missing his path, etc.‡ By being employed against disease, the fetich becomes medicinal, and thus also the fetich-priest is at the same time necessarily a medicine-man, or physician.§ "When on Fernando Po contagious diseases break out among the children the skin of a snake is fastened to a pole in the middle of the market-place, and thither mothers bring their infants, to touch this fetich. In the village of Issapoo the renewal of this snake-skin in the Reossa (market-place) is the occasion of an annual festival, and it is first touched by the infants born during the preceding year." ‖ The savage, being ignorant of the real cause of disease, attributes it directly to the action of a hostile fetich, and always judges death to

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Proyart, I. 167; Oldendorp, I. 324; Georgi, S. 384; Voy. au Nord. VIII. 410–414; Charlevoix, p. 340, 348; Lettres édifiantes, Nouv. Ed. VI. 174 seqq.

* Bastian, S. 80.

† Halleur, 19. *Cf.* Waitz, II. S. 186.

‡ Bastian, S. 79.

§ Döhne, Zulu-Kafir Dictionary. Cape T. 1857, p. 303.

* Proyart, p. 192; Bowdich, p. 364 seqq; Köler, S. 127.

† Voyages au Nord. VIII. 414. "Ils ont beaucoup de confiance en elles, surtout quand elles sont d'airain, cela leur donnant à ce qu'ils imaginent, une sorte d'immortalité, parce qu'elles ont resisté à la corruption du temps immémorial, et qu'elles ont acquis, pendant tant d'années, beaucoup de lumières et d'expérience.

‡ Bastian, 80.

§ *Ibid.* 81, 138.

‖ Bastian, 318, 319.

be brought about by witchcraft.[*] Against such a power naught can avail, save counter charms, to be obtained by the priest or magician from their more potent fetiches. It is true, the Mandigoes employ many wholesome medicinal agents—herbs, potions, infusions—but yet they generally make only external applications of them.[†] As a lock of hair, or a few drops of blood, may be so enchanted as to throw a spell upon the person from whom they were taken, the Kaffirs, in order to avoid the suspicion of such practices, are always very careful to restore such articles—vermin included—to the owner, so that he may secretly bury them out of sight, or destroy them.[‡] "In case of sickness they call in a male or female conjurer; and of these there is one specially qualified to deal with each special class of diseases. The conjurer undertakes to blow counter to the evil wind sent from a distance by some enemy: if, however, he is unsuccessful in this, nor yet can prevail with the aid of music, then he gives up his patient to the wicked dæmon."[§] "When a Negro falls sick," says Halleur, who describes the scene more particularly, "his relatives apply to the fetich-priest. After he has got their offering of rum and cowries (for without these gifts the holy man is quite inaccessible) he inquires of his fetich, who it is that has bewitched the sick man: for they believe that disease is caused only by witchcraft. The priest next fashions out of clay an image of the conjurer named by the fetich and carries it into the forest." This same course is followed by the medicine-men among the American Indians. They stab the image with knives, or shoot arrows into it, whereby the witchcraft is turned against the conjurer himself. It frequently happens that he who is the bewitched actually regards himself as held by a spell, and soon dies of profound melancholy.[*] "But," continues Halleur, "if the spell is obstinate, and refuses to give way, then the rum-offering and the ceremonies of disenchantment must be repeated, and the patient treated with remedies prescribed by the fetich, and prepared by the priest. This treatment is followed up till the sick man either recovers, or succumbs to the power of the over-strong spell. The corpse is borne about the entire village previous to its interment in its former home. Oftentimes the bearers, when passing the house of one they dislike, or on meeting such a one on the street, halt suddenly, pretending that the corpse refuses to go any further. The priest asks of the dead man the reason of this unwillingness to proceed, and gets for answer that the occupant of the house or the passenger in question is the conjurer that bewitched him. The man is at once arrested and held to prove his innocence, after the funeral is over. This proof is made by the administration of the fetich-water. The punishment is death, in case the suspected murderer cannot prove his innocence, or if, when proved guilty, he cannot purchase life for a considerable sum."[†] "When the draught of fetich water proves fatal to the party accused, the priests search for the seat of the enchantment in the dead body, and exhibit to the people portions of the viscera forcibly torn from their place and now unrecognizable, as *corpora delicti*, just as the medicine-men pretend to extract a splinter or a stone.[‡]

Among the Bambarras, if one of the highest caste of the Kubaris fall sick, the presumptive cause of his disorder is, that someone has, whether purposely or unawares, touched one of his wives. The offender, who must be discovered, and who is discovered by the great oracle of the Buri, is either banished or put to death.* It may, however, appear to the priest that the disease was due to the patient's own transgression, in having forsworn, or omitted the customary offerings.†

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[*] *Ibid.* 91; Halleur, S. 32; Waitz, II. 188, 503.

[†] Park, Voyage dans l'interieur de l'Afrique. Paris, an VIII. II. 27 seqq.; Cord.-Laing, Voyage dans le Timani, le Kouranko et le Soulimana (1822). Paris, 1826, p. 350.

[‡] Steedman, Wandering and Adventures in the Interior of Africa. London, 1835, I. 266.

[§] Bastian, 87.

[*] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amér. septentr. Paris, 1722, II. 39; Keating, Narr. of an Exped. to the Source of St. Peter's Riv. London, 1825, II. 159.

[†] Halleur, S 32 ff.; Vignon in N. Ann. des Voy. 1856, IV. 299; Waitz, II. 189.

[‡] Bastian, 85.

The fetich has power to heal bodily diseases; a draught of fetich-water can discover in the heart the proofs whether of guilt or of innocence; and it is therefore but natural that it should have also power to banish moral ills. During the festival of the First Fruits the men of the Creek tribe of American Indians used to take, after a prolonged fast, the war-medicine, being strong emetics and drastic agents,‡ while the women bathed and washed themselves. All offenses, with the exception of murder, were thus blotted out.§ It is beyond question that the idea of purification from sin attached to these ceremonies, but especially to the bath and the drinking of the "black draught" as it was called, an infusion of dried cassine-leaves. The taking of this draught was accompanied with peculiar rites; and it was intended also to "give courage and cement friendship." The Cherokees used a similar potion, "to wash their sins away," as they said.‖ "Though the superficial observer might here suspect a reminiscence of Christian doctrine, still if we look at the matter more nearly it will scarcely appear probable that so important and mystic a rite should have had such an origin, especially as we seek in vain among these tribes for any evidence of their having been ever in contact with the Christian religion."*

The savage attributes to fetich influence not alone disease and death, but every phenomenon he is unable to account for, as, for instance, storms and the changes of weather. He is thus furnished with an explanation for everything; and this explanation is entirely satisfactory to him. It is plain that this fact of the savage having ever ready at hand such unquestioned "ultimate reasons" to account for everything must check the development of his mind, or, in other words, must retard his progress toward civilization. For he knows *à priori* the cause of phenomena, and the means by which they are produced: hence it never occurs to him to study their natural causes and conditions: consequently he does not recognize the natural relations between things, and fails to discover that the supposed cause is no cause at all. His mind accordingly makes no advance, but is ever under the tyranny of hallucination. And every *à priori* principle has the like tendency to check the mind's development; for here it is all one whether it is the Negro that says: this is the work of the fetich; or whether it is the Mohammedan that says: this is Allah's work. A formula explains everything for them both, and by its very explanation leaves everything unexplained.

Fetiches also ward off evil spirits. When the women in Shemba-Shemba have occasion to quit their fields for a time, they strew them with fragments of pottery, for else the malign spirits would trample down the crop.† The Negroes of Whida post fetich images, five or six inches in height, at either end of their fields, at the doors of their houses, in their apartments, court-yards and cattle-stalls, being fully convinced that else evil-minded spirits or men would do them injury.[*] The same custom is followed by the Polynesians of New Zealand, Hawaii, Nukahiva and other islands.[†] Burying-places, too, are protected by potsherds and little images.[‡] A low, thin hedge encircles Negro villages, at a distance of about 100 paces from the huts, and this serves to keep aloof evil spirits.[§] A line of twisted bast forms a cordon of defense round about a Boobie village in Fernando Po. Here also the natives employ mussel shells as fetiches. When the devil would come to do them harm, his feet are lacerated by the angular points of the shells.[‖] Seeing that spirits have such fear of the fetiches with what dread thieves must regard them! "Over the doorway of the Negro hut are suspended roots and cast-off rags, and often broken egg-shells, as guardian fetiches. Others employ a block of wood with the likeness of a human face cut in it, and this they plant within the doorway of the hut, or in their fields; yet most of them are contented with a rather smoothly-dressed pole, on which they set a snail's shell, as a most potent fetich." "In a village near S. Salvador I saw wooden fetiches with lofty plumes, set up as guardians in front of the houses; in front of the main entrance to another village I saw an empty pot supported on a forked stick." "They have no locks to their doors, nor do they need them, for but rarely is there found a thief so foolhardy as to pass the fetich posted near the threshold."[¶] "The Negro avoids touching them, lest a curse should come upon him."[*] The following will show how dangerous a thing it is merely to touch a fetich. Captain Rytschkow, having entered a hut in a certain Wotiak village, observed lying on a board that was fastened to the wall something which he took to be dried grass. He approached to examine it, but scarcely had he taken it in hand when the owner of the hut and his wife, with loud cries of distress, ran to where he stood and begged him piteously not to touch their Modor, or household god. They explained to him how the most grievous misfortune would befall them if even one of the family, to say nothing of a stranger, were to touch the Modor. This Modor consisted of some sprigs of fir, which a certain aged Wotiak had alone the right to touch and to distribute among the several families.[†] But the guardian power of fetiches goes farther still: to them indeed the appeal is made, *Videant ne respublica detrimentum capiat.* They are the Protectors of the country[‡] and of its laws. "To give due sanction to a law, it is placed under the special protection of a fetich, whose duty it then is to punish violators of it, as also the one who, knowing of a violation, does not lodge a complaint against the offender." Furthermore, "when a priest administers an oath, he gives to both parties a draught of the *bitter water*, and this, laden as it is with the fetich's malediction, will slay the one who proves false."[§] The Orang-Benuas in Malacca have similar usages, and indeed they prevail throughout the entire Malay race, being practiced especially when they form alliances. They drink some liquid mixed with blood, in which a dagger or the points of arrows have been dipped; these will kill the perjurer.* The Burats pay special worship to a lofty rock on the shore of Lake Baikal. They who take an oath must ascend this rock, and on its summit perform the usual rites. It is the firm belief of the natives that whosoever profanes by perjury the sacred mount can never come down again, and that the mountain slays him.†

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* Raffenel, Voy. dans l'Afrique occid. (1843–4). Paris, 1846, I. 318.

† Bosmann, II. 184.

‡ Schoolcraft, Information resp. the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes. Phila. 1851, V. 685.

§ Adair, Hist. Amer. Indians. Lond. 1775, p. 105, 120; Schoolcr. V. 266 seq.

‖ Memoirs of Timberlake. Lond. 1765, p. 78.

* Waitz, Anthr. III. 209. Similar rites among the Kaffirs, II. 414.

† Bastian, S. 62.

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[*] Des Marchais, II. p. 153. Ce sont pour l'ordinaire des petits marmousets de terre rouge ou noire de cinq ou six pouces de hauteur; ils les mettent à la tête et à la queue de leurs champs, aux portes de leurs maisons, dans leurs chambres, dans leurs cours, dans leurs parcs à cochons, dans leurs pouliers; . . . ce sont pour eux des gardiens, des sauve-gardes à qui ils se croyent redevables du bien qu'ils ont, et d'être à couvert des malheurs qu'ils craignent. *Cf.* also Römer, Guinea, S. 38.

[†] Gerland, *ap.* Waitz, Anthr. V. 2, 225.

[‡] Bastian, S. Salvador, S. 107, 124.

[§] Halleur, S. 23.

[‖] Bastian, S. 316, 348.

[¶] *Cf.* Waitz, II. 422, 502.

[*] Waitz, 79, 186, 316, 78, 348. The same is related of the Loando Negroes by Proyart, I. 168, 169.

[†] Rytschkow, Tagebuch über seine Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen d. Russ. Reiches in. den Jahren, 1769–71, S. 166, 167.

[‡] Des Marchais, I. 297.

[§] Bastian, 293, 90; Waitz, II. 157; Meiners, B. I. 176.

Among the Africans, too, as among the Malays, alliances are consecrated and confirmed by being placed under the protection of a fetich. "At the conclusion of the meal, each Macota comes and kneels before the Yaga, who puts into the mouth of each a piece of human flesh reserved from the banquet, so that by partaking in common of the viand they may be all bound together by an indissoluble fetich. In Great Bassam, after the feticeros have ascertained the portents betokened by the entrails, the heart and liver of the victim sacrificed at the forming of a new village, together with the flesh of a hen, a she-goat and a fish are baked all together in a pot, and the entire community is required to eat of the mess, under penalty of dying within the year.‡

The fetich, by punishing perjurers, maintains the stability of oaths and of alliances. The fidelity of the savage depends upon his fear of the fetich: and were he to lose this fear, he would be free from every obligation. When therefore he would renounce these obligations, he must deprive the fetich of all power to do him injury, and break its ban if that can be done; or in case this is impossible, he must only disregard the obligations, and then depend upon gifts and sacrifice to appease the wrath of the offended deity. And either one or other of these two courses the savage in reality adopts. The spell of a mighty fetich may be broken by that of one mightier still; and an offended fetich may be appeased by gifts.* The priest undertakes to make the offering acceptable to the fetich, or to render him harmless. According to Cavazzi, the Ganga Nzi gave release from a sworn obligation, by erasing it, as it were, from the tongue, with the fruit of the palm-tree. Often, too, a fetich may be deprived of the power to hurt, by being imprisoned.†

The power of the fetich is great; great also is the fear which he inspires. Now, just as my fetich can do injury to other men, so may their fetiches injure me. The consequence is that I must be in a state of constant anxiety, and ever on my guard, for how can I say but that some one is possessed of a fetich hostile to me, which he may employ against me? "The savage anxiously scans a stranger, as the latter may perchance be the owner of a formidable fetich. He will be inclined to run away; or, in case he thinks himself strong enough, he will try to make away with the newcomer."‡ In this point of view the following occurrence is characteristic. One of Bastian's suite was attacked and robbed. "I sent a force to the Elder of the nearest village; and on his refusing to come of his own accord, they compelled him to come to me. As the attack took place within his jurisdiction, I held him accountable, and required him either to discover the robbers or himself to make reparation for the outrage. He protested his ignorance of the affair and his inability to comply with my demand. As I could not delay, I took out my note-book, to make a memorandum of the name of the place. So soon as I set pencil to paper he fell into a violent convulsive tremor, and prostrate at my feet, entreated me not to undo him with my fetich-book, for that he was ready to perform whatever I should require."*

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* Newbold, Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca. Lond. 1839, II. 395.

† Isbrand, Voy. au N. Tom. VIII.; Pallas, Mongol. Völker, I. 218.

‡ Bastian, S. 154.

* Bosmann, II. 54; Monrad, Gemälde v. d. Küste von Guinea (1805–9). Weimar, 1824, 37, *note*.

† Waitz, Anthr. II. 185.

‡ Bastian, S. 104.

Accordingly there are many tribes which have gained for themselves a certain degree of impunity through the terror inspired by their fetiches.†

"The ointment *magya sambo*, invented by Tumba Demba II., daughter of Donghi, and which was prepared from the body of an infant brayed in a mortar, made her warriors invulnerable, and so wrought on the fears of her enemies as to make them powerless."‡

The fortunate possessor of such a "Grand Fetich," which domineers over the fate and fortunes of others, will prize this more than all his other property. A woman held a fetich of this kind, owned by her, dearer than all her children, and refused the offer of five slaves, which was made to her for it.§

The hostile fetich may be concealed anywhere, and may be carried anywhere by an enemy; so that a man is never secure from danger. If the Negroes would take vengeance of any one, they get a feticero to bewitch a piece of meat or other food; and this they set in some place likely to be visited by their adversary, who will thus infallibly come by his death.‖ Accordingly the Negro, ever in dread of witchcraft, at every turn pronounces a counteracting charm. "The host must always first taste of a dish before it is passed to his guests, so as to 'extract the fetich,' and this custom is universal throughout Africa."¶ There are also other fetiches to meet this danger. "To guard against fetich-water, the more wealthy provide themselves with cups made of rhinoceros horn, which pass here, as also in India, for sure reagents against poison. In Bimbia the natives protect themselves against poison-water by burying in some remote valley of the interior a twig with which they mystically connect the duration of their lives, hoping thus to have placed the latter beyond the power of any fetichman."* Nor are fetiches themselves secure against one another, and so quite naturally you will see a fetich with a number of other fetiches attached to him, for protection.†

3. *The Religiosity of Fetich Worshipers.*

The fetich being possessed of such powers, the bestower of so many benefits, the defense against so many ills, it will be the duty of the savage without delay to choose a fetich for his guardian. Accordingly the life of the new-born babe is immediately placed under such tutelage, and the fetich thus chosen as guardian of the infant watches over him through life. But the fetich will not care for his ward except on condition that he receives service in return. He requires of his charge submission, obedience; he exacts a vow,‡ and imposes a command, which his protégé is expected to perform with all fidelity. So long as he is faithfully served, the fetich preserves his ward from danger and misfortune; while, on the other hand, disobedience brings down his wrath, and is surely punished: "In sundry parts of Africa the babe is tattooed on the abdomen immediately after its birth, as a sign of its consecration to some fetich." § "Within a few days after it is born the child is brought to the Ganga (fetich priest), who imposes on it one or more vows; and the mother takes care to accustom her child, from its earliest years, to the performance of those vows, and gives it such instruction as to their obligation as will make it easier in after life to discharge them. In some tribes, however, this mystic union with the Mokisso is delayed until the critical period of youth, that of puberty, when, in Africa, the boy-colonies, who then begin to be visited by the ideal dreams of youth, retire into the woods, and when the Indian lad climbs his solitary tree. Important occurrences in one's life are also occasions for acknowledging the power of the fetich."*

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* *Ib.* 225.
† *Ib.* 129.
‡ *Ib.* 234.
§ Cruikshank, 241 seqq.
‖ Bosmann, Guinea, S. 179.
¶ Bastian, 135.

* *Ibid.* 85, 306.
† Oldendorp, I. 324 ff.
‡ For the Amer. Indians, v. Charlevoix, 349; for the Negr., Moore, Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa, 91; for the Siberians, Georgi's Reise, 599 seqq.
§ Bastian, 77.

Among the American Indians a youth's "life-dream" is of high importance for his successful transition from boyhood to manhood. During this dream he receives a special guardian spirit, his "medicine," which he ever after carries about with him, in the shape of some animal's skin. The youth of 14 or 15 years retires into solitude and there abstains from all food for a time, so that he may dream the better. His dream discloses to him his future destiny and his fortunes through life; and the celestial admonitions which are thus conveyed to him direct his course down to the day of his death.† Many curious names owe their origin to these dreams: "Hole in the Sky" was the name of an Indian whose guardian spirit appeared to him in an opening in the heavens.‡ It is essential that this guardian spirit be seen; and the fasting and dreaming must be continued until some animal makes its appearance. After the dreamer awakes, he tracks an animal of the same species, kills it, and carefully preserves the skin, or at least that part which was specially observed in the dream, and this he always carries about with him. To lose it would earn for him the ignominious title of "Man without medicine," and bring upon him untold misfortunes in later years.§ Families and tribes of Indians have also their guardian fetich in the shape of some animal, as a bear, a buffalo, a hawk, an otter, etc., and the Algonquins called this fetich the Totem.* The whole species represented in the totem was exempt from pursuit. Its name was adopted as that of the clan, and when an individual was questioned as to his own name, he would generally, with a sort of family pride, give that of the totem. Marriage was not to to be contracted between those of the same totem, just as the Negroes of Aquapim regard two families whose fetiches bear one name as related, and so forbidden to intermarry.†

The vows taken in honor of the fetich are of course very simple, and have reference merely to external acts. As specimens of different vows taken in Loango, Dapper gives the following, in addition to a series of minute directions as to costume:‡ Not to eat such or such flesh, birds, fishes; such or such herbs, fruits, etc.: or if one ate of them, to do so all alone and afterward to bury the bones. Others bound themselves never to pass over water, even were the same in small quantity, or had fallen in the shape of rain, or had come from any other source. Others again were not to cross a river in a boat with their shoes on, though they might wade or cross on the back of an animal. Some were required to wear the hair of the head unshorn, others might cut off that as well as the beard, while others still were allowed to cut off only the one or the other. Some were not permitted to eat fruits, while others were required to eat all they got, and to refuse a share to any one, no matter how much they had.* The Yagas (a tribe of warlike African savages) imposed upon themselves, according to Cavazzi,† strenuous practices of abstinence, similar to those found among American Indians, with a view to render themselves the worthy champions of the sacred Quixilles; and they thought that they entered the strife in earnest only after the first captive had been put to death as an atonement for the sins of the tribe. The sanctity of the royal palace was so rigidly maintained among them, that when once a baptized infant was by its mother brought within the enclosure, the chief ordered the palace to be torn down, burnt, and leveled with the ground, for such a profanation necessitated the erection of a new one. The flesh of swine, elephants and snakes was forbidden to the Yagas, and they would no more touch it than would the Australian touch the flesh of his kobong. Unfavorable seasons were ascribed to the indignation of the gods on account of the people's sins. Thus these savages, who sucked the brains out of the heads of their living foes, and who, by public licentiousness, cannibalism and infanticide, violated every article of the moral code, even they had an ideal which they called Virtue.‡ When on the Gold Coast the members of a family separate from one another, and they can no longer worship in common the family fetich, then the priest destroys the latter and prepares from it a draught, to be taken by them: and so the fetich enters their bodies. At the same time certain prohibitions as to food are enjoined, the observance of which is a religious duty.§

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* Bastian, 254.

† See examples of such dreams in Kohl, Kitchi-Gami, oder Erzählungen vom oberen See. Bremen, 1859.

‡ Schoolcraft, II. 160.

§ Catlin, Letters and Notes on the N. A. Indians, 4th Ed. Lond. 1844; Waitz, Anthr. III. 118; Charlevoix, p. 346; Hist. Buccaneers of America. Lond. 1741, I. 116; Lettres édifiantes, VI. 174.

* Waitz, Anthr. III. 119.

† Bas. Miss. Magazine, 1852, IV. 327.

‡ *Cf.* Dupuy, Journ. of a Resid. in Ashantee. Lond. 1824, p. 239; Bosmann, II. 66; Proyart, 195; Bowdich, 362, 524; Tuckey, Narr. of Exped. to explore Riv. Zaire in 1816. Lond. 1818, 124, 223.

Thus each savage has his special guardian fetich and his own peculiar vows; thus, too, each has a religious belief peculiar to himself, and the principles governing his conduct in sundry contingencies are the reverse of those held by his neighbors. Consequently he must regard his neighbor's conduct as smacking of heresy, and his neighbor's person as a thing unclean. "The diversity of Mokissos made it necessary in the great caravanserai in the market-place of Loango that each person should bring his own cup from which to drink the palm-wine, so as not to be exposed to the danger of drinking unawares out of a heterodox cup." *

"In what manner soever the Mokisso has been selected, the whole after life of his worshiper is bound up in him. This is the source of all true contentment for the savage, and here he finds the solution of all those anxious questions which arise in his mind no less than in that of other men, who would be but ill content, however, with the very simple solution accepted by the Negro. The vow he has undertaken is for him the sum total of religion. So long as things go pleasantly for him, he is happy and contented under the guardianship of his Mokisso; he feels strong in the assurance of divine approval; ascribes to the divine complacency, his days of sunshine; indeed his judgment is strictly controlled by his wishes and desires. But if unintentionally or involuntarily he breaks his vow, the whole course of providence in his regard is at once and irrevocably altered. Then misfortune overtakes him; he is quickly overwhelmed with calamities, and his only escape lies through death and oblivion; for him there is no hope, no path leading to reconciliation and deliverance. The luckless wretch need not, in Africa at least, go far in search of death. The fiends who surround him, in the shape of fellow-men, quickly trample him to death, and with the last breath of the fetich-worshiper expires a System of the Universe, in smallest 12 mo. With the man perishes the god he himself made, and both go back into the night of Nothingness. Here, too, is shown the might of inexorable Fate. The devotee made the Mokisso what it was: but the Mokisso was bound to avenge the infraction of his commands; he annihilates his worshiper, and with him annihilates himself." *

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* Bastian, 253.

† *Ib.* 205 ff; Cavazzi, Relat. histor. de l'Ethiop. occid., trad. d. l'Ital. par le P. Labat. Paris, 1732.

‡ Bastian, 205 ff.; Cavazzi, *ubi supra.*

§ Cruikshank, 220.

* Bastian, 258.

But let us suppose that the savage observes his vow. "By studying the Negro when swelling with pride at his good fortune, we can get an insight into many other features of this kind of worship. His good Genius makes him overweening of himself, and he looks down upon his fellows with disdain; but he may attain a still more exalted degree of eminence, when by his virtues he attracts to his service still other Mokissos. With this view he assumes new vows, and enters into covenants with one Mokisso after another. His faith increases his courage and audacity, and *fortem fortuna adjuvat.* But now his rôle becomes hazardous, as it is difficult to perform the numerous vows he has taken;" † soon it will be quite impossible. But if he omits any, he offends and enrages the slighted fetiches, and the upshot of the matter will be, that he must follow the course we have already described.

The greater the number of the fetiches to which a savage is devoted, and the greater the number of his vows, the more will his time be occupied in paying them reverence. Thus only freemen, the rich and the powerful can afford to have many fetiches or to bind themselves by many obligations. The slave must bestow all his time and attention in his master's service, and the poor are sufficiently occupied in procuring a livelihood: neither of them have leisure for anything beyond the simplest devotions. The higher, therefore, a Negro's rank, the more fetiches he will possess, the more vows he will have to observe, and the more difficult will it be for him to live without offense. Römer fell in with a Negro who owned nearly 20,000 fetiches, many of which, however, he kept merely because they had belonged to his ancestors.* "The princes of Loango receive several years' schooling in a complicated form of fetich-worship, assuming new vows for each degree of initiation; and thus only are they qualified to rank among the Eligible Princes, who alone can ascend the throne. When an adult person is to adopt a new Mokisso, the Ganga is not governed by his own private inspiration, as he is when he imposes a vow on the new-born infant; but he puts himself in sympathetic *rapport* with the postulant, and hearkens to the words spoken by the latter in an ecstasy; and these words determine his choice." † Nor is this of little importance for the postulant and his future happiness. The Ganga might impose on him a vow entirely uncongenial to his tastes and inclinations. In that case, he would soon transgress against his obligations, and incur guilt. But the adult postulant has a well-defined character (if we may so speak of a savage) and the Ganga adapts to this the new fetich and the new vow, thus securing a good understanding between the fetich and the devotee, and insuring the happiness of the latter. Furthermore, "in the fact that the Ganga, in selecting a Mokisso for the new-born infant, takes into account the character of its parents' Mokisso, and seeks to establish between the two a sort of organic connection, we see the earliest effort toward a system transcending the individual." ‡ The power of the savage increases in proportion to the number of vows he faithfully performs, and of the fetiches who give him protection and strength. "Whenever the Ruling House succeed, by means of their fetiches, in establishing a strict line of separation between themselves and the rest of the tribe, they soon assume the most unlimited prerogatives. A prince of the blood may then at will enslave and sell an inferior, whenever he is in want of money." * "In the king of Loango, as being the personification of supreme human felicity, resides the most unlimited authority over the Mokissos, which are themselves the very expression of unbounded Might. It is his will that causes the sun to shine; by his command vegetation proceeds; a word from him were sufficient to annihilate the universe." † On the White Nile, as also in Benin and in Dahomey, a like opinion prevails.‡ For this reason certain exceptionally powerful fetiches, the Sea, for instance, are reserved for those who govern. "The king of Quinsembo has his palace, or Banza, some three miles inland, on the bank of the river Quinsembo, back of a line of sandhills, and he never passes beyond that line of hills seaward, lest the sea should come within the range of his vision, and he should see it. Were he to behold the sea, the consequence would be his death, and the destruction of the kingdom, as he is forbidden by the fetich to look upon the sea. Many other kings along the coast are similarly restricted, while others will eat only the products of their native soil, and eschew all foreign articles of luxury in their attire." §

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* Bastian, 254, 55.
† *Ib.* 256.

* Römer, Guinea, S. 62.
† Bastian, S. 257.
‡ *Ib.* 65.

The savage puts fetters upon himself, in proportion to the number of vows he undertakes. Thus, the greater his power, as the owner of many fetiches, the more numerous the restrictions put upon his liberty; and so the very fact that he holds unlimited power curiously enough proves in the end his destruction. The dignity of kingship, for instance, involves the service of many fetiches and the performance of many vows. Should the king prove unfaithful, he brings disaster upon himself and upon his kingdom. In Congo if the king's white fez fell off his head, the accident foreboded evil to the state, just as the Japanese Dairi, should he happen by a shake of the head to alter in any way the position of his royal crown, would thereby alter the heavenly course of the sun, whose representative he was. Accordingly, all watch with the eyes of Argus, to see that the ruler discharges his vows. Wo to him if he be negligent! Then those over whom the despot once tyrannized would in turn become his tyrants. Of him may be said what Bastian affirms with regard to the entire Negro race: "No magistrate can by his prohibitions restrict him in the pursuit of his favorite enjoyments; but he will voluntarily take upon himself the shackles of his fetich. No tyrannical despot may prescribe a code of laws to govern his conduct. He makes his home wherever he pleases, and does as he likes, provided only he does not transgress the bounds set by tradition, or depart from the customs handed down from his own ancestors. But *hic hæret aqua:* for these customs surround him like a system of intricate snares, which it is not easy to escape. The slightest offense, when proved against him in a Palaver, is sufficient ground for irrevocably adjudging himself, his family and all his goods confiscated to the king; and the latter will have no scruple in selling him as a slave to the first trader that comes that way." * On the White Nile, when the rain fails, the king is put to death.† Among the Banyars, too, the king, who is also the high-priest—*i.e.*, chief conjurer—is held accountable for national calamities; yet he does not pay the penalty with his life, escaping with a sound pommeling.‡

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* *Ibid.* 256.

† *Ibid.* 256; Proyart, 120; Brun-Rollet, in Bulletin de la Soc. géogr. 1852, II. 422.

‡ Palisot-Beauvais *apud* Labarthe, Voy. à la Côte de Guinée, 1803, p. 137 (German tr.).

§ Bastian, 33.

* Bastian, 64.

† Proyart; Brun-Rollet, *ubi supr.*

‡ Hecquard, Reise au die Küste und in das Innere von W. Afrika. Leipz. 1854, S. 78; Waitz, Anthr. II. 129.

In this slavish obedience of the savage to his fetich we may recognize an important educational element. The savage imposes duties on himself—he curbs his passions. Herein he renounces, to a very slight degree, 'tis true, his natural willfulness. His motive is no doubt selfishness. With a view to power, he lays upon himself the burden of obligations. Yet it is a selfishness that is under restraint.

4. *Worship and Sacrifice.*

Such being the power of the fetich, whose good-will brings prosperity, but whose wrath is fatal, the chief study of the savage must be to propitiate him, to gain his favor and to avoid his anger. Now the savage can pay to his fetich only such homage as he is wont to render to those who claim his respect and submission. He shows obedience to his fetich, by performing his vow. He resorts to flattery, prayers, gifts: in other words, he adores his fetich, and offers to him sacrifice.

A man offers prayer and sacrifice, either in order to obtain the blessings of prosperity, or in thanksgiving for benefits received. The desire of a tranquil life is the direct expression of man's natural instinct of self-preservation. This instinct remains unchanged, whatever may be his grade in point of development and whatever may be the means which he chooses for the attainment of tranquillity. All men desire *εὐ πράττειν*, if not in this world, at least in the world to come. Knowledge, however, varies and grows. With the advance of knowledge, the objects which in a ruder age were worshiped as conferring the *εὐ πράττειδν* are changed for others. Hence the objects of worship in the different degrees of mental development vary widely: thus we have fetiches, the stars, gods, etc.; and yet the expression of the natural desire of prosperity is ever the same, viz., prayer and sacrifice, though in outward form there may be wide diversity, according to the degree of intellectual and moral culture.

The savage pays worship to his fetiches. The Negroes testified their respect for the anchor. The Ostiaks do honor to illustrious mountains and trees by shooting an arrow at them as they pass by. The Daurians planted rough posts in the center of their huts, winding around them the intestines of animals, and the occupants of the hut never passed by the fetich without a prostration and a prayer.[*] The Circassians slay a goat at the grave of a dead kinsman, consume the flesh, hang the skin on a stake, and make it an object of worship.[†] The offerings made to the fetich are often of very trifling value, being proportioned to the wealth of the devotee. Thus the Negroes and the *early* Peruvians, as also other American natives,[‡] and the Siberians [§] seldom offer anything but potsherds, worthless rags, and worn-out boots and shoes. The Ostiaks clothe in silk their fetiches, which are made to resemble the human form, and to one side of the head they attach a bunch of hair, to the other a dish, into which they every day pour broth, which then flows down either side of the idol.[‖] As a sign of their gratitude, the natives of Cabende eject from their mouths upon the fetich the first morsel of food they take at a meal, having first chewed it: and the idol is left unwashed and in this pitiable state until the meal is at an end.[¶] Many fetiches have also localities specially assigned to them, where they receive offerings, and we find fetich altars of various descriptions.

Offerings are made to the fetiches with a view to obtain benefits from them. Thus the Negroes offer to their fetiches empty jugs when they wish for rain; swords or daggers when they are going to war; fish-bones when they are bound on a fishing-expedition; small shears or knives when they desire store of palm-wine.[*] The savage is most liberal of his homage and of his gifts when he is in straits, but often times the fetich is utterly neglected in time of prosperity.[†] Finally, offering is made to the fetich, in thanksgiving for benefits received, after a successful fishing-expedition or warlike foray; after a prosperous chase or harvest; after the birth of a child; after recovery from sickness, and escape from danger.[‡]

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[*] Voy. au Nord. VIII. 103.

[†] *Ib.* X. 447. Isbrand affirms the same as to the Burats. Voy. au Nord. VIII. 64.

[‡] Acosta, Hist. natur. et mor. des Indes occidentales. Paris, 1606, p. 206, 227; Charlevoix, 348.

[§] Georgi, Russ. Völk. S. 389.

[‖] Isbrand, Voy. au Nord. VII. 38.

[¶] Bastian, 81. *Cf.* Halleur, 32.

Animals and even human beings [§] are offered to the fetiches. On perilous routes and rivers the American Indians make offerings of birds or of dogs, sometimes binding the legs of the latter together, and leaving them suspended from a tree to meet their fate.[‖] To such fetiches as bears or deer they offer maize; and to a maize-fetich they offer bears' flesh.[¶] "In Bonny the most beautiful maiden is annually offered to Ihu-Ihu, or Yoo-Yoo[**]—a name denoting priest, temple, or place of sacrifice, as well as any guardian deity. Probably it here stands for the Sea, to which an offering is ever made on a fixed day. The maid chosen to be offered to the god has her every wish gratified, and whatsoever she touches becomes her property.[††] The priest who performs the human sacrifices, bites a piece out of the neck of the victim, while life still remains. When captives are sacrificed, their heads are arranged in a row in front of the Yoo-Yoo house, and the remainder of the bodies are cut up, boiled in a cauldron and eaten.[*] The Kroos also occasionally sacrifice prisoners of war to their fetich-tree.[†] "They have many festivals whereon sacrifice is offered to the fetiches. Even days become fetiches for them, some being regarded as lucky, others as unlucky. In Ashantee there are but 150 or 160 lucky days in the whole year, when an enterprise of moment may be commenced with any hope of success.[‡] On the Senegal Tuesday and Sunday are *dies atri*, but Friday is a still more unlucky day, and hence a certain Bambarra king had all children born to him on a Friday put to death.[§]

As a mark of respect for the fetiches their worshipers build houses to shelter them, temples. The Wotiaks [‖] and the Ostiaks [¶] build for this purpose miserable huts, but the Abipones[**] and the Negroes affect some small regard for ornament. Bastian gives the following description of an African fetich-house: "The temple was quadrangular, constructed of straw matting, the entire front being of wooden framework, with three arched doorways. Each of the two side-doorways was surmounted by a pyramid, while over the middle one rose a cupola; and the door-posts were adorned with figures in black and green. Within was a simple mound of earth, on which stood three forked sticks painted red and white in alternate stripes."[††]

The Yoo-Yoo house in Bonny is 40 feet in length and 30 in width. At one end stands an altar 3 feet high, and a small table with a vessel holding *tombo*, a kind of spirituous drink.

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[*] G. Loyer, Relat. du Voy. du Royaume d'Issiny. Par. 1714, p. 248.

[†] Charlevoix, 347; Bosmann, 445.

[‡] De Bry, VI. 20; Loyer, 248; Charlevoix, 348; Georgi, 389; Valentyn, Oud en Nieuw-oost Indien. Amsterdam, 1724, III, 10.

[§] Charlevoix, 118; Georgi, 338; Valentyn, III. 10.

[‖] Charlevoix, 118, 348. *Cf.* Waitz, II. 207.

[¶] Loskiel, Gesch. der Mission der evangel. Brüder unter den Indian. in N. Amerika. Barby, 1789, S. 53.

[**] Holman, Voyage round the World (1827–32). Lond. 1834, I. 378.

[††] J. Smith, Trade and Travels in the Gulf of Guinea. London, 1851, p. 60, 68.

[*] *Ibid.* p. 82.

[†] Waitz, Anthr. II, 197 seq.

[‡] Bowdich, p. 363 seq.; Dupuy, 213 *note.*

[§] Raffenel, p. 183; Mungo Park, Sec. Journey (in Bütner's translation). Nordhausen, 1821, S. 315. *Cf.* Waitz, II. 201.

[‖] Rytschkow, Tagebuch, S. 166.

[¶] Voy. au Nord. VIII. 103.

[**] Dobrizhofer, II. 99.

[††] Bastian, 50.

There is abundance of wine and rum in glasses and flagons, and on the walls hang pictures, chiefly representing the Guana lizard. The foreigner is waited on by a priest; for in Bonny strangers have ready access to the temple, whereas elsewhere he is excluded. The priestly attendant mutters a few unintelligible words, makes a mark with moist clay between the visitor's eye-brows, and rings a bell. A glass of tombo is then handed to the stranger, and thus he is admitted to the mysteries, and initiated.* These fetich-houses are in many parts of Africa, asylums, especially for runaway slaves; † and in the medicine-huts of the American Indians even an enemy's life is safe.‡

Having done due honor to his fetich and made to him such offerings as his means allowed, the savage counts with certainty on a return. For though he stands in great awe of his fetich, still the relation between the two is not such as to make the devotee in all cases the bounden slave of the object he worships; nor is the fetich, when the worst comes, the superior of the man. The savage is too wild and passionate to submit to such absolute control; and the moral character which he attributes to his divinity is not such as to make the latter a paramount Destiny. A man's apprehension of another being cannot transcend the sum total of his actual conceptions. He cannot conceive of a being as possessed of attributes of which he has never formed any notion. Consequently the savage's fetich will be what the savage is himself. Now the savage is given to falsehood and treachery; he is usually cruel, selfish and wayward. From what he is himself he judges of human nature, and these same data make up his conception of the fetich. From a moral point of view the fetich is no better than himself; like his worshiper, the fetich is a savage, and on occasion is to be treated as a mere savage. So, if despite prayers and gifts he refuses to grant what is asked of him, then he is to be handled roughly till he yield to force what he denies to entreaty. We have already seen how the fetich is pommeled in order to make him attend seriously to his business.* If the Ostiaks are unsuccessful in the chase or in fishing, they inflict severe chastisement on their fetiches for having led them away from the game, or for having failed to render assistance. The punishment over, they become reconciled again with the unfortunate culprits, give them a new suit of clothes and other gifts, in the hope that they will now do better. During the prevalence of an epidemic the natives of Kakongo entreated the fetiches for relief; but as the pestilence continued, they threw their fetiches into the fire.† The same was done by a Lapp who had in vain prayed to his fetich to perserve his reindeers from disease.‡

As the savage renounces fetiches which prove of no account, so he strives to get possession of those whose power is known. The fetich thus becomes an article of commerce and barter; and numerous instances might be cited of such articles being sold, exchanged, or even stolen.§ It is chiefly the priests that carry on this traffic; ‖ and both in Africa and in America the price of valuable fetiches is very high; indeed their owners are rarely willing to part with them at any price.¶

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* J. Smith, p. 60.

† Bowdich, p. 361; Monrad, 44.

‡ McCoy, Hist. Baptist Ind. Missions. Washington, 1840, p. 195; Perrin du Lac, Reise in die beiden Louisianen (1801–3). Leipz. 1807, I. 171.

* The Cingalese have the same custom. *Vide* Knox, Histor. Relation of the I. of Ceylon. Lond. 1681, p. 83. Also the Madagascans. Flacourt, Hist. de la grande I. de Madagascar, 1658, p. 181; the Easter Islanders, Georgi, 385; the Ostiaks, Voy. au N. VIII. 413.

† Proyart, 310.

‡ Hoyström, S. 319. *Cf.* Waitz, Anthr. II. 185.

§ Bosmann, S. 99; Atkins, Voy. to Guinea, Brazil and the W. Indies. Lond. 1737, p. 104; Charlevoix, p. 347. *Cf.* Waitz, *ubi supra.*

‖ See following section.

¶ *Cf.* Waitz, III. 214.

5. *Fetich Priesthoods.*

Starting from small beginnings, but gaining strength as it advances, fetichism at last extends its influence over the whole life of the savage. We have soon no end of fetiches and fetich usages, the knowledge and understanding of which requires study, and can be acquired only by the initiated and those who devote their lives to this special branch of learning. The mere layman is quite inadequate to treat of so complicated a subject without making fatal errors. Only wise men are competent to expound so abstruse a science. The man who knows all the fetiches and the entire ritual, is by this very knowledge distinguished from the profane and ignorant multitude · he is an eminent and reverend personage, as being master of many recondite arts all unknown to the generality. Thus if we take into account the low intellectual status of the savage, we shall see that those possessed of this mystic science will necessarily come to be regarded as priests, magicians, medicine-men, etc., or in short fetichmen—for all these terms have that one signification. The fetichman's importance and dignity are the natural corollary of the system to which he belongs.

The feticeros are sages. They understand the entire system, and are familiar with all the fetiches and the mode of preparing them, their respective powers and their names. In America it is the *Jongleurs*[*] (conjurers), in Siberia, the Shamans,[†] in Africa, the Gangas[‡] (different titles for fetichmen) that supply all the fetiches. That the trade in fetiches is remunerative we may judge from the fact that each Indian village has twenty or more fetichmen and women who thence get a living. In Africa, too, this trade yields a fair income.[§]

The fetichmen are also familiar with the ceremonies to be used in order that the fetich may be induced to exert his full power. They "know all the potent formulas for blessing the elements."[*] The safest course to pursue, therefore, is to have the feticeros themselves apply the fetich. Hence, the priest's influence is coextensive with that of the fetich. In assigning powerful fetiches for the cure of disease, and in applying these, he acts the part of a physician. When by his fetiches he constrains thieves, the winds, the clouds, spirits, etc., to do his bidding, he becomes a conjurer, or magician. Finally, inasmuch as he has special control over religious rites and sacrifices, and thus comes into close relations with the fetiches, he is strictly a priest. Yet at bottom all these functions are identical and are all implied in the one title of *fetichman*. The distinction, therefore, sometimes made between the fetich-priest and the conjurer is merely a relative one, as Bastian has well observed.[†] Hence among some inconsiderable Eskimo tribes a single priest will combine in his own person the various functions of the feticero, being at once physician, conjurer and priest, while under other conditions a division of labor takes place, determined by chance or by inclination. Thus in Negro tribes one fetichman devotes himself to the medicine-fetiches, and is a physician, another professes the art of rain-making, or some other branch of conjuring, a third is devoted chiefly to the ceremonies of religion. In North America the Jongleurs give counsel as to the manner of appeasing the fetiches or gaining their good-will, but do not offer sacrifice. This function is discharged by the chief on behalf of the tribe, and by the father on behalf of the family.[‡] The same is stated as to the Tcheremissians and other Tartar tribes.[§] On the other hand, in sundry tribes of Siberians,* Kirghis † and Negroes ‡ the conjurers offer sacrifice. The Calmyks § and many Negro ‖ tribes recognize a distinction between conjurers and priests, while in some African and American tribes ¶ the conjurers assume all the functions of priests, and *vice versa*.

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[*] Charlevoix, p. 346; Lettres édif. VI. 174.
[†] Georgi, S. 384.
[‡] Des Marchais, I. 296.
[§] Waitz, II. 196, III. 213.

[*] Bastian, 85.
[†] *Ibid.*
[‡] Charlevoix, Journ. Hist. d'un. Voy. de l'Am. Sept. p. 364.
[§] Rytschkow, S. 92, 93.

Of all the feticeros, those who are priests are usually held in the highest consideration. "Among the Yagas the Gangas have precedence of the Scingilli, or Rain-makers, and it is their duty, when a warlike expedition is to set out, to paint the Grand Yaga red and white, as he awaits the inspiration of the Mokisso, and to hand him his battle-ax, after he has banqueted off the body of an infant slain in sacrifice. When victory is proclaimed the Gangas obtain the trophies of the fallen enemy. At the period of the New Moon they offer the five-fold sacrifice, when, after the sacrificial fire has been sprinkled with the blood, the whole tribe join in a boisterous feast the victims' bones being carefully preserved for magical purposes; as is also the custom among the Tohungas of New Zealand. The Gangas have also to guard from profanation the Quilumbos, into the inner recesses of which no woman is ever admitted; and to expose in the woods the newborn children, as the army, like the corps of Mamelukes, is made up only of young slaves." ** Cavazzi, whose sojourn of 14 years in Angola and Congo gave him the best opportunities for acquiring a knowledge of Negro customs, describes a number of different classes of fetichmen with distinct functions pertaining to each class. The children of a man killed by lightning applied to the *Ganga Amaloco*, to get for themselves protection against a like visitation. The Mutinu-a-maya (Lord of Water) divined by means of a calabash cast into a stream. The *Molonga* prognosticated the issue of disease from boiling water; and the *Neoni* from revelations conveyed to him from his idol, through the mouth of the Nzazi. If these prophecies proved false, the priest laid the blame upon his Familiar Spirit, and procured another. The *Ngodi* professed to give speech to the dumb. The *Amabundu* could shield from harm seed sown in the ground. The *Ganga Mnene* could prevent evil spirits from eating up the grain after it had been harvested. The *Ganga Embugula* could by whistling overpower his enemies. The *Npungu*, the *Cabanzo* and the *Issaen* were associated together in the work of shielding the warriors from wounds, and took one another's places whenever one of themselves happened to be wounded. The *Ngurianambua* could charm elephants into the toils; the *Abacassu*, stampeded cows; and the *Npombolo*, all kinds of wild animals. The wealthy brought their deceased relatives to the *Nganga Matombola*, who by means of his magical figures caused them to rise from the bier, to move their limbs and to walk about.* "On the Gold Coast the *Wongmen* differ from the priests, properly so called. The Wongmen are possessed by the fetich, Wong, and any man may become a wongman provided he has learned to dance to the sound of the drum, to chant the songs which are sung when the oracle is consulted, and to perform the ritual of the medical art. There is another class of fetichmen, the Otutu-men, who also profess the art of healing, and who attend to the Ordeals. Then there are the Gbalo, or Talkers, who summon the spirits and question them. Finally there are the Hongpatchulo, who sell charms to people that wish a curse or an enchantment to befall their enemy. Besides priests some tribes have also priestesses. In the northern Negro countries, where a nominal Mohammedanism prevails, there is not to be found such a variety of priests and conjuring physicians. Here we find the Marabouts, who, in addition to their priestly office, practice divination and drive a trade in Gree-Grees, though among these are many who have nothing to do with such jugglery, and whose study it is to gain a name for piety and beneficence. Hence the Joloffs make a wide distinction between the true Marabouts and the Thiedos (Unbelievers, Atheists, mercenaries), who believe in nothing save their gree-grees."[*]

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* Gmelin, Reise durch Sibir. i. d. Jahren, 1733-37. Gött. 1751, II. 359, 360.

† Pallas, Reisen durch versch. Provinzen d. russ. Reiches. Petersburg, 1771, I. 393, 394.

‡ Oldendorp, I. 339.

§ Pallas, I. 359.

‖ Oldendorp, I. 339.

¶ Acosta, V. c. 26, 248 · Cavazzi, I. 253 seqq.

** Bastian, 95.

* *Cf.* Bastian, 201.

Among the Kaffirs, too, the Conjurers, Inyanga, are divided into several classes, the highest being that of the Izanuse, or "Smellers," who extract the witchcraft from the sick by sniffing; while the inferior classes embrace the cow-doctors, the farriers and the fellers of timber.[†]

The conjurer-doctors, or medicine-men, who are common to Africa, Asia and America, either blow their breath upon that portion of the patient's body where the fetich locates the disorder, or rather the enchantment; or they resort to suction, friction or pressure on the diseased part, until finally they drive out the spell, which makes its appearance in the shape of hair, splinters of wood, thorns, bones, snakes' teeth, and the like.[‡] They prescribe for their patients formidable remedies and regulate their diet. Should the sick man die they throw the blame upon him, as not having exactly carried out their prescriptions. If they see no chance of a patient's recovery they prescribe a course of treatment which he cannot possibly follow, such as violent jumping, or dancing, and thus they escape all responsibility for his death.[*] The Hottentot poison-doctors are famous. No snake can sting them, and not alone can they heal the bites of serpents by their sweat, but they can confer on others the same power.[†] A priest-physician in Congo had in his establishment five women to treat various diseases. His pharmacopœia, however, had but few medicaments for any complaint save for the *Mal Francez;* but abundance of magical formulæ.[‡]

As a matter of course, the fetich-priests are soothsayers, and the mouth-pieces of the oracles. The Lappish and Siberian Shamans divine by means of a ring which they place on the head of a magical drum. They beat a certain number of taps on the instrument and then observe on which one of the figures painted on the drum-head, the ring stands. Each figure has a special significance; and as this is known only to the priests themselves, the response will be whatever they choose to make it. Teleutian, Sajanian and Abinzian soothsayers divine by means of 40 small rods thrown upon the head of a magic drum; the Tungoos from the whir of tarrows shot from the bow, or from the vibrations of a tense bowstring.[§] The N. American Jongleurs set fire to pulverized cedar charcoal, and divine from the direction in which the fire travels.[‖]

In Africa, the Npindi conjured the weather at the intersection of roadways. "The Rain-makers have at all times, and among every people, acted an important part, and many African populations invested their princes with this dignity, which was often as full of danger for them as was the power over the harvests for the ancient kings of Sweden. The Emperor of China devolves upon his subjects the responsibility for his lack of power in this regard, assigning as the reason their wickedness. The hair and nails are plucked from the body of the Mani of Jumba, after his death, and preserved as infallible rain-makers. The Makoko of the Anzikos wished to get for the like purpose one-half of the beard worn by the missionaries; and would even agree to undergo the ceremony of baptism as the price of so potent a charm, just as the despot of Benin agreed to pay the same price for a white wife." * Bastian thus describes the manner of conjuring the rain; "The sky was overcast and the thunder rolled above the mountain-tops; but when I expressed my fears of a storm, my guide assured me that I need have no apprehension, as one of the officials who accompanied me was an accomplished rain-conjurer, and he had promised that he would not permit a single drop to fall. I was fain to accept the assurance, and the more so, as I saw my Zeus Aetherius rise to his feet, shake his raven locks, extend his hand menacingly toward the clouds, and point with his finger in every direction. My carriers, who looked on devoutly, thought the ceremony was now at an end, and made off with the tipoja (mat-palanquin): but scarce had we left the tree, beneath which I had hoped to be sheltered from the rain, when the floodgates of heaven were opened, and in an instant I was drenched to the skin."† Rain-makers are to be found everywhere in Africa, as, for instance, among the Bushmen‡ and the Kaffirs,§ who at first took the missionaries to be a new kind of rain-makers.

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[*] Waitz, II. 199.

[†] *Ibid.* 412.

[‡] Greenlanders, Cranz, S. 270–74; Am. Ind., Charlevoix, 264–268; Hennepin, in Voy. au N. V. 293; California Ind. Begert, 142; Natchez, Petit, Relations, etc, in Voy. au N. IX. 26; Caribs, Biet, p. 387; Gumilla, hist. de l'Orinoque Avigum, 1708, II. 185; Du Tertre, Hist. gen. des Antilles, II. 366 seq.; Brazilians, Lery, p. 242–47. *Cf. supra,* Section II.

[*] Charlevoix, p. 368. Des qu'ils voyent un malade tourner à la mort, ils ne manquent jamais de faire une ordonnance dont l'exécution est si difficile, qu'ils ont à coup sûr leur recours sur ce qu'elle n'a pas été exactement suivie.

[†] Steedman, Thompson, v. Meyer, Reise in S. Afrika (1840). Hamb. 1843, S. 158; Kretzschmar, S. Afr. Skizzen. Leipz. 1853, 167 ff. *Cf.* Waitz, III. 213.

[‡] Bastian, 202.

[§] Georgi, Beschreib. S. 395.

[‖] Charlevoix, p. 363.

"The wind-maker, too, is an important personage ever since the Negroes have become accustomed to use European manufactures; as any delay in the arrival of the merchant-vessels may occasion suffering to the natives. Inasmuch as they do not themselves tempt the deep, the conjurer could find no market among them for Lappish Æolus-sacks; and instead, he retires into his hut, which smokes and rocks while he is engaged inside with his redoubtable incantations, conjuring up the favoring breezes which shall conduct to their shores the fleets of the white men." *

Such is the power which the feticero possesses over Nature, over Spirits, men and beasts.† The common people have full faith in this power; and as the priest himself is no less a savage than they, his faith is the same. Should his incantations fail to produce the desired effect, he accounts for the failure by supposing that counter incantations have been at work, or that the ritual has not been strictly observed, and this explanation satisfies not alone others, but also himself. There are even at this day plenty of people in civilized Europe who tell fortunes, who practice necromancy, who profess to cure diseases by the imposition of hands and other similar means; and who are themselves no less deceived than those who employ them. The records of courts of justice and the reports of asylums for the insane are sufficient evidence of this. "The Cazembe now in highest repute regards himself as immortal by reason of his magic arts, and says that his predecessor's death was due to a want of precaution. He is possessed of such an excess of magic power that its superabundance would at once annihilate whosoever should come in contact with him; and there is accordingly a curious ceremonial to be observed, in order to avoid such consequences. This ceremonial would almost appear as though plagiarized from the animal-magnetizers. In their system it is called

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* Bastian, 116, 117, 118.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Lichtenstein, II. 102.

§ Campbell, 2nd Journey, 230, 236, 238; Thompson, Trav. and Adv. in S. Afr. I. 180.

* Bastian, *ub. supr.*

† Waitz, V. 1, 178.

Dorsal Manipulation, and its purpose is to re-isolate the somnambulic subject."*

Undoubtedly the priests are the first to detect the imposture and to discover the impotence of their idols and of their own arts. Still, lest the people should be shocked by the publication of this discovery, the priest will keep it to himself, henceforth acting the part of a conscious deceiver, from motives of selfish interest and ambition. With this view he will surround himself with a veil of mystery, and resort to all manner of tricks and fraud.

"The only kind of historic record to be found among African tribes is the traditional narrative of important events, and this is handed down from one fetich priest to another as a secret of the craft. Accordingly, when application is made to the priests for counsel, the knowledge which they possess of the past history of the various families of the tribe, gains for them the credit of inspiration." † They alone are privileged to hold converse with the great dread fetich who dwells in the recesses of the forest, and to tread the floor of his home, without being torn in pieces.‡ They are not men of the common mold; their origin is enveloped in mystery. Among the Dakotas the medicine-men and medicine-women first come into the world in the shape of pinnate seeds, something like the seeds of the thistle. Then they are driven about by the winds and thus come into relations with mighty spirits, whose preternatural science and power they make their own. Next they gain entrance into the womb of a woman, and in due time are born with human bodies; though after death they return to the society of the gods. After they have four times run their career in human shape they are annihilated. They may likewise be transformed into wild beasts.§ They can also cause ghosts to appear on occasion, to inspire the vulgar with due respect for the fetich and for his retreat in the woods. "The village was situate on the edge of a dense forest, and on learning that in the forest there was a fetich-house, I directed my men to advance by a circuitous foot-path leading to it. They stoutly refused, saying that not one of them could come back alive: and it was only by repeated threats that I could induce them to move. But as soon as the villagers were aware of my purpose, they surrounded my mat-palanquin *en masse*, entreating me not to expose myself to destruction: and threw themselves before the feet of my carriers, to prevent their advancing—a very unnecessary thing to do, as the carriers themselves showed no disposition to go forward. However, as I longed to examine a second fetich-house, I paid no attention to their entreaties, pushed back those that stood close around my palanquin, and repeated my command to move on, with some emphasis. The whole multitude then uttered the most pitiable cries. The women tore their hair, and beat their breasts, and the seniors rolled themselves in the dust alongside the palanquin, invoking the power of heaven and earth to check my progress. I was at length obliged to yield. As we went up the ravine which skirted the forest there went up a fearful bellowing, which seemed to issue now from one quarter, again from another, and which imitated all manner of in describable noises. The Negroes, terrified by this outburst of fetich indignation, ran in all speed from the locality, to escape from the wrath of the god: for there great Pan is not yet dead." * The Great Spirit of the Shekani and the Bakele dwells in the bowels of the earth. At times he comes forth, and takes up his dwelling in a great house which has been built for him, and there he utters such frightful bellowings that

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* Bastian, 293.

† *Ibid.* 100.

‡ Lettres édif. IX. 95; Dobrizhofer, II. 99.

§ Waitz, II. 180, 504; V. 2, 178.

* Bastian, 193.

women and children tremble with fear.*

The priests are deeply versed in the science of ghostly apparitions. "The Spirit-seers of America might get from African professors many practical rules for the converse with Spirits, which they could readily turn into hard cash. But they must make haste, for the courts of justice at Cape Coast Castle are beginning to shed light upon the mystic cloud of secrecy which involves Negro spiritism, and have already condemned more than one unmasked fetichman as an impostor. As society assumes definite shape in the colony, the more dangerous fetich practices are more and more brought under the control of the law; and the peaceable citizens adopt the policy of favoring and strengthening the Mylah ceremonial in opposition to that of the Obeah; thus, in the words of S. Augustine, patronizing *theurgy* in order to discredit *goety*." †

Nor must we omit to take note of the ceremonies performed by the feticeros. These are usually conducted in the most fearful style of wild and boisterous frenzy. In proportion as the rational faculty is developed, a man controls more and more the external bodily signs of emotion. His power of speech has attained that degree of perfectionment, that he can readily convey to others by that means all his sensations: he uses *language*. But the lower the grade of mental development, the weaker is the power of expressing in words the sensations and emotions of the mind. Clowns and children speak by means of gesture, and their whole body seems to express their emotions. With the savage accordingly, whose language is fragmentary, the lack of verbal expression must be made up by violent gesticulation. When the King of Dahomey would do honor to a foreign guest by chanting a song of praise, he must also give proof at the same time of his saltatory skill. When Bastian was entertained by the king of Shemba-Shemba, that potentate simply kept up a movement of the feet *a tempo*, and made frequent genuflections, in performing which he would slip partly out of his seat, and give his little cap of bast a graceful toss on his poll. Several nations resort to the mimic hieroglyph language of the dance.* It need not occasion surprise, then, if the savage, when under the stress of violent emotions, finds expression less in language than in cries and shouts, wild gestures, leaping and rolling on the ground. We have already seen many examples of this.† But whence does the priest or the conjurer derive his power over the objects against which his conjuring arts are directed? This power comes from his fetiches. They must endow him with the power they themselves possess and must in his person make display of it. Accordingly the conjurer becomes transformed, and pssessed of unwonted strength. He has to manifest the presence and efficiency of the Power which possesses him, and the expression which he gives to it, is the same as that by which he gives utterance to every strong and passionate emotion, viz., the wildest and most violent convulsive movements of the body. Maniacs are by savages regarded with great alarm, as being possessed by spirits.‡ It is perfectly natural, therefore, that the conjurer, when possessed by the spirit of the fetich, should become for the time being a maniac. When the priest has wrought his mind into the last degree of frenzy, he is judged then to have attained the height of his magic power, and to manifest to its full extent the dread might of the fetich. It is therefore the business of the priest to know how to arouse himself to this state of frenzy. If nature qualifies him for the task, so much the better; and for this reason the

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*** Wilson, Western Africa, etc., p. 391.**

† Bastian, 101, 85.

* Bastian, 56.

† *Cf.* Waitz, II. 205 seq. 223.

‡ Georgi, Beschreibung, S. 376; Gmelin, IV. 109.

priests select children who are epileptics, to be trained to the priestly functions.* "The Shamans pass into the state of madness by a super-excitation of the motor system, and at the same time often become the subjects of hallucination, accompanied by complete mental alienation, owing to spiritual excitement. By careful training, children of feeble nervous constitution are educated to pass readily into this state of alienation and phantasy, and so attain in this art a degree of perfection unattainable under any other conditions. Just as jugglers perform feats of skill which fill us with astonishment, though an anatomist will show you, from the arrangement of the muscles, how such sleights are rendered possible: so the Shamans are a kind of psychical jugglers, who have in childhood been trained to perform several abnormal mental operations, which we neither can nor would imitate, or even countenance. On the contrary, we suppress all tendencies in that direction as quickly as they manifest themselves. But there may even be *normal* mental operations well-developed in the savage, which we lack; just as we lack some of his physical accomplishments, for instance, the power of employing the toes in place of the fingers, for the purpose of weaving, grasping, etc.: a faculty possessed by the Cochin-Chinese, Polynesians and other races." †

This faculty of psychical jugglery is enlarged by hereditary transmission. Inasmuch as epilepsy is heritable, it is not unusual for the office of Shaman to be handed down from father to son for from four to six generations, and a Shaman is esteemed in proportion to the antiquity of his Shaman ancestry.* The dexterity of the Shamans in performing their feats of psychical jugglery we may learn from the account given by Carver. He saw an elderly member of "the Friendly Society of the Spirit," which is an association of fetich-priests, throw at a young man who was to be elected into the society, a bean, or something that had the shape and color of a bean. "Instantly he fell motionless, as if he had been shot." He remained insensible for a considerable time, until he was brought to his senses by means of very violent friction and even blows. And even then, consciousness returned only after he had passed through a series of the most fearful convulsive fits.† The witches also, in the middle ages, fell to the ground, as though dead, when forced to anoint themselves with their witch's salve.‡ In proportion as the priestly office, having taken root in society, becomes a heritable privilege, and as the nervous predisposition, which at an earlier period determined the selection of the candidate, is lost under the influence of prosperity, the more difficult does it become to bring about the state of ecstasy by means of convulsive operations, and then resort has to be made to sundry contrivances, viz.: deafening music, violent jumping, inhalation of narcotic vapors, the repetition of monotonous sounds, excessive transpiration, protracted abstinence from food, partial strangulation, etc. These methods are universally employed by fetich-priests, to attain their purpose. The Jongleurs of the American Continent practice such contortions of body, and utter such hideous cries, that not alone the spectators are filled with consternation,§ but even women and children at a distance are thrown into convulsions of terror.[*] By means of similar contortions and shouting the Shamans of Siberia and the African feticeros work themselves up into the state of ecstasy.[†] To expedite matters they drink tobacco-juice, or resort to exhausting vapor-baths.[‡] The Shamans of Siberia drink a decoction of toadstools or the urine of those who have become narcotized by eating that plant.[§] The highly excited nervous condition produced in the conjurer by his fearful bodily exercitations is so exhausting that many refuse to go through them, even on promise of a considerable reward.[‖] This artificial frenzy has such a serious effect upon the body, and more particularly the eyes, that many of the Shamans become blind: a circumstance which enhances the esteem in which they are held.[¶]

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* As to the Siberians, Georgi, *ub. sup.*; Patagonians, Falkner, Descr. Patagon. Lond. 1774, p. 117: "They who are seized with fits of the falling sickness or the Chorea Sancti Viti, are immediately selected for this employment, as chosen by the demons themselves: whom they suppose to possess them and to cause all those convulsions and distortions common in epileptic paroxysms; Greenlanders, Cranz, S. 268, 270.

† Bastian, Die Seele u. s. w. S. IX.

* Gmelin, III. 331.

† Carver, Trav through the Inter. Parts of N. America. Lond. 1778, p. 271, 274.

‡ Bodin, de la Demonomanie des Sorciers. Paris, 1581, p. 96–99; Malleus Malefic. Lugd. 1669, II. 69.

§ Charlevoix, p. 361 seqq.: On les y voit entrer dans des convulsions et des enthousiasmes, prendre des tons de voix et faire des

Among the means employed for the purpose of inspiring the beholders with awe we must reckon the attire of the fetichman. And first we have the conjurer's mantle and his magic drum,—apparatus which appear to be wanting to the Shaman men and women of Kamtschatka alone of all the Shamans of Siberia. The drum is a simple sieve, a sheepskin being drawn over one rim, and the inside of the frame having a lot of jingles and little idols suspended from it. The real purpose of this instrument—viz., to deaden the senses by its noise—is very different from that assigned by the Shamans. They assert that the gods and the spirits have a liking for this fearful music, and are attracted by it.[*] They therefore keep up a drumming until those beings make their appearance; *i. e.* until the drummer himself, by his violent exercise, has passed into the state of ecstasy. The drum is sometimes replaced by a staff hung with bells, or by some other noisy instrument.[†] The Dakotas, besides the drum and the clappers, employ a notched bone, with which they saw upon the edge of a tin dish: and thus they produce shrill, ear-rending sounds.[‡] Isbrand gives the following description of the Shaman's leather conjuring mantle: A sort of long coat (casaque), adorned with pendent figures of iron, representing all kinds of birds, fishes, and wild beasts: arrows, saws, hammers, swords, clubs—in a word, every conceivable thing that is calculated to inspire fear.[§] A mantle of this description is so heavy that a strong man can scarce lift it with one hand,[‖] and when the Shaman, clothed in this garment, leaps and jumps about with all his might, there arises such a clangor that you might well imagine you had before you some fiend in chains.[¶] And the remainder of his equipment is perfectly in keeping with his mantle. his headdress, the plumage of the owl and the eagle; the snake-skins and horns suspended here and there for effect, and the gloves, resembling the paws of a bear. African feticeros trick themselves out with the skins of tigers and lions. They daub their faces with white paint, and the rest of their bodies with other colors; or else they give themselves a true coat of tar and feathers. Then they suspend from their persons a number of little bells, animals' heads, wings and claws; drums, weapons, horns, herbs, roots, etc.[**] Thus weighted they

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actions, qui paraissent au-dessus des forces humaines et qui inspirent aux spectateurs les plus prévenus contre leurs impostures une horreur et un saississement, dont ils ne sont pas les maîtres.

[*] De Lery, Hist. d'un Voy. fait en la Terre de Brésil. Génève, 1580, p. 242–47, 298.

[†] Georgi, Beschr. S. 320, 377, 378; Gmelin, Reisen, I. 285, 397, 398; Isbrand, in Voy. au N. VIII. 56seqq. · Römer, 57, Bosmann, 260.

[‡] Charlevoix, p. 361, 362.

[§] Georgi, S. 329.

[‖] Charlevoix, p. 362.

[¶] Georgi, *ub. sup.*

[*] Georgi, Beschr. S. 378 and S. 13; Gmelin, II. 49.

[†] Georgi, S. 13, 378; Gmelin, I. 289.

[‡] Schoolcraft, Illustrations, Pl. 75.

[§] Isbrand, p. 56; Georgi, Beschr. S. 377; Gmelin, I. 397, 399; II. 83.

[‖] *Ibidem.*

[¶] Gmelin, I. 398.

[**] *Ibid.*

dance, howl, scream, and foam, as is related of the conjurers of Thibet: saltitant, torquentur in omnes partes, fremunt, furunt, strident, ululant, etc.[*] These operations they perform in the mystic gloom of some darksome hut, or in total darkness.[†] These conjurers often perform tricks of common jugglery. Thus they will perform a trick called "washing with fire," where they dexterously separate the fire from the ashes, suffering only the latter to touch their bodies; or they will tread barefoot upon hot coals, pierce their bodies with arrows, or knives, etc.[‡]

By such artifices as these the power and influence of the feticeros, which were already secured to them in popular estimation by their intimate converse with the fetiches, are enhanced enormously. The assistance of the fetich priest is indispensable on all occasions, whether public or private, and is always invoked. Hence at Fernando Po the Chief Priest, or Botakimaon, is "a weighty man in the state." Each village has its own Buyeh-rup, who gives counsel in domestic concerns. This Buyeh is, however, a far less important personage than the Botakimaon, at whose residence the Negroes assemble in the season of the Ripe Yams to celebrate the "Custom." It is the Botakimaon who crowns the king. According to Consul Hutchison (in his interesting work, Impressions of Western Africa), "the Botakimaon, previous to the ceremony of coronation, retires into a deep cavern, and there, through the intermediary of a Rukaruko (snake-demon) consults the demon Maon. He brings back to the king the message he receives, sprinkles him with a yellow powder called tsheoko, and puts upon his head the hat his father wore. Having once ascended the throne, the use of cocco (*arum acaule*) and of the flesh of the wild boar and the porcupine is interdicted to him."[*] The priest is also a jurist, giving judgment on cases where the individual comes in conflict with the laws of the state. "The only concession made in a primitive condition of society to the common weal by the Negro (who in all other respects is absolutely independent), is this, that he accepts the ancient traditions, and acknowledges their binding force: but now, even while he is determined that these shall place the least possible restriction on his liberty, he assigns to them a weight of authority which soon removes them beyond his control. He studies to keep them as far as possible in the background; he never meditates upon them, never strives to determine precisely what they are. The consequence is, that he is soon caught in the toils, and can extricate himself only by the aid of those who are skilled in legal technicalities, i.e., the priests. He thus is at their mercy, and becomes their slave."[†] In his capacity as jurist the priest administers oaths and conducts the ordeals. This latter function is in their hands an engine of boundless mischief. "As every case of death whose cause is in any way obscure, is ascribed to witchcraft, and the kindred of the deceased are obliged to avenge his death; the priests who conduct the ordeal are invested with formidable powers. The cause of death being obscure, the kinsman of the deceased has no course left, save to follow the directions given by those who are eminently fitted to be his guides. He accordingly applies to the fetichman and inquires of him what foe has done this deed. The priest ascertains during sleep or in a trance the response he is to make, and names the offender. Next the Ordeal-Water; or the body of the deceased, as the bearers halt before his hut; or the discovery of buried talismans, will put the guilt of the accused beyond question. By decree of the Palaver he is arrested, bound hand and foot, and hewed to pieces: for it is a religious duty, incumbent on every member of the community, to take part in the execution of the culprit. The tyrants of the Zulus availed themselves of this dogma, to further their political aims. On the faith of oracles which accorded with their own desires, they extinguished almost the entire aristocracy of their nation, and grew rich by confiscating the herds of the condemned." *

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[*] Cavazzi, II. 183, 196, 251. Same account given of the savage inhabitants of the isth. of Darien, California and Brazil by Wafer, Voyages où l'on trouve une description de l'isthme de Darien (*Apud* Dampier, Voyages, Tom. IV.) p. 176; Lery, 242, 247, 298; Begert, Nachrichten von Californien. Mannheim, 1712, S. 142, 159, 165.

[†] Alphab. Thibet. p. 243, 244.

[‡] Gmelin, II. 87; III. (Vorrede) S. 7; III. 72

[*] *Cf.* Bastian, 318, 319. Tsheoko is a vegetable product, obtained, according to Hutchison, by collecting a creamy coat that is found on the waters at the mouth of some small rivers, evaporating the water and forming a chalky mass of the residue.

[†] Bastian, 167.

The priest obtains knowledge of what is to come by inspecting the entrails of victims, or by revelation from the fetich. He may, at his pleasure, predict a favorable or an unfavorable issue for an enterprise; and thus may put a stop to measures of which he disapproves. It is to him also that the fetich makes known his wishes as to what he would have done; and then the priest can forward what enterprise he will. "It is the will and command of the fetich:" such is the formula in which the priest's own desires find expression; and thus they become a law for the deluded people. This exaggeration of the fetich priestly power is specially exemplified in the family of the high-priest of Whida, and in the Chitome of Congo. The Negro of Whida worships, as his greatest fetich, the sacred serpent, of which we will speak in another place. It is death to refuse anything to the priests and priestesses of this fetich. They may carry off for their fetich whatsoever they will — cattle, men, treasure. The high-priest rules supreme, the king being only the chief of his servants.† But this absolute priestly power attains its highest development in the Chitome of Congo. He is not honored as the principal minister of the gods or fetiches: he is himself a god, a fetich. His person is incomparably more sacred than that of any king in Africa: his power greater, and his house more jealously guarded against profane intrusion. He may commit what crimes he will, but no man can so much as call him to account, far less seize his person or inflict punishment. Without his will and assent the king can undertake no business of importance, and no minister of the king can assume office. Newly-appointed governors visit, with a great retinue, the palace of the Chitome, and with all humility beg of him his gracious permission to enter on their duties. The prayer is never granted in the first instance, the Chitome obliging them to wait his pleasure until they have backed up their petition with a respectable amount of gifts. At length he comes forth out of his palace, sprinkles the suppliants with water, strews dust upon them, and orders them to lie on their backs upon the ground. He then treads several times on their bodies, to signify that they are his servants; and exacts from them an oath of implicit and prompt obedience to every command of the Chitome. The humbled governors consider themselves in luck if the high-priest gives them a brand from the sacred fire, which he keeps ever burning. Such brands he sells for the healing and prevention of disease. A portion of all the products of the field belongs to the Chitome. It is by his power that the universe is upheld — but here, too, unlimited power has its peculiar disadvantages. For since the universe is upheld only by the Chitome, and, were he to die, would undoubtedly go to destruction, therefore the Chitome must never die. Accordingly, when he falls dangerously sick, his successor forces his way into the palace, provided with a club and a halter; with the one or the other of which the Chitome is dispatched, as

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* Bastian, 91.

† Bosmann, 458 ff.; Des Marchais, II. 144, 153.

he himself may elect. The old Chitome, having been by this act of high-handed violence put out of the way, his assassin is now Chitome, (le roi est mort: vive le roi !) and the universe is safe.* The Chitome is himself a fetich: all other fetich-priests base their authority upon the fetiches they possess, as do those of Whida, for instance, upon the Holy Serpent. Among the Kramantees a priest's successor is always that one of his sons who has the courage to take out of his dying father's mouth certain kernels, and to put them at once into his own.

Since the priests, by their conjuring arts, can do what they please, the people, when want or calamity oppresses them, attribute all their woes to the malice of their spiritual rulers. If they can but make away with the assumed cause, they believe that the effect will cease: and thus the belief in the power of the priest, which before brought him only advantage, now turns to his injury. The princes of the Kaffirs put to death all the conjurers they can lay hold of, whenever the country is visited by an obstinate and dangerous epidemic.† The Chiquites of Paraguay, having discovered that the priests do more mischief than good, exterminated them *en masse*. Still they continued in the belief that all diseases are brought on by magical arts. Lest, therefore, the people should be deprived in sickness of the assistance which used to be rendered by the conjurers the chiefs now practice the healing art, using the same forms previously used by the priests.‡ The extraordinary power wielded by the priests, makes them very bloodsuckers and tyrants; and the only remedy against their despotism is when the downtrodden people break their fetters, and take a fearful revenge. The arrogance of the priests of Whida led them to form a conspiracy against the king. But now the people forgot that a priest's person is sacred: the magnates of the kingdom, with one accord, rose to defend their prince, and a general and bloody persecution of the guilty priesthood was commenced.*

But the influence of the priest extends not alone to great affairs but even to the trifling concerns of private life. A man cannot take possession of a hut until it has first been exorcised of the powers of evil by the priest. For this purpose he must dwell in it for a season, purifying it by thurifications, and consecrating it to some guardian fetich.† In Congo he gives his sanction to marriage by giving to the pair two hens, to be dressed by bride and bridegroom respectively; that dressed by the bride to be eaten by the groom and *vice versa*.‡ When the wife finds herself *enceinte* she places herself and her unborn child under the protection of a fetich. "In Western Africa she makes an offering to the priest of a flagon of rum, and a certain quantity of cowries, and in return he fastens around her arm a bracelet made of the tail-feathers of a parrot." § "Between the 10th and the 12th year of their age the children are consecrated by the fetich-priest. The children to be consecrated assemble around the fetich-tree of their neighborhood, and then the priest offers to the fetich a white hen, by cutting off its head and suffering the blood to drop on the ground. He then distributes the feathers among the children, who form a circle all round, and lights a fire to prepare the hen for the fetich. The fetich gets a small portion and the remainder is taken to the house of the priest. With shouts and songs they then proceed to the bathing place, where the priest washes the neophytes and marks each with a white stripe. The ceremony concludes with shouting and singing."* Education, such as it is, is altogether controlled by the priests. "Every year the priests assemble the boys who are entering the state of puberty, and take them into the forest. There they settle, and form an independent commonwealth, under very strict regulations, however: and every offense against the rules is sternly punished. The wound given in circumcision commonly heals in one week, yet they remain in the woods for a period of six months, cut off from all intercourse with the outside world, and in the meanwhile each receives separate instruction how to prepare his medicine-bag. Forever after each one is mystically united with the fetich who presides over his life. Even their nearest relatives are not allowed to visit the boys in this retreat; and women are threatened with the severest punishment if they be only found in the neighborhood of a forest containing such a boy-colony. When the priest declares the season of probation at an end, the boys return home, and are welcomed back with great rejoicings."† The children are subjected completely to the power of the priests, and the latter appear sometimes to give this power a highly mystical expression. Bastian thus recounts what he heard in Quindilu from the lips of an interpreter:

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* Cavazzi, I. 254.

† Sparmann, R. nach dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffmung im Jahre, 1772 (tr. from the Swedish). S. 198, 199. The Patagonians acted in like manner, on the outbreak of the small-pox: Falkner, p. 117; Barrere, Beschr. von Guiana. Götting. Samml. v. Reisen, II. 159.

‡ Lettr. édif. Nouv. Ed. VIII. 339–345.

* Bosmann, S. 463 seq.

† Bastian, 78.

‡ Bastian, 88. *Cf.* Loyer, p. 152.

§ Halleur, S. 29.

"In the country of Ambamba each person must die once, and come to life again. Accordingly when a fetich-priest shakes his calabash at a village, those men and youths whose hour has come, fall into a state of death-like torpor, from which they recover usually in the course of three days. But if there is any one that the fetich loves, him he takes into the bush and buries in the fetich-house. Oftentimes he remains buried for a long series of years. When he comes to life again, he begins to eat and drink as before, but his reason is gone, and the fetichman is obliged to train him, and instruct him in the simplest bodily movements, like a little child. At first the stick is the only instrument of education, but gradually his senses come back to him, and he begins to speak. As soon as his education is finished the priest restores him to his parents. They seldom recognize their son, but accept the express assurance of the feticero, who also reminds them of events in the past. In Ambamba a man who has not passed through the process of dying and coming to life again is held in contempt, nor is he permitted to join in the dance."* Bastian adds that the Batheniers of the Sheikh Al-Gebal, in Bamba, are subjected to a similar course of treatment.

Nor are adults exempt from the power of the priest. When the fetich demands the consecration of persons to his service these may be chosen, as in Loango, in the following manner: In that kingdom "annually a stated number of men, women, and children, 12 years of age, are dedicated by the chief of the Gangas to the fetich Maramba. These then keep a fast for several days in a dark hut, and are then dismissed with the admonition to observe strict silence for eight days. Torture is employed to test their resolution: but if this fails, and they refuse to open their mouths, the Ganga conducts them to the presence of the idol, and there making a crescent-shaped incision on the shoulder, requires them to swear, by the blood which flows from the wound, that they will be ever true to Maramba. He forbids them the use of certain meats, imposes upon them certain vows, and hangs around their necks, as a token of their consecration, a little case containing relics."† Persons thus devoted to the fetich are, according to Halleur, inviolable: "They may do what they please, and may take what they wish: it is death to refuse them anything." The only drawback is that every year a few of them are offered in sacrifice.*

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* *Ib.* 30. *Cf.* Waitz, I. 365.
† Bastian, 85.

* Bastian, 82.
† *Ib.* 86.

The priests are the Sages. Their science expatiates over the entire field of fetichism and gives the rules for the preparation and application of fetiches; the formulas of incantation; the methods of performing juggling tricks; the doctrine of souls and spirits and the rites of worship. Finally, their science embraces a knowledge of history and of jurisprudence, as we have seen,—a difficult course of study for the dull brain of the savage, who strives dumbfounded to grasp the profound thoughts, and the lucid definitions of his Master. Thus, *e.g.* "the distinctions between Spirit and Soul; their relations with the body, their pre-existence and their future existence are as nicely defined, as the functions of the three Spiritus familiares in Cornelius Agrippa." † As is ever the case when the mind is constantly occupied in the contemplation of one object, the priest, who is ever engaged with his fetich, enlarges and develops the primitive conception of the thing. He originates a multitude of new fetiches, and proposes them for the veneration of the common people, who take them up greedily. He elaborates distinctions and definitions, classifications and systems: in his hands the popular belief assumes scientific shape. It cannot be uninteresting to study minutely this dogmatic theology of the savage: but we must not expect to find here anything like logical consequence; for the savage, even though he dogmatize, is still a savage, and consequently his most elaborate system will be simply no system. As was to be expected, the various systems of Africa and America differ very widely from one another. Of course also the adherents of the different schools do not reduce their controversies to a courtly war of words, as is our custom; they prefer to demonstrate their theses by hard knocks. Such debates are not infrequent, and many a skull is cracked in the heat of argument. Thus, during Cavazzi's stay in Congo, two schools of doctors, the Macusa-Matamba and the Ngulungu-Nbazi, were continually at war, because they adhered to two different systems of medication.* Similar disputes divided the doctors of the Abipones, as also the piaches (conjurers) of the Caribs.†

The common people, of course, know nothing of fetichistic science. The notions peculiar to that science are as little comprehended by them as the nice points of dogmatic theology are understood by the masses here. Hence the very terminology of the savage *savant* is unintelligible to the savage layman. The feticeros among the Negro tribes, as also the Angekoks of the Greenlanders are said to have a language peculiar to themselves, which is entirely, or in great part, unintelligible to lay folk.‡ Even our common people do not understand the language of the learned. The Dakota priests use a peculiar language; the words are those of the common language of their nation, but employed in a sense different from that commonly given to them. The chiefs also use this esoteric language, in order to keep the common folk out of their secrets.§ In New Zealand, Tahiti, Hawaii and

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* Halleur, 32.

† Bastian, 83, ***Aum.***

* *Cf.* Bastian, 202.

† Dobrizhofer, II. 84; Du Tertre, II. 386: S'il arrive, qu' une personne invite plusieurs Boyez (pioches) et qu'ils fassent venir chacun leur dieu, c'est pire que la diablerie de Chaumont: car ces diables s'entredisputent, et se disent mille injures, et même, au dire des Sauvages, s'entrebattent si rudement, etc.

‡ Römer, S. 80 ff.; Cranz, 273; H. Egede (Bishop of Greenland), Beschr. von Grönland, S. 122. *Cf.* Bastian, 153.

§ Rigg's Grammar and Dict. of the Dakota lang. Washington, 1852. *Cf.* Waitz.

Mangareva we find also a sacred language—the priests use this language, though they now understand it only imperfectly.[*]

To propagate the knowledge of fetich science, the priests are "usually attended by a number of disciples, who prepare the fetiches, and who expect to succeed their masters." "Women who have long been barren, or who have lost their children, are wont to dedicate to the service of the fetich the unborn fruit of the womb, and to present to the village priest the new-born babe. He exercises it, at an early age, in those wild dances with deafening drum-accompaniment, by means of which he is accustomed to gain the requisite degree of spiritual exaltation; and in later years he instructs his pupil in the art of understanding, whilst his frame is racked with convulsions, the inspirations of the demon, and of giving fitting responses to questions proposed."[†] The Shamans, too, have their disciples; and Negro priests receive fees for instruction in their magical arts.[‡]

This priestly science, which makes its possessors men of redoubtable power, is kept a secret among themselves. It is only for the Initiated. Having thus doctrines in common, and being attached to one system, the priests constitute a society apart, a fraternity; an order, whose secrets are known only to the initiated, and whose mysterious power inspires the uninitiated with fear and terror. Such secret associations of priests are found in the organized priestly classes of Cabende and Loango.[§] "To the South of Congo, we find a complete fetich-system only in Bamba. The king of Bamba, who was once the generalissimo of the kingdom of Congo, now lives in an almost inaccessible mountain district, entirely isolated from Portuguese influence, and permits no foreigner to enter his banza. Here is found one of those systems of religious mystery which exercise so fearful an influence along the western coast from Cameroons as far as the Gambia." The central object in this system is the Grand Fetich, already mentioned, who lives in the heart of the bush, perfectly inaccessible to all, who "usually conceals the mysteries of his worship in some remote cavern, but who also reserves to himself some localities lying near the highway, so as to remind terrified wayfarers of his power as often as they see the tokens of his occupancy."[*] In America too similar mystic fraternities are found.

New members are admitted only after a noviceship and probation of from one to ten years. When the candidate has given evidence of his fitness for promotion, by his observance of protracted fasts, by the performance of the frantic dances, by the violence of his convulsive paroxysms, and by drinking tobacco-juice, he is advanced by due degrees to full membership. Among the Caribs, the disciples of the Piaches receive full consecration as priests only after they have attained the age of 30 or 35 years.

The brethren form an alliance for mutual protection and defense, and their fidelity to one another is assured by the fact that the apostate is pursued with unrelenting hate.[†] The Dakota Indians have similar associations, whose mysteries consist of dances known only to the initiated.[‡]

The barbarous style in which these mysteries are celebrated, and instruction conveyed to the candidates, may be seen from the account which Bastian gives of the Yagas: "So soon as the death of the Yaga at Cassange became known throughout the country, the people and the Maquitas gathered around his corpse, which was seated on a high throne, arrayed in the feather-ornaments proper to a prince, and holding in its hand the Rilunga. They begged him to name his successor. Amid the din of uproarious music, the spirit of the deceased entered into the representative of the family of the Tendallas, who was lineally descended from the brother of the founder of the kingdom, and, in the ecstasy of wild inspirations, guided his hand to select the Chosen One out of the entire assembly. At once all the priests surrounded the Yaga-elect, and carried him off into the gloomy recesses of a distant forest, into which a layman could penetrate only at the cost of his life. In the mean time Magnates attended to the funeral rites of the dead Yaga, and after breaking out a tooth, which was regarded as something holy, they immured the body together with two of the favorite wives of the deceased, in a sepulchre previously drenched with the blood of a boy and a girl. The new Yaga, while receiving instructions in the fearful mysteries of the Catondos, was obliged to witness dark deeds of murder, so that his heart would not shudder at the contact of death, and was taught the poisonous and medicinal properties of herbs. At the end of one year he entered upon his office. All workmen who understand anything of the builder's art assemble to erect for him a palace. But before the work can be commenced, blood must be shed, to give firmness to the foundation-stone, and the one who is chosen to be the victim has his eyes and mouth carefully bandaged, lest a look or a cry should excite the compassion of the Yaga—for the slightest emotion of human feeling would break the spell, and bring down upon his head the wrath of his forefathers. His breast is steeled against pity; the head, as it is struck off, rolls into the stream, and the Yaga walks four times through the pool of blood which has flowed from the victim, and washes therein his feet and his whole person. He then plants his banner on the spot where his throne is to stand, and work on the palace begins. When it is completed, the new Yaga shows himself to the people, who receive him with loud cheering. On the evening of the third day the prince (Yaga) summons the magnates to his residence, and then takes place that banquet, of which we have already made mention, where by partaking in common of human flesh they are bound to one another by an inviolable fetich." *

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[*] Thomson, Story of N. Zealand. Lond. 1859, I. 80; Chamisso, 46; Moerenhout, 273; Voy. aux îles du grand ocean. Par. 1837, I. 484. *Cf.* Waitz, V. 2, 226 ff.

[†] Bastian, 85, 100.

[‡] Cavazzi, II. 220, I. 294.

[§] Bastian, 81.

[*] *Ib.* 82, 50.

[†] *Vide* Carver, p. 272; Charlevoix, 363; Du Tertre, II. 367 seq.; Biet, III. IV. 386, 387; Lafiteau, I. 336–344.

[‡] Keating, I. 283.

Among the American Indians the religious mysteries of the various orders and secret associations of the priests are held in the highest veneration; but they lay most stress upon the art of conjuring spirits. Schoolcraft mentions three such associations, the Jossakeed, the Meda (Meday, Midé) and the Wabeno; the second of which is best known. "To the Meday belong individuals of different tribes and tongues: all are admitted without distinction to the assembly (of the order) provided they are acquainted with the Meday ritual.† The chief festival of the order is the Medawin; which, however, the Sioux keep in a manner slightly different from the Chippeways. The songs sung at this festival are preserved in symbolic pictures which form a secret written language. These writings can be deciphered only by the initiated, who are acquainted with the true signification of the pictures and who know the songs by heart, the symbols serving merely to suggest their general tenor. The right of membership in this association, which is granted even to young children, is conferred in a hut specially built for the purpose. On this occasion a priest makes an oration upon the goodness of the Great Spirit; then follows a procession of the members in a circle, with their medicine-bags, and the candidate receives in the face a puff of air from out of the bags. The power of the conjuring-

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* Bastian, 150–154.

† Copway, Traditional Hist. of the Ojibway Nation. Lond. 1850, p. 168.

devil thus prostrates him as though he were dead: but another puff restores him. He then gets a medicine-bag of his own; with it is conferred on him the power of a Meday; and he at once puts his power to the test, touching others with the medicine-bag, which causes them to fall prostrate. When the candidate is a child he is set before each of the medicine-bags in turn, and he gets a new name in addition to his own, which he ever after bears as a member of the society." *

The power of these secret associations is so great that, like the Vehmgericht, their judgments and their penalties, which are ever executed with promptness and vigor, affect not alone their own members, but the people in general. They constitute an invisible police, that with its thousand eyes beholds every hidden thing, and in the face of which no man considers himself secure. The effectiveness of the police of Old Calabar, administered by the Egboords, has sometimes led European police-captains to seek admission into the lower grades; † for all, even slaves, may purchase admission, though the latter can enter only the inferior grades. On the great festival of Egbo, masked men go about the streets, armed with whips, drag offenders forth from their hiding-places and inflict punishment. On that day women are not permitted to quit their houses. The power of the order is felt along the Gold Coast and the Slave Coast.‡ The terror of the Vehmgericht of the Belli-Paaro was spread throughout the old kingdom of Quoja. Now members were adopted only every twenty-five years, to keep up the association. Those who were cited to appear before this tribunal appeared thickly veiled, for a fearful death awaited whosoever with unhallowed eyes looked on the spirits who surrounded him there. When after three years of novitiate (concerning which the most direful stories were current among the common people) the new adept was for the first time suffered to quit the gloomy forest and to see the light of the sun, he made himself known to the Masters of the Society as a Brother by executing the figures of the Belli dance. He then took the brotherhood's "oath of vengeance."

We cannot determine whether, or how far, the African Purra and Semo associations are of a religious nature. Waitz gives this description of them: "Among the Mandingoes, especially those in the region of Sherbro, the Veis, the Timmanis and other tribes, the Purra association takes a very important part in the administration of justice. The Purra is a secret society, the nature of which is still obscure: so much however is known, that it is a kind of secret police, a secret tribunal, punishing theft, witchcraft and other secret misdeeds. Its ministers go masked, and surprise and seize culprits by night. Naturally this occasions grave abuses, still no man durst make any resistance. The society requires absolute obedience from its members and is made up of warriors divided into sundry classes. If any one by chance comes to a knowledge of their secrets, he is adopted a member by a terrible ceremonial, and threatened with death, should he divulge anything. Two parallel lines tattooed on the body are the insignia of membership. The Purra has also been described as a common federal tribunal having jurisdiction over different nations, and whose judgment is invoked in case of quarrels. The Purra then acts as judge or as mediator, and taking sides with one or other of the parties, decides the quarrel. The Semo among the Susus appears to resemble the Purra, and to have a similar purpose. The Semo has a sacred language peculiar to itself. Though Caillie * has written a long account of this associa-

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* Schoolcraft, V. 430 seqq.: Kohl, I. 59, II. 71; Waitz, III. 215.

† Bastian, 294.

‡ Holman, I. 392.

* Caillie, Journ. d'un Voy. a Temboctou, etc. (1824–28), I. 228.

tion, still we know absolutely nothing of its true nature."[*] (Waitz, II. 135.)

6. *Fetichism among Non-Savages.*

The human mind, in its various stages of progress, must always exhibit phenomena answering to the degree of development to which it has attained. Even where a higher grade of intelligence generally prevails, still the lower grades will not be entirely excluded, for the whole community will not have reached the same degree of development, individuals differing from one another very widely in this respect. Even in civilized countries you will find those who are essentially no better than Bushmen or Negroes in point of mental culture, albeit in outward seeming they differ as widely from the savage as our world differs from that of the Bushman. The difference between the fetich-worshiper κατ' ἐξοχὴν and the fetich-worshiper as he is found in civilized countries is just this: the former is simply, or at least primarily, a fetichist, but the latter is primarily something different, though secondarily he is a fetichist. He would be as thorough a fetichist as the other, were it not that he is something else besides a fetichist, and so his energies cannot all tend to fetichism. Our next chapter will treat of the fetichism which prevailed among our heathen forefathers.

Here are a few examples. Suppose a hunter has repeatedly met with extraordinary good-luck in the chase when he wore in his hat a conspicuously beautiful feather, and that, on a few occasions when the feather was wanting, he had no success at all. He will in the future, for luck, plant such a feather in his hat. Now the hunter will have his faith in the potency of his fetich increased in proportion as his assurance of good luck, which he gets from the sight of the feather and his conviction of its efficacy, increases his confidence in himself, and so adds to his dexterity: *possunt, quia posse videntur.* Some people take an umbrella with them, *so that it may not rain.* In short we need but run over the list of our popular superstitions, in order to see how far the fetichistic apprehension of object still endures amongst us. Thus, for instance, on every page of the Appendix to Grimm's "Mythologie" we meet with fetichism displaying all its characteristic features. I select only the following instances:

Useful fetiches: "If a man finds a horseshoe, or a piece of one, he is in luck.[*] He who takes in a large sum of money must mix with it a quantity of chalk, and then wicked people cannot take it back. (The fetich as caretaker.[†]) If a man eats a raw egg on Christmas morning, he will be able to carry heavy loads. Swallows' nests and crickets bring good luck to a house. If one finds a treasure, he must not cover it over with any garment used to cover the body, or he is a dead man: he must cover it with a pocket handkerchief, or with a crust of bread. Chase a hen thrice around a table, and mix with her food fragments of wood from three corners of a table, and she will stay at home. Fetich-medicine: Rain water will make children speak at an early age. A pulled tooth is to be driven into a young tree, and covered with the bark. If the tree be cut down, the ache comes back. If you break a twig off a willow, and drive it into the aching tooth until the blood comes, and then restore the twig to its place, drawing the bark over it, the toothache goes away. The head of a mouse, bitten off from the body, or cut off with a knife of gold, assists a child in teething, when it is hung about his neck. If one is troubled with catarrh, let him drink a glass of water with a three-pronged fork. To cure debility in children: their urine is to be caught in a new pot: into this is to be put the egg of a coal-black hen bought without chaffering: the egg to be pierced with nine holes: the pot, wrapped in a linen cloth, to be buried after sunset, in an ant-hill that has been discovered without search. If any one afterward find the pot, he must not make any use of it, else he will take the complaint that was buried. Maleficent fetiches: It is unlucky to walk over *sweepings*. Fetich oracles: the grave-digger's mattock rattles when a new grave is to be dug. Charms and counter-charms: If one goes out of doors unwashed, he is easily bewitched. Never throw into the street hair that has come out in combing, or you will be always in danger from witchcraft. Old women often cut out a sod a foot long that has just been trod by their enemy: this they hang up in the chimney, and so cause their enemy to pine away. The whirlwind is caused by witches: throw a knife into the whirl and you will see them at work. Witches can produce rain and thunder: they can also raise winds to carry off linen that is bleaching, and hay that is curing in the sun. In the springtime when the cattle are first driven afield, axes, hatchets, saws and other iron implements are placed before the door of the barn; thus the cattle are guarded against witchcraft. When water is bewitched, and will not boil, place under the pot three sticks of different kinds of wood. A shirt spun by a girl of five to seven years of age is a sure protection against witchcraft. If your beast has been bewitched, go to the stable at midnight, and you will find on its back a straw: put the straw in a sack, call in the neighbors and give the sack a thrashing; the sack will then be seen to swell and the witch will utter a shriek. Our ancestors did not compare very favorably with savages: their treatment of witches was more cruel than the ferocity of any savages toward their conjurers; and the blazing fires of the Christian middle ages, lighted for the torturing of witches, were supposed to be the ministers of a Holy Spirit. Such blasphemy as this cannot be imputed to the savage. When we call to mind the rude and undeveloped state of intellect in which fetichism takes its rise, what a fearful light is thrown by these medieval phenomena upon the intellectual status of our forefathers whom it is still, in some quarters, the fashion to praise and to admire! Shall I recount the pitiable absurdities, the gossip of the dairy and of the spinning-room, which were held by judges who pored day and night over their musty folios evidence sufficient to justify them in tearing away from the bosom of their families, in torturing and putting to death with every circumstance of cruelty, weak old women, idiots and children? Need I recite the frantic harangues which called for the kindling of fires in the market-places of university-towns, and which occasioned the death of hundreds of thousands of innocent victims? As late as the year 1783 the portentous gleam of these fires was to be seen in Germany." * And who is to assure us of their final extinction; and that there are not beneath the ashes concealed fires, still living and full of danger, which may burst forth in flames afresh, carrying desolation throughout the land? For we still have mighty fetiches, and these act in Europe precisely as they do in Africa.

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[*] Winterbottom, 180 seqq.; Golberry, R. durch das W. Afr. (1803) I. 56; Laing, 88 seqq.; Forbes, Six Months in Sierra Leone (Ger. Tr.) S. 84. *Cf.* Cæsar, B. G. VI. 13, 14: Fere de omnibus controversiis publicis privatisque constituunt; et si quod est admissum facinus, si cædes facta; si de hereditate, de finibus controversia, iidem concernunt, prœmia pœnasque constituunt. . . . Hi certo auni tempore in finibus Carnutum, que regio totius Galliæ media habetur, considunt in loco consecrato: huc omnes undique, qui controversias habent, conveniunt, eorumque decretis judiciisque parent. Si quis aut privatus aut publicus eorum decreto non steterit, sacrificiis interdicunt. Hæc pœna apud eos est gravissima. . . . Druides a bello abesse consueverunt, neque tributa una cum reliquis pendunt; militiæ vocationum omniumque rerum habent immunitatem. These Druids were also soothsayers, physicians, conjurers, etc. *Cf.* Tacitus Ann. XIV. 30; Hist. IV. 54; Germ. 7, 11; Plin. Hist. Natur. XXX. 4.

[*] Grimm, D. M. Anhang. Nr. 129.

[†] *Ib.* Nr. 5.

Plutarch relates that the Dictator

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* Bastian, 93.

Sulla had no such faith in any god, as in a little image of Apollo which he constantly wore upon his breast. Suetonius says that Nero was Religionum usquequaque contemtor, præter unius deæ Syriæ. Hanc mox ita sprevit, ut urina contaminaret, alia superstitione captus, in qua sola pertinacissime hæsit. Siquidem icunculam puellarem, cum quasi remedium insidiarum a plebeio quodam et ignoto muneri accepisset, detecta confestim conjuratione, pro summo Numine trinisque in die sacrificiis colere perseveravit: volebatque credi monitione ejus futura prænoscere.[*]

The amulet differs from the fetich in this, that here the sensible object is not regarded as possessed of a power of its own (for then it would be a fetich), but only as the representative symbol of some higher power, which is the real efficient cause. The amulet therefore points back to a train of ideas which lie behind it: the fetich stands upon its own merits. Thus, for instance, in the Arab's amulet—a verse from the Koran on a strip of parchment—it is not the parchment and the ink that produce the effect he desires, but the omnipotence of Allah, of which the writing is regarded as the sensible sign. But yet the people, who wear such amulets as a protection against the powers of evil, very readily forget this distinction, confound the two things, and regard the sensible object as the efficient cause. Thus the amulet becomes a fetich. The Mohammedans of Senegambia write the potent verse on a tablet, then they wash off the inscription, and drink the water.[†] Thus again, so soon as the working of miracles is associated with the image of a saint, that image of necessity becomes a fetich; and will receive from its worshipers precisely the same usage, which other fetiches receive at the hands of savage devotees. In mediæval times it was no uncommon thing for people, when a saint withheld his assistance in time of need, to renounce his service, to break his image in pieces, or to cast it into a river or a swamp.[*] As late as the middle of the 17th century some Portuguese sailors pronounced dire threats against St. Antony of Padua during a calm: they would have bound him hand and foot, were it not that some one came to his assistance. At length they set his image on the tip of the bowsprit and thus addressed it, kneeling: "S. Antony, be so good as to stand there ever till you give us a favorable wind,to continue our voyage."[†] A Spanish ship's captain fastened a little image of the Virgin to the mast, saying she should remain in that position until he got from her a favorable wind.[‡] The Neapolitans once called S. Gennaro *vecchio ladrone*, *birbone*, *scelerato*, because he had not checked a stream of lava. They even cudgeled the saint.[§] Some Spanish peasants, during a protracted drought, threw the Virgin into a pond, and called her witch, wench, etc.[‖] When Russian peasants would do anything unbecoming in the presence of the saints' pictures, they cover the latter with cloths, to prevent their witnessing the deed.[¶] A Russian peasant, who had harvested a poorer crop than his neighbor, borrowed from the latter his holy image, and mounted it on his plow, expecting thus to have better luck.[**] To this day Russian peasants whip saints' images; to this day images of the Virgin are put in prison by Italian peasants, precisely as the Negro does with his fetiches, when he would punish them, or keep them from harming him.[††]

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[*] Suet. Nero, c. 56.

[†] Bastian, 197; Waitz, II. 187.

[*] Meiners, I. 181.

[†] Della Valle, Voy. VII. 409; Meiners *ub. supr.*

[‡] Frezier, Rel. du Voy. de la Mer du Sud, p. 248.

[§] Kotzebue, Reise nach Rom. I. 327.

[‖] Spanien, Wie es ist. 1797, II. 117.

[¶] J. J. Straussen's Reisen, Amst. 1678, S. 84.

[**] Weber, Verändertes Russland, 1721, II. 198.

[††] Waitz, II. 185.

CHAPTER V.

THE VARIOUS OBJECTS OF FETICH-WORSHIP.

ANYTHING may become a fetich. An intelligent Dakota once said that "there is nothing that the Indians do not worship as a God."* For the Negroes of the Gold Coast, *Wongs* (objects of worship) are, first, the gods dwelling betwixt heaven and earth, who beget children, die, and come to life again. These deities are divided into distinct classes, which get their names from the functions they discharge, and these names are taken from the vocabulary of Negro state-craft. But then Wong is also, 1, the sea, with all its contents; 2, rivers, lakes, fountains; 3, certain enclosed areas of land, and all termite-hills; 4, the otutu (a little heap of earth raised over a buried sacrifice) and the drums belonging to a quarter of a town; 5, certain trees; 6, certain animals—the crocodile, ape, serpent, etc., while other animals are only sacred to the Wongs; 7, images carved and blessed by the fetichman; 8, certain combinations of cords, hairs, bones, etc.†

1. *Stones as Fetiches.*

All Nature is endowed with life: the savage mind apprehends even stones anthropopathically. The Lapps transfer to stones the domestic relations of Father, Mother and Child: they even fancy that stones roam about at night, after the manner of the "Roving Bell."‡ It is not only in Ovid's Metamorphoses that men are changed into stones; the natives of the Marianne Isles have a belief that the first Man was metamorphosed into a rock, which is still pointed out as an object of veneration.§ The worship of stones is to be found in all quarters of the globe; but in Africa it prevails most among the Gallas.* Men swear by stones and by rocks; for instance, the Somali in Africa,† not to speak of other nations. The ancient Germans and Gauls, as also the Celts, who, according to Grimm, were stone-worshipers *par excellence*, did the same.‡ Nullus Christianus ad fana aut ad petras, vel ad fontes, vel ad arbores luminaria faciat, aut vota reddere præsumat,—such is the exhortation given by S. Eloy in a sermon.§ The church in the middle ages never tires of condemning the "votum vovere ad lapidem, vel ad quamlibet rem." ‖ Offerings were made to stones by anointing them with oil, blood or wine.¶

The pagan inhabitants of Canaan worshiped stones in this manner.** De Brosses, in his work in the Bætylia shows that all the great nations of antiquity, not excepting the Greeks and Romans, worshiped stones. The inhabitants of Pharæ worshiped 30 square stones. *Τούτους σέβουσιν οἱ Φαρεῖς*, writes Pausanias, *ἐκάστου θεοῦ τινος ὄνομα ἐπιλέγοντες. Τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι. τιμὰς θεῶν ἀντὶ αγαλμάτων εἶχον ἀργοὶ λίθοι.*†† In a higher state of intellectual development, when the notion of gods gained the ascendency, it was very easy to establish relation between some god and a stone, which previously had been worshiped on its own account. The Sacred Treasure of Jupiter at Tegea was a rough quadrangular stone. Meteoric stones were a special object of worship, being often regarded as incarnate rays of the sun.* Such ἀγάλματα διϊπετῆ (Bætylia, abadir) are the Stone Symbol of Diana, at Ephesus; of the Sun-God Elagabal, at Emissa, in Syria; of Mars, at Rome, and the Black Stone, the Kaaba, at Mecca.

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* Waitz, III. 191.

† Bas, Missionary Magazine, 1856, II. 131; Waitz, II. 183.

‡ Requard, Voy. en Lappland, in Voy. au N. VI. p. 321.

§ Le Gobien, Hist. des Isles Marianes. Paris, 1700, p. 197.

* Rochet d'Héricourt, Voy. dans le roy. de Choa. Par. 1841, p. 167.

† Burton, First Footsteps in E. Afr. Lond. 1856, p. 113.

‡ J. Grimm, D. M. S. 370.

§ Vita Eligii by Andoenus Rotomagensis (d. 683 or 689), pub. by Achery, Spicileg, t. v. Paris, 1661, p. 215–219; Grimm, D. M. Anh. S. XXX.

‖ Grimm. D. M. Auh. S. XXXIII. XXXIV. XXXV.

¶ Meiners, Gesch. d. R. S. 150; De Brosses, Les Pierres Bætyles, 110, 123, 133, 135.

** *Cf.* Merx, s. v. Abgötterei, in Schenkel's Bibellexikon.

†† Pausan. VII. 22, VI. 22.

Many savages regard stones as the children of Mother Earth,† for they have also an anthropopathic conception of the earth, and so worship her. According to Dapper, the King of Alé and his grandees used to hold council together, previous to a war, in a pit dug in the midst of the forest. The deliberations at an end, the pit was carefully filled up again, lest it should betray their secrets. The Iroquois and other Indian tribes believed themselves to be the children of Earth: they would never sit upon the bare ground, but always first covered the spot on which they sat, with a little grass, or with a branch of a tree.‡

> Nam neque de cœlo cecidisse animalia possunt
> Nec terrestria de salsis exisse lacunis:
> Linquitur, ut merito maternum nomen adepta
> Terra sit, e terra quoniam sunt cuncta creata.
> Lucretius de R. N. v. 793 seqq.

2. *Mountains as Fetiches.*

Mountains are for many reasons objects of fetichistic worship. At one moment their summits are veiled in clouds, the next they are radiant in the fierce blaze of the sun; out of their caverns the winds issue forth, and down their sides are poured the torrents which fall from the rain-clouds enveloping their heads. All these phenomena are regarded by the untutored mind of the savage as produced by the agency of the mountain itself, and he accordingly pictures to himself the latter as endowed with a human will, and acting from human motives. In this respect he is a poet. He does not imagine any such thing as a Spirit of the mountain, a being merely inhabiting it; no, it is the Mountain itself, this tellurian mass that he worships. It is true, the fetichist sees in it something more than a heap of earth and rock. For him the mountain forms the clouds, and sends the storms. But why? From such motives as move men to action: now he is terribly wrathful; anon he is all smiles. So his worshipers will study to appease him, and for this purpose will make offerings to him.

The worship of mountains is found among several Siberian tribes, among Negroes and American Indians.* The Ural was worshiped by the nations dwelling around it. We must distinguish between this fetich worship and that respect paid to mountains, on the ground of their having once been the seat of a certain cultus, or the home of some god. In that case it is not the mountain but the god that is worshiped: and of this kind of veneration we do not treat here. As Jacob Grimm did not study fetichism in its psychological aspects, he doubted whether men ever could pay adoration to a mountain, and discredited all accounts which state that such a worship exists. I extract from his Deutsche Mythologie the passages which have a bearing on this subject, as so many proofs for the reality of Mountain-fetich worship.† "Many were the Sacred Mounts and Hills: but yet they do not appear to have been worshiped directly, but to have been venerated merely on account of the god who inhabited them (Wotan's and Donner's Berge). Though Agathias speaks of λόφοι and φάραγγες (hills and ravines) as being objects of worship, without any mention of any other object, we may suppose that he was an inaccurate observer, and that he failed to notice a worship of water or of fire having its sanctuary on the mountains. We might look for the worship of mountains among the Goths, in whose language *fairguai* signifies *mountain*, if the explanation we have already [*] given of this word is correct. Dietmar of Merseburg gives an example of Sclavic mountain-worship (p. 237): Posita est autem hæc (civitas, i. e. Nemzi, Nimptsch) in pago Silensi, vocabulo hoc a *quodam monte*, nimis excelso et grandi, olim sibi indito: et hic *ob qualitatem suam et quantitatem*, cum execranda gentilitas ibi veneraretur, *ab incolis omnibus nimis honorabatur*. The commentators are of opinion that this mountain is the Zobtenberg."

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* Bastian, Die Seele, u. s. w. S. 9.

† *Ibidem.*

‡ Tanner, Mémoires trad. pas E. de Blosseville. Paris, 1835. I. 250; Waitz, III. 184.

* The Yakutes, Sarytschew, I. 27; the Burats, Georgi, 318; Negroes, De Bry, VI. 21, Römer, 65; Peruvians, Acosta, 206; Mongolians, Isbrand, p. 111.

† Deutsche Mythol. S. 369.

3. *Water as a Fetich.*

Jacob Grimm gives a very full account of the worship paid to Water in the spring, the brook, the river, and the sea, and describes the religious observances of the people, as they "offered their prayers, lighted lamps, or made their sacrifices on the banks of the stream, or on the margin of the spring;" and these usages he traces from the remotest antiquity down into the Christian era.[†] "The pure, flowing, bubbling, evanescent water; the flaming, glowing, dying fire; the air, perceptible, not to the eye, but to the ear and to the touch; the Earth, which maintains all things and to which they all revert: these have ever been regarded by man as sacred and worshipful, and through them he has been wont to bestow a solemn consecration upon the customs, the pursuits and the events of his life. Their action upon the entire universe being steady and constant, the untutored mind pays them worship for their own sake without any reference to a deity residing in them." The anthropopathic apprehension of rivers, springs, and the sea is found among all savage nations. Many of the populations on the banks of the Niger regard its tributaries as the wives of the main stream.[‡] In Acra a pitcher used to be cast into a pond which was thought to be the messenger of all the rivers in that country: the pond was then entreated to go abroad with the pitcher and purchase water of other ponds and streams: on returning home it was expected to bring sufficient water to irrigate all the fields.[*] The spring is regarded as the seat of all the river's life. Strangers must not come near it.[†] The Negro savage believes that the presence of the white traveler may enrage the River Spirit, or do him hurt, or even deprive him of life. Rivers are an object of worship not only in Africa,[‡] but also in America [§] and in Northern Asia.[‖] Whenever the Kamtchatdales sail across a dangerous whirlpool they cast into the water little pieces of wood neatly carved, and tobacco, and excuse their temerity by saying: "Be not angry with us for sailing over thee, as though we had forgotten our reverence for thee. We are not without reverence, but the Russians oblige us against our will to make this navigation." [¶] The ancient Russians worshiped the Don, the Dnieper (worshiped as the Borysthenes by the Scythians) and the Wolga—streams on which they depended for their existence. The ancient Mongolians would appear also to have been given to river-worship.[**] According to Agathias the Alamanni too worshiped rivers: *Δένδρα τε γάρ τινα ἱλάσκονται και ῥεῖθρα ποταμῶν και λόφους καὶ φάραγγας, καὶ τούτοις ὥσπερ ὅσια δρῶντες.*[††] Herodotus makes a similar statement as to the Persians:

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[*] Deutsche Mythol. 116.

[†] D. M. 326–340.

[‡] Clapperton, Tageb. seiner, zweiten R. p. 414.

[*] Allg. Gesch. der R. IV. 180; Waitz, Anthr. II. 177.

[†] Laing, p. 310; Bastian, 59 f. "In 1641 Hans Ohm of Sommerpahl built a mill over the brook: and as the succeeding year proved disastrous to the crops, everybody assigned as the cause, the profanation of the sacred brook, which was indignant at having been checked in its course. So they attacked the mill, and utterly destroyed it." Grimm, D. M. 338.

[‡] Cavazzi, I. 363.

[§] Charlevoix, p. 348.

[‖] Georgi, Reise, S. 318; Steller, S. 21.

[¶] Steller, S. 19.

[**] Wuttke, I. 214. *Cf.* Barrow, **Trav.** in China. Lond. 1804, p. 509.

[††] Agath. 28. 4.

Ες ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι οὔτε ἐμπτύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον ουδένα περιορέουσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμοὺς μάλιστα. *

Seneca says of the Romans: Magnorum fluminum capita veneramur: subita et ex abdito vasti amnis eruptio aras habet. Coluntur aquarum calentium fontes: et stagna quædam vel opacitas vel immensa altitudo sacravit.† The honor which the Hindus pay to the Ganges does not belong to this category. The Hindu apotheosis of Nature is pantheistic, not fetichistic. "O Mother Earth, Father Air, Friend Fire, Brother Water, I now in all reverence and for the last time address my prayers to you: I am about to enter into the Supreme Brahman, for owing to the surplus of good works which I have laid up during my intercourse with you, I have attained to immaculate knowledge and have so cast aside all power of straying from the Truth." ‡ We must however here remember that in the hands of the common people the amulet easily becomes a fetich.

The natives of Sumatra and of the Philippines worship the sea, as well as those of Africa. By the ancient Peruvians, before the time of the Incas, the sea was regarded as the supreme deity.§

The Kaffirs make offerings to a stream, of entrails, animals and millet, to secure immunity against disease.‖ Roman naval commanders offered sacrifice to the sea before setting sail.¶ Even in the last century Christian Greeks made offerings to rivers; and Turks regarded it as perfectly natural to throw overboard Christians and Jews, in a storm, to appease the wrath of the sea.** A tempest having broken up the first bridge of boats, Xerxes ordered three hundred lashes to be given to the Hellespont, and chains to be cast into it. Again he presented an offering on a dish of gold, and this, together with a golden goblet, he threw into the waters of the strait. Herodotus is undecided whether this was done in honor of the Sun, or to appease the offended Hellespont.*

4. *Wind and Fire as Fetiches.*

"The hurricane (called by the Congo Negroes, 'the Horse of the Boonzie') is regarded as a ravening, devouring monster—a giant like the Jötunns—whose wrath may be appeased by casting meal into the air. I regard this," says Jacob Grimm, "as a primitive superstition." † "In the popular traditions of Russia the four winds are the sons of one mother, and in the ancient Russian song of Igor the Winds are addressed as Lords, and are said to be the grandsons of Stribog, whose divine nature is implied in his name. In like manner in Oriental tales and poems the wind is represented as speaking and holding converse." ‡ Of the Payaguas of S. America Azara § says: "When a storm overturns their huts or casas, they take a brand from the fire, and run against the wind for some distance, threatening it with the brand. Others strike terror into the storm, by pummeling the air soundly." In Asia the Tcheremis used to make offerings to the winds.‖ In ancient times the same custom was in vogue among the Greeks and Romans, as well as other nations.¶

In every quarter of the globe we meet with the worship of Fire, that "mysterious element, ever restless ever consuming, ever brightly flaming Power of Nature." "Our Northern student lights his lamp with a match, spreads out before him the volumes written in the past, and traces in Hephæstus the root Phtha, or compares Vesta, Behram and Agni with one another. As I take it, this is commencing at the end and not at the beginning. The student does not consider that friction-matches are a very recent invention, and that anciently the production of fire was a very difficult process: as we may still see in the case of savages who often spend hours in getting fire.[*] The *lucifer* which has become for us a thing so familiar that we never stop to think about it, was once one of the most mysterious of wonders, a wonder which must have all the more forcibly impressed men's imaginations, inasmuch as it not alone promoted man's comfort, but even made life endurable, especially in cold climates. Hence we can understand why the Sacred Fire always burned in the shrine; why faithful guardians were appointed to care for it, and why this worship of Fire was recognized in public legislation, as well as in the concernments of private life."[†] "Fire, like water, is regarded as a thing of life;"[‡] and by many savage tribes it is held to be an animal. Τὸ πῦρ ϑηρίον ἐμφυχον, says Herodotus, describing the beliefs of the Egyptians (III. 16), and Cicero has, ignis animal. (De N. Deor. 3. 14.) Among the Damara, one of the rudest of savage tribes, who can scarcely count beyond the number three, and to whom the institution of marriage is unknown, the daughters of the chiefs are charged with the duty of keeping up the Sacred Fire, for Vestals are to be found in several religious systems, the duty of keeping up a sacred fire being an easy one, and best suited for women. When a family separated from the tribe and emigrated they took with them a brand of the sacred fire. Whenever the fire went out, on rekindling it, sacrifice was offered.[*] The Sioux called themselves Potowatomie, which means, we make fire,[†] and, like the Ojibways and other nations, they kept up an undying fire, as the symbol of their nationality.[‡] According to Adair the word Cherokee is derived from Cheera, fire. The Muscogees gave to fire the highest Indian title of honor, *grandfather;*[§] and their priests were called "Fire-makers." The chief ceremony of their principal festival, "the First Fruits," was the Renewing of the Fire, a performance which, among the Mexicans, was repeated every 52 years. The old fires were then all extinguished, and it was only after they had practiced purificatory rites and fasted for the space of three days that the people supposed they had received the consecration which was needed for the kindling of the new Fire.[||]

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* Herod. I. 138.

† Senec. Ep. 41; Cic. de N. Deor. III. 20.

‡ Otto Böhtlingk, Indische Sprüche, B. II. S. 97 (1 Aufl.).

§ Bosmann, S. 168; Atkins, Voy. to Guinea, Brazil and the W. Indies. Lond. 1737, p. 119; Snelgrave, Nouvelle Relation de la Guinée. Amst. 1735, p. 69; Marsden, 256, 258.

‖ Alberti, S. 72.

¶ Cicero, de N. Deor. III. 20.

** Shaw, Travels, or observations relating to sev. parts of Barbary and the Levant. Lond. 1757, p. 333; Guys, Voy. littéraire de la Grèce. Par. 1776, I. 466; Kleemann, Reisen in die Crimm. II. Wien, 1771, S. 113.

* Herod. VII. 34, 35, 54.

† D. M. 363. *Cf.* S. 360–368.

‡ D. M. 361.

§ Azara, II. 137.

‖ Rytschkow, S. 86.

¶ Herod. VII. 178, 189; Pausan. II. 12; Cic. de. N. Deor. III. 20.

With the worship of fire that of Lightning and Thunder is closely allied. Perhaps among all the phenomena of Nature the worship of Thunder and Lightning is the most widely diffused. It is found among the rudest populations—the aborigines of Brazil, for instance.[¶] The Betchuana worship the rain as it falls from the clouds. As their country is arid and barren, and their great curse drought, they hold Rain to be the Giver of all good. They begin and end every solemn discourse with the word *Puhla*, rain, and they have the greatest veneration for their Rain-makers.[**]

In some countries it is not the Rain itself but a Rain-giver that is worshiped, not the Thunder, but a Thunderer, who ranks above all other spirits by reason of the dread power of his voice and the awful, death-dealing force of his shaft, the Lightning.

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[*] *Cf.* Grimm, D. M 341 ff.
[†] Bastian, 343.
[‡] D. M. S. 340.

[*] Anderson, Reise in S. W. Afrika bis zum Ngami. Leipz. 1858, I. 239.
[†] Keating, I. 89.
[‡] Schoolcraft, II. 138.
[§] Waitz, III. 208.
[||] *Ibid.* 208.
[¶] M. v. Neuwied, S. 144.
[**] Thompson, I. 180; Campbell, 2d Journey, 230.

The Damara regard as their supreme deity Omakuru, the Rain-giver, who dwells in the distant North.[*] Some of the Damara even claim for themselves descent from the Rain, while others would have only birds, fishes and worms reckoned as Rain's progeny.[†] In the island of Ponapi the supreme Being vents his wrath in the thunder:[‡] and in the northern Sagas Lightning is called God's *Beard-speech*, for when Thor mutters words behind his red beard, the lightnings flash through the sky. Zeus shakes his ambrosial locks, and the heavens are moved. In the isle of Morileu navigators adored the rainbow, or perhaps the spirit of the rainbow.[§]

After the mind has attained some degree of development, the old objects of worship still remain, but they are then subordinated to the new, and pass for the symbols of the latter. As Zeus was thus connected with lightning and thunder, so among the Israelites Jehovah was connected with fire, as his appearance in the Burning Bush, in thunder and lightning on Sinai, and in the Pillar of Fire, clearly shows. Vulcan came into relation with the sacred fire of Vesta through the column of flame which shot up from Etna.

5. *Plants as Fetiches.*

"Heathendom regarded all Nature as living," says Jacob Grimm.[‖] This view of Nature is very clearly expressed in the northern myth of Baldr. To ward off from the beloved God all danger, Frigg exacted an oath from Earth, from stones, water, fire, plants, beasts, birds, worms, and even from Pestilence, not to injure him. Only the young and and tender Mistletoe was by the goddess thought so weak and powerless that she did not require of it the oath. But when afterward Hödur, at the prompting of Loke, with this plant compassed the death of Baldr, all creatures wept—plants, beasts and men.

If inanimate stones are regarded as living beings, we are not to be surprised if plants are also thought to have souls, for their whole process of development, in growing and blooming, in bearing fruit and in withering, has many analogies in human life. This anthropopathic apprehension of plants is very evident in the belief entertained in popular superstition as to the powers of the magical plant Mandrake, which is mentioned under the name μανδραγόρας by Hippocrates, Xenophon, Plato, Theophrastus and others. It is described as shaped like a man. When it is plucked from the earth it utters a cry, a groan of pain so terrible as to cause the death of the one who plucks it out. But if it be displaced by a special manipulation of the surrounding earth, it must be then washed in red wine, wrapped in white and red bandages of silk, bathed every Friday, and vested in a fresh, white garment at each new moon. If questioned it will make known future and hidden things tending to the welfare and prosperity of the questioner, and if a piece of gold lies beside it through the night there will be found in the morning two: but its good-nature must not be imposed upon, however. The water in which it has been washed is to be poured upon the door-sill, or upon the cattle, and so the house and the stock are preserved from ill-luck. If barren women drink of it, they will be blessed with progeny. If a man wears the mandrake about his person he will always in suits at law defeat his opponent.[*]

This mandrake is of human origin,

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[*] Anderson, I. 237.

[†] Rh. Missionsber, 1852, S. 235; Hahn, Grundzüge einer Grammatik des Herero. Berl. 1857, S. 152.

[‡] Michelewa y Rojas, Viajes cientificos en todo el Mundo (1822–42). Madrid, 1843, p. 197.

[§] V. Kittlitz, Denkwürdigk. auf einer R. n. d. russ. Am., Mikrones. und Kamtsch. (1826 ff). Gotha, 1858, II. 105.

[‖] D. M., S. 371.

[*] Meiners, II. 600.

springing from a chaste youth's semen fallen to the ground. But on the other hand, men also spring from plants. There is a Micronesian story to the effect that Tangaloa's daughter, while yet the earth was parched and barren, assuming the form of a snipe alighted upon the earth, and made her home on a rock. From the rock a creeping plant sprung forth, and as this died away it produced at first worms, then men.[*] Some of the Damara tell of the descent of man and the larger beasts from a sacred tree, which they worship. In the German Song of Alexander (Alexanderlied) by Pfaff Lamprecht, "megede rehte vollencommen"—perfectly beauteous maidens—are spoken of as springing from flowers.

"Si giengen unde lebeten
Menschen sin si habeten."

As they spring from the flowers, with them they perish:

"Die blûmen gare verturben
Unde die scônen frowen sturben."

Daphne was changed into a bay-tree.

In speaking of the worship of plants, trees and woods, I do not give it Ovid's interpretation:

Stat vetus et multos incædua silva per annos,
Credibile est *illi numen inesse loco*.[†]

On the Coral Islands of Polynesia the *crinum* and the *dragon's blood* are held sacred. The Dayaks of Borneo worship also the *dragon's blood*, together with the *pancratium amboinense*.[‡] Generally, however, it is large trees that are worshiped, such as the mighty *adansonia*. In Whidah the sick apply to the sacred trees, for the cure of their complaints.[§] On the Zaire the public and the domestic council of the prince meet beneath the holy *ficus religiosa*,[*] a tree which plays an important part in the history of religion. In Congo it is planted in all the market-places, as an object of worship: its bark has fetich-craft; and any injury done to the tree is punished as a crime. The Somali worship certain trees,[†] and the Galla specially the wanzey-tree, though in the south of Shoa they regard the *wodanabe*-tree as their national Palladium, their "great Fetich."[‡] This same tree-worship is found in N. America and Northern Asia, for instance, among the Ostiaks, Wotiaks and the Tsheremis.[§] The savages of Acadie worshiped an ancient tree on the sea-shore. This tree having fallen root and branch into the sea, they continued to worship it as long as any part of it remained visible.[||] The sacred tree of the Longobardi was the so-called blood-tree, and the ancient Germans worshiped chiefly the oak, though they had also great reverence for the alder:[¶] nor were the ancient Jews, Arabs[**] or Persians[††] without their fetich-trees. The goddess Ashera was originally worshiped under the form of a simple stock of wood.[‡‡] "The Diana of the isle of Eubœa was a piece of unhewed wood, the Thespian Juno of Cytheron the trunk of a tree, she of Samos a simple slab of wood, as was also the Delian Latona; the Carian Diana was a cylinder of wood, and the Pallas, and the Ceres at Athens were rough stakes, sine effigie rudis palus, et informe lignum."[§§]

As single trees, so also whole groves, with their green, umbrageous aisles, their mystic gloom, and the tuneful rustling of their leaves would make a most profound impression on the childlike fancy of the savage. The rustling of the leaves was regarded as the language of the trees: thus it was that the sacred oaks of Dodona spoke, and oracles were published founded on these words of the oaks. Athene, according to Apollodorus, fixed on the prow of the Argo a voiceful piece of wood from one of the Dodonian oaks (*φονῆεν φηγου τῆς Δωδωνίδος ξύλον*); and the wooden ships of the Phœacians were possessed of souls (*τιτυσκόμεναι φρεσὶ νῆες*).[*]

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[*] Turner, p. 244.

[†] Ovid, Amor. III. 1. 1.

[‡] Gerland, in Waitz, V. 2. 10.

[§] Bosmann, II. 64, 323, III. 153; Des Marchais, II. 132.

[*] Tuckey, p. 366.

[†] Waitz, II. 523.

[‡] *Ib.* 518.

[§] Rytschkow, S. 161.

[||] Charlevoix, p. 349.

[¶] Grimm, D. M. S. 374.

[**] Merx, in Schenkel's Bibellex. Art. *Aschera* and *Astarte*

[††] Meiners, I. 152.

[‡‡] Merx, *ubi supr.*

[§§] De Brosses, p. 151.

Among the ancient Germans single trees as well as entire forests were held in the greatest reverence.[†] Such sacred groves were not to be entered by the profane: such sacred trees were not to be stripped of their leaves or branches, or to be hewed down. Compare sacrum nemus, nemus castum, in Tacitus, and Lucus erat longo numquam violatus ab ævo, in Lucan.[‡] Amongst the sacred groves of German lands were the forest of the Semnones, the nemus of Nerthus, the Sclavic lucus Zutibure and the Prussian grove Romowe. Amongst the Esthonians it was held impious to break off a twig in a sacred grove, nor would they even pluck a strawberry within its shadow.[§] Long after the introduction of Christianity the violation of trees was sternly punished in Germany.[‖] Of the Esthonians at the present day we have this account: Only a few years ago, in the parish of Harjel, they *made offerings* (opferten) under certain trees on the nights of S. George's, S. John's and S. Michael's day; they killed a black hen. According to the superstitious belief of the Wends of Lausitz there are forests which annually demand a human sacrifice (as do many rivers); and one man must annually yield his life.[¶] For an account of the ecclesiastical prohibitions, vota ad arbores facere aut ibi candelam sen quodlibet munus deferre, arborem colere, votum persolvere, consult Grimm, D. M. Anhang. XXXIII. XXXIV.

6. *Animals as Fetiches.*

Christianity, that religion which sets the highest value upon the human individual, places a great abyss between man and nature. She isolates man and places him infinitely above nature. Christianity therefore regards the animal as in every respect far inferior to man. The religions of India regard Nature as only the outward aspect of Brahma; for them therefore the eternal Being is visible in the beast as well as in man. Consequently in the beast the Hindu recognizes a brother, of equal rights, and of like rank with himself. But the view which the savage takes of the animal world is different from both of these. He commonly regards the animal not simply as his equal, but as a superior being. Of the Negroes Waitz says: "In their view man has not his definitive place at the summit of Nature, and above the animals, but the latter appear to them as enigmatical beings whose nature is involved in obscurity and mystery, and whom they rank now as above themselves, again as beneath."[*] "The Indians," says the same author, "regard the animals as man's ancestors and kindred and ascribe to them a human understanding and human principles of action, or even sometimes a higher intelligence and superhuman capacities. Those animals, however, which neither inspire them with fear nor display any notable sagacity they despise."[†] To understand why the savage views the animal creation thus, we need but know the nature of his intellect and the conditions of life in which he is placed.

As the understanding reaches only as far as its objects, it will always be enlarged as the number of these increases. The greater a man's intelligence, the wider is the line of distinction between him and beings possessed of none at all, or of a less degree than himself. But so long as the number of his objects does not exceed that possessed by animals; so long as they are the same in kind as those possessed by the animal, and not more numerous; in other words so long as his *world* is that of the animal; just so long the intellectual condition of the lowest savage will not be distinguishable from that of the beast.

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[*] Odyss. VIII. 556.

[†] *Cf.* Grimm, D. M. 371 ff.

[‡] Pharsal. III. 399.

[§] "Ut umbra pertingit." Grimm, R. A. 57, 105.

[‖] Grimm, Weisthümer, III. S. 309, 18, IV. 366, 15, 699.

[¶] Grimm, D. M. *ub. supr.*

[*] Anthrop. II. 177.

[†] Anthrop. III. 192.

The will can be exerted only upon the objects exhibited to it in the understanding. Hence, so long as these objects are no higher than those of the animal, the will of the savage cannot have any higher aims than has the will of the beast.

As we have already seen, the savage has a very small number of objects. From the lack of objects of a higher nature, we have shown that his will must be concentrated on those which are purely material. Hence his only stimulus, his only great interest is to satisfy his hunger, his lust, or his desire of repose.

Thus as regards his intellectual status and the range of his desires, the savage, even where he has made some little progress, differs but little from the animal, while at a lower stage he scarcely differs at all. The world of the animal is his world also, and their interests are the same. Hence there is hardly any difference between the savage and a highly-organized animal. But as he differs so little from them, it is impossible for him to regard himself as something quite distinct from them. His pursuits and those of the animal are identical; their wants, their motives are the same; the animal is the counterpart of the man; therefore the savage regards the animal as his equal, as his kindred.

Hence, for the simple reason that the savage and the animal are *de facto* scarcely distinguishable, they would be apprehended as standing on an equality. And as the savage cannot attribute to the beings around him any internal properties save those of which he already has consciousness, he is forced, as we have seen, to form anthropopathic apprehensions of objects. The more closely these beings resemble man in their nature and habits, the sooner will he attribute to them the self-same motives which excite himself. In fact his conduct differs very little from theirs; not alone does he closely resemble them; he is in many respects perfectly identical with them. Hence, as he must have anthropopathic apprehension of a mountain, a river, or a tree, he cannot help regarding the animal as of his kindred. In the eastern part of South Africa Monteiro's ass was a novelty to the natives, and they at once commenced to ask the donkey what he thought about things, always regarding the ass's doings as human performances.*

But not only must the savage regard all, or at least some animals as his equals, he will even assign them a superior rank. Intellectual qualities he values little, as he knows but little about them: but on the contrary, like all men of uncultured minds, like boys, like the old giants in the heroic legend, he prizes bodily strength above everything else. The great chief who with a blow can split the skull of his antagonist; whose powerful voice can be heard at enormous distances, whose nails are like the claws of a bear; who lays hold of a man and tears him in twain, who when hot coals fall upon his body in sleep, is not awakened, but treats them as gnats; who every day devours an entire sheep, and drinks a skin of fermented and distilled milk without being drunk: such is the savage's ideal of true greatness. But nowhere does he find such bodily strength and agility, such fiery courage and uncurbed fury as he does in wild beasts, the lion, tiger, wolf, bear, elephant, etc. They are the realization of what he might be himself: they are the ideals, the prototypes whose names he delights to assume, and which he chooses as his Totems, and his guardian spirits. They indeed are the mighty ones of his country: his weapons are often insufficient to protect him against their attack; he is at their mercy, and lives as it were by their favor. Then the colossal size of some of these beasts, or the majesty of their presence—the demon fascination of their gleaming eyes, must make on the savage a profounder impression than upon us, inasmuch as these are the very properties he is best acquainted with and which he values most highly.

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* Zeitschrift f. allg. Erdkunde, VI. 407.

Not only does this bodily strength inspire him with respect for the beast, as a being superior to himself; he attributes to him, furthermore, a higher degree of sagacity and circumspection. The unerring instinct of the animal: the cunning of the fox, the dog's acuteness of sense, the ingenuity of the beaver in constructing his house, of the bird in building its nest, of the bee in forming the comb: all this is in sharp contrast with the poverty and helplessness of man in the savage state. He knows nothing of the price the animals have to pay for the power they possess, nor reflects that they too do learn, and suffer anxiety and pain. Again the service rendered to him by several animals—as the ox, who with all his strengt his still so patient—disposes the savage to regard the beast as a being worthy of respect, and by no means as the pattern of stupidity.

This exposition of the relations between the savage and the brute which is based on the results of observation, is also confirmed on every side by observation. We find the best illustration of this in the Animal Legend (Thiersage), as it is found among our Germanic ancestors, "a form of composition which could have its origin only when men were in a very primitive state, and men and animals consorted together intimately and with a childlike ingenuousness." Vilmar's remarks on this subject are apposite:* "The root of this legend" (Reynard the Fox), says he, "lies in the guileless natural simplicity of primitive man; in the deep and kindly instincts of a sound and vigorous savage race. As they conceive a cordial and even passionate attachment for Nature in her varying phases; exulting with her in the mildness of the spring time and in the genial heat of summer, sharing the melancholy of autumn, and in winter giving themselves up to the torpor which reigns all around: as they attribute to these different phases of Nature an individuality like their own, with like emotions, and develop these conceptions in the form of grand myths, in which the creatures of imagination are represented now as kindly and gracious, again as awful and majestic, as they appear respectively in Siegfried and Brunhild: so, very naturally, they form a very close and affectionate attachment for the brute creation, their nearer neighbors and their closer kindred. Nay, more, they admit them to intimate association with themselves, as though they were truly and essentially, and not by adoption, or by imaginative fiction, members with themselves of one society. It is the pure, innocent delight which the savage takes in contemplating the brute creation—their lithe figure and flashing eye, their courage and ferocity, their cunning and agility; it is his knowledge of their habits derived from the daily experiences of a life lived in common with them that gave rise to these fables of animals, to the animal-epic. But such life-experience can be obtained by man, only when he studies the animal with a calm and affectionate interest; when he contemplates its inmost nature, its most recondite characteristics; when he not alone shares himself the nature of the animal, but also in turn gives to the animal a share in his own human faculties of thought and of speech, and attributes to the animal's actions the same importance, the same intelligent direction, which he claims for his own. This mutual commerce of Brute and Man is the absolute condition of the Thiersage. The brute of the legend is not a mere brute, of nature quite diverse from man's, and having no psychic communion with him: but no more is it a man disguised in the form of a brute. In the former case, the brute could never be the object of poesy, or at least would not furnish the true material of poesy, *action*. In the latter case, such legends would be only tedious allegory. The charm of the legend lies precisely in this dark background where the brute and the man have so much in common; and on this background we must not suffer the lights of our better informed understanding to fall, else the very essence of the legend vanishes."

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* Vilmar, Literaturgeschichte, I. 244 ff. 8 Aufl.

There is no form of poetry, as Meiners thinks, more agreeable to the uncultured mind than the fable; and in point of fact fables are extremely numerous among savages. Their ultimate basis is the anthropopathic apprehension of the brute creation, the dark background of which Vilmar speaks.* Lessing supposes the object of the fable is to give palpable shape to a moral truth. Even the Hottentots have a large collection of animal-fables, with the recital of which they amuse one another. The Negroes, too, "when they come together to smoke tobacco, or to quaff their palm-wine, entertain one another by telling fables, and they dress up every passing occurrence in the garb of legend or fable. 'The Spider,' to give one example, 'the Spider would lay out a plantation, and set to work about it vigorously without delay. But he had not got the ground ready, when the seeding-time was gone by: and the same thing occurred year after year. The Termite who would build him a palace, having noticed this, called together his neighbors, his slaves and his friends, to give him their aid; and lo! after a short time, the work was finished. Then said the Termite to the Spider: "If you had but done as I did, your plantation would have been laid out long ago." I once, in talking with a Negro named Quan, reproached his people with having killed off all the elephants for the sake of their ivory, and his answer was this: 'No, we have done no such thing. The elephants knew that the white man wanted the ivory, but they would not part with it without having something in return: so they went down to the coast, and sold their tusks for brandy. Having drunk the brandy, they were now left without anything—neither tusks nor brandy. So in their drunkenness they became desperate and all committed suicide, and that is why there are no longer elephants in Aquapin.'" *

"Man in his lowest stage of development considers himself and the brutes as almost alike, the difference between the two being, to his mind, rather external than internal and essential. The beast has a soul as well as man, and the soul of the beast is substantially the same as that of man. Men and animals belong to one race, and are identical with one another in sundry points." † How easy is the transition from man to animal, and *vice versa*, is shown in ancient German legends. "As in later times, after the grim legends of antiquity have been discredited, men become wolves and wolves are transformed into men, as we see in the belief in the Werewolf; so in primitive times men became dragons." ‡ The ancient ballads tell of Siegfrid's father and of his sister Signe, how they were transformed into wolves, and assumed all the savage instincts. This belief in "Marafilnas," the lycanthropi of the ancients, extends through Abyssinia, Senegambia and all eastern Negro lands as far as the Somali. Especially workers in iron are supposed to transform themselves at night into beasts, and then to feast on human flesh. In Fassokl the Marafilnas are even organized into secret guilds.[*] The Indians in the interior of Oregon regard beavers as human beings, metamorphosed by the Great Spirit, in punishment of their disobedience.[†] In Mexican mythology, too, we find instances of such transformations. Xapan was, for adultery, changed into a black scorpion, and Tlahuitzin, the woman, into a red scorpion; and Xaotl was changed into a grasshopper, for having overstepped the powers given to him by the gods.[‡] Lycaon was by Zeus transformed into a wolf. A number of German myths speak of the mutual transformations of men and serpents.[§] The Centaurs and the Sirens show also how readily man and beast coalesce in Grecian mythology.

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* *Cf.* Waitz, II. 180.

* *Ib.* 343.

† Wuttke, I. 107.

‡ Vilmar, I. 121.

We have already seen from the instance cited in Chapter II. (the Arekunas) that there is nothing to prevent the greatest familiarity between the savage and the wild beast. The Malays of Malacca, and the Orangs consider the stronger animals as their own equals—especially the shark, whom they regard as a friend and a brother, he being, like themselves, a pirate. A similar view is taken of the tiger and the crocodile, and this view prevails throughout many of the East India, Philippine and South-Sea Islands.[*] In the East India isles it is believed that sometimes women give birth, not alone to boys and girls, but also to crocodiles, and the latter are never killed, but carefully placed in a crocodile pond. Many of the natives have their crocodile relatives, duly acknowledged, and these they never injure.[†] Hence the savage does not hold it to be a disgrace to be descended from beasts; on the contrary, they boast of such descent. The Tlascalans used to say that the men who escaped in the Deluge were transformed into apes, but that they by degrees recovered the use of reason and speech.[‡] Kadroma, a she-ape, wife of the ape Cenresi, was the ancestress of the whole population of Thibet. The Thibetians are proud of this descent, and of their ape-like ugliness of feature, which they trace to their ape ancestors.[§] Some of the Orang-Benua trace their origin back to white apes.[‖] According to the Aleutians[¶] and the Chippeways[**] all men are descended from the dog, and hence the first men had canine paws. Other N. American Indians say that a woman that lived with a dog was the mother of the human race.[††] The Delawares suppose themselves descended from the eagle;[‡‡] the Tonkaway trace their origin to the wolf,[§§] others to the raven,[‖‖] the Osages to a serpent transformed into a man, and married to the daughter of the beaver;* the Kayuse, Nez Percés, Walla-Wallas, and some other tribes are descended, according to a tradition held by them all, from the various members of the beaver:† some S. American aborigines from a fish, others from the toad, still others from the rattlesnake.‡

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[*] Waitz, II. 180, 504.

[†] Cox, Ross, The Columbia River, 3 ed. Lond. 1832, I. 231; Dunn, Hist. of Oregon Terr. Lond. 1844, p. 317.

[‡] D. Francisco Saverio Clavigero, Hist. antigua de Mejico, l. vi. p. 240: Entre otras contaban que habiendo emprendido un hombre llamado Japan hacer penitencia en un monte, tentado por una mujer, cometio adulterio: por lo cual lo decapito immediatemente Jaotl, a quien habian dado los dioses el encargo de velar la conducta de Japan. Este fue transformado en escorpion negro. No contento Jaotl con aquel castigo, perseguia tambien a su mujer Tlahuitzin, la cual fue transformada en escorpion rubio, y el mismo Jaotl, por haber traspasado los limites de su encargo, quedó convertido en langosta. A la verguenza de aquel delito atribuyen la proprietad del escorpion de huir de la luz y de esconderse entre las piedras.

[§] Grimm, D. M. 394 ff.

[*] J. Hawkesworth, Account of the voy. undertaken for making Discoveries in the S. Hemisphere by Capt. Byron Wallis, Carteret and Cook, 1773. Lond. III. 758; Marsden, Valentyn.

[†] Hawkesw. III. 756, 757.

[‡] Clavigero, VI. p. 225. *Cf.* Garcia, Origen de los Indios.

[§] Klaproth, Tabl. hist. p. 131.

[‖] Borie, in Tydschr. voor indische taal, land en volkenkunde. Batavia, X. 415.

[¶] Sarytschew. R. in Sibir. II. 164.

[**] Waitz, III. 191.

[††] Hearne, Voyage from Fort Prince Wallis to the North Sea (Germ. tr.), p. 281.

[‡‡] Schoolcraft, V. 683.

[§§] Wrangell, Statist. und ethnograph. Nachrichten über die rüss. Besitz. in Am. (in Bär and Helmersen, Beitr. zur Kenntn. des russ. Reichs. Petersb. 1839) 100, 111, 93; Holmberg, Ethn. Skizzen üb. d. Völk. des russ.

[‖‖] Schoolcraft, IV. 305.

Conversely, several animals have a human origin. In Acra monkeys,—called "servants of the fetiches,"—are supposed to be men, whose creation miscarried; while among the Serracolets and on the Island of Madagascar they are supposed to be men who were metamorphosed on account of their sins.§ The Manitu of the Iroquois, to reward a man who, though sore pressed by hunger, had abstained from human flesh, transformed him into a beaver; and such is the origin of the Beaver totem. A Missouri Indian was changed into a snake that had the power of speech.‖ Owing to this close relationship beasts understand the language of man, and *vice versa.* In Bornu this mutual understanding of languages ceased when a man betrayed a secret to a woman.¶ In our legends and stories, too, animals speak, as did Diomed's steeds.

The souls of animals, and even of plants, enjoy the privilege of immortality.** The souls of men may pass into the bodies of animals, and animals' souls into men's bodies. Animals which root the bodies of dead men out of their graves thus make the souls of the deceased their own, devouring soul and body at once. This belief is oftentimes the foundation of the savage's reverence for animals, as is the case among the Kaffirs, who make an offering to the wild beasts of the bodies of the dead.††

To the larger beasts the savage often attributes a higher intelligence than he claims for himself. A very intelligent Indian seriously assured Parkman that he held the beaver and the white man to be the most ingenious of people.* Especially the white beaver, an animal which appears to exist only in fable, is represented as endowed with superhuman powers.† On the Senegal, in Kordofan and in Brazil, monkeys are possessed of a human understanding. It is believed by many savages that monkeys can speak, but refuse to do so, lest they should be forced to work.‡ Dogs, too, can speak, and in primitive times did speak: but since the time when the descendants of the god Kutka sailed by them without replying to their inquiries, they have proudly refused to speak any more. It is only strangers that they bark at now, or rather it is only strangers to whom they now address the question, Who are you? Where are you going? So say the Kamtchatdales.§ The Kaffirs say that the chameleon and the salamander are messengers sent on important errands to man by the god Umkulunkulu.‖ The Chippeways, like the Atnas, Kenai and Kolush,¶ suppose the world was called into existence by a bird. In the beginning there was only a vast waste of water: above this was poised a monstrous bird, the beating of whose wings was as thunder, the flash of whose eye was as lightning. He swooped down and touched the sea, and at once the earth came to the surface and floated on the water.** Birds passed for beings gifted with extraordinary wisdom among the ancient Germans, Greeks and Romans.†† The American Indians credit the owl with greater intelligence than even the beaver or the rattlesnake, and treat him with the utmost reverence, call him "grandfather," and even incense him with tobacco-smoke — a solemn offering, with which oftentimes the morning sun is greeted. A legend represents the owl as one of the greatest benefactors of mankind, and he is considered to be the king or chief of the snakes.[*] In Mexican legend it was a dove that taught the dumb sons of Cojcoj, the Mexican Noah, to speak diverse tongues so that they could not understand one another.[†] On the mountain Kaf lives the monstrous bird Anka, endowed with reason and speech, known to the Persians under the name of Simorg, and in the Talmud called Jukneh. The books of the Zends tell of four sacred birds which are the guardians of the earth and of everything that lives thereon. Japanese mythology represents the bird Isi Tataki as the cause of the propagation of the human race; it was from him that the original divine pair got their knowledge of marriage rites. Chaldaic legend speaks of four worshipful beings, half man, half animal, which came out of the sea and made their appearance on the bank of the Euphrates near Babylon to give men instruction. The name of the first was Oannes, and he instructed them in those things which are pleasing to God, and gave to them religion, laws, science, culture; while it was the business of the other three to attend to the improvement of mankind by a repetition of the lessons given by the first. The Turks and the Arabs say that the cat meditates upon Mohammed's law, and that she will share with the faithful in the joys of Paradise, and they believe that the horse reads the Koran.[*]

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* Wilkes, IV. 467, *apud* Waitz, III. 345.
† Azara, Voy. II. 138.
‡ Garcilasso, Commentar. reales, I. 18, 21.
§ *Ib.* 178.
‖ M. v. Neuwied, II. 230.
¶ Kölle, African Native Literature. Lond. 1854, p. 154.
** Steller, S. 269; Georgi, Beschr. S. 383.
†† Waitz, II. 177.

* *Ib.* III. 193.
† Jones, Traditions of the N. Am. Ind., 2 ed. Lond. 1830, III. 69.
‡ Raffenel, p. 90; Rüppel, R. in Nubien, Kordofan, etc. Frankf. 1829, S. 115; Bosmann, II. 243; Bowdich, p. 195.
§ Steller, S. 280.
‖ Waitz, II. 410.
¶ Waitz, III. 179.
** M. v. Neuwied, II. 221.
†† *Cf.* Grimm. D. M. S. 388 ff.

From what has been already said not only will the fetichistic veneration of animals be placed in a clear light, but it will also appear that such veneration is necessarily incident to savage life. And it is the animal itself *in propria natura*, and without any reference to any divinity he may represent, that is worshiped. "The bear that is worshiped as a god is regarded as a true bear: the snake that is worshiped as a fetich is no mere passing theophania, but is ever a real snake."[†] It is not to be questioned that in the higher stages of development the worship of animals is connected with the *cultus* of spirits; and then the animals are considered as consecrated to the gods, and are on that ground worshiped: but that is beside our purpose.

The elephant is in Africa regarded as a superior being. The Kaffirs, out of respect to his understanding, will not eat his flesh. And yet they chase this animal, saying at the same time, "Do not kill us, great chief; do not trample on us, great chief."[‡] In Dahomey he is the "great fetich" of the nation. Though the Dahomans are allowed to kill the animal, still they must perform a long purificatory ceremony after having slain one.[§] In Siam the kings used once to appear seated on a white elephant, but that custom was abolished, for the elephant is as great a potentate as the king himself; and in him dwells a kingly soul. He has been even invested with imperial dignities.[‖] The lion was worshiped in Arabia,[¶] the tiger in New Calabar[**] and in the East India islands. In Sumatra the natives give the tigers warning whenever Europeans set snares to catch them: and we read of *Tiger-cities*, where the houses are thatched with women's hair. In Acra, too, where almost each village adores as its fetich some animal peculiar to itself, the hyena is regarded as sacred.* At the Cape of Good Hope they will not kill the leopard, even though the animal devour women and children. It is thought in Dahomey that those who are torn to pieces by leopards are peculiarly blest in the next life.† The principal object of worship of the West Africa negroes is the wolf. A soldier belonging to a Danish fort, who was not aware of the sacred character of these animals, killed one of them. The indignant natives demanded of the Fort Commandant a reparation of the offense; and he was compelled to yield to the demand, as the negroes threatened to quit the district if he refused to comply. If satisfaction were not made the murdered wolf would take a fearful revenge on them and their children. Accordingly the Commandant had the wolf's body wrapped in linen cloths, and provided gunpowder and brandy for the solemn rite of atonement. The natives having, during the grand obsequies, fired off the powder and drunk the brandy, the wolf was propitiated and avenged.‡ Some negroes worship goats, sheep and rams.§ In New Calabar the horse is worshiped, and in Wadai this animal is the subject of many wonderful stories, and of a multitude of superstitious beliefs.‖ Indeed the horse, as also the ox and the cow, have been regarded as sacred the world over. The religious views of many Indian tribes with regard to animal-fetiches are very curious. "The highest worship is paid to the Onkteri Gods who created the earth and man, and who instituted the medicine-dance. In form they resemble huge oxen: amongst them the Spirit of Earth holds the pre-eminence, and has subject to him the serpents, lizards, frogs, the owl, the eagle, the spirits of the dead, etc. Another class of gods, sub-divided multifariously, is that of the Wakinyan, who are ever at war with the Onkteri, and who are principally destructive war-gods, though they possess also the creative power. To them the wild rice and a certain kind of grass owe their origin. In form they bear a fantastical resemblance to birds, and their home is on a lofty mountain in the west. The eastern gate of their dwelling is guarded by a butterfly, the western by a bear, the northern by the moose, the southern by the beaver,"* etc. The worship of the beaver is diffused throughout almost the whole of America.†

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[*] Parkman, Hist. Conspir. Pontiac. Lond. 1851, II. 135; Jones, III. 69.

[†] Clavigero, Lib. VI. p. 225: . . . . tubieron muchos hijos, pero mudos, hasta que una paloma les communicó los idiomas desde las ramas de un arbol, pero tan diversos, que no podian entenderse entre si.

[*] Arvieux, Mém. mis en ordre par le P. Labat. Par. 1735, III. 223, 252.

[†] Wuttke, I. 82.

[‡] Kay, Trav. and Researches in Kaffraria. Lond. 1833, p. 125, 138.

[§] Forbes, p. 9; Kay, p. 341.

[‖] Meiners, I. 221.

[¶] *Ibid.* S. 192.

[**] Holman, I. 371; Köler. 61.

Among birds it is the owl which is most frequently chosen for a fetich,‡ and even among our Teutonic ancestors this bird, as well as many others, was esteemed sacred.§ Many ancient Arab tribes regarded the eagle as their Great Fetich,‖ and by the Syrians the dove was worshiped.¶

In Africa, especially in Bonny; and in the E. Indian Islands, in Sumatra, Celebes, Butong, and the Philippines the crocodile is the principal object of worship.** In performing this worship, the natives go down to the haunts of the crocodile, to the sound of music vocal and instrumental, and throw food and tobacco to the animals. Nay, even in Celebes and in Butong tamed crocodiles are kept in the houses,†† probably because their presence is deemed lucky; and for this same reason, the Negro of Africa is glad when he finds these venerated animals dwelling near his hut without fear.‡‡ In Madagascar the cayman, the guardian deity of Little

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* Bowdich, p. 362; Monrad, 33.
† Forbes, p. 35.
‡ Römer, S. 273 f.; Des Marchais, I. 297.
§ Bastian, 82, 208.
‖ Holman, Köler, ll. cc.

* Waitz, III. 190.
† *Ib.* III. 193.
‡ *Supra*, p. 77.
§ Grimm, D. M. 386–394.
‖ Meiners, I. 192.
¶ Xenoph. Anab. I. 4.
** Holman, Köler, ll. cc.
†† Hawkesworth, p. 757.
‡‡ Römer, 273 f.

Popo, is supposed to be an enchanted chieftain of old.[*] When the cayman takes any prey (so say the natives on the Senegal) he calls together his friends and kindred and counsels with them when the holiday is to be kept, for the distribution of the plunder. His most intimate friend is a bird, a kind of crane, which watches over him as he sleeps: and it is not permitted to kill this bird.[†]

In the E. India Islands,[‡] as in Africa also,[§] the shark is a mighty fetich along the sea-coast. Eels are worshiped in Cusaie and in the Marian Isles.[‖] In the Carolines the God Mani is represented as a fish.[¶] "At Eap there are kept in a pond of fresh water two fishes of extreme age, but yet only a span in length, which always stand in a right line, head to head, without moving. If any man touch them, and they are made to stand at right angles with each other, an earthquake is the result."[**] Xenophon states that the ancient Syrians paid worship to fishes;[††] and whoever ate of a sacred fish, his body was at once covered with ulcers, his bowels shriveled up, and his bones crumbled away.[‡‡]

"Mysterious in its whole nature; amazingly agile though without limbs; strong and formidable though simple in form; of no great size and yet a match for the most powerful animals, owing to the instantaneousness of its attack; gorgeous in its variegated coat; silently and stealthily lying in wait for its victim, and then in an instant filling him with terror—the Serpent is an object of reverence to the savage, and is by him regarded as a mighty being of a higher order."[*] In America, Africa and Europe serpents have been worshiped, oftentimes, indeed, as being possessed by the souls of the departed, but often also as actual fetiches. The reverence paid by American Indians to the rattlesnake was the means of saving the life of the Count von Zinzendorf (1742). The Cayugas, with whom he was staying, were about to put him to death, supposing that his presence was productive of ill-luck to them. The Count was seated one night on a bundle of sticks, writing by the light of a small fire. Unknown to him a rattlesnake lay alongside him. When the Indians who were to take his life approached and observed the snake, they withdrew, firmly convinced that the stranger was of divine origin.[†] In Europe the Lithuanians worshiped serpents, kept them in their houses and made offerings to them: yet possibly they may have supposed them possessed by the souls of their departed kinsmen. We find mention of snake-worship as practiced by the Longobardi, in the Vita Sancti Barbati in "Acta Sanctorum." [‡] Herodotus speaks of this worship among the Egyptians.[§] The guardian of the Athenian Acropolis was a living serpent.[‖] But Serpent-worship finds its highest development in Whida, in Africa.[¶] The Egyptian Apis alone can compare for importance, power and sacredness with the marvelous serpent which once gave to the Negroes of Whida the victory over their enemies. This serpent, which never dies, is held so sacred that not even the king, but only the High-Priest, durst see him face to face. The sanctity of this one snake confers consecration and immunity upon all other snakes of the same species, which are naturally harmless;

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[*] Leguével, II. 223.

[†] Raffenel, p. 29, 208.

[‡] Marsden, Hawkesworth, ll. cc.

[§] Holman, Köler, ll. cc.

[‖] Dumont d'Urville, Voy. de l'Astrolabe. Par. 1830, V. 121.

[¶] Schirren, Die Wandersagen der Neuseeländer und der Maurimythus. Riga, 1856, S. 70.

[**] Gerland, *ap.* Waitz, V. 2, 137; Chamisso, Bemerk. auf einer Enldeckungsreise (1815–18). Weimar, 1821, S. 132.

[††] Anab. I. 4: *ἐπὶ τὸν Χάλον ποταμὸν πλήρη δ'ιχθυων μεγάλων καὶ πραέων, οὓς οἱ Σύροι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον καὶ ἀδικεῖν οὐκ εἴων οὐδὲ τὰς περιστεράς.*

[‡‡] Meiners, I. 193.

[*] Wuttke, I. 82.

[†] Waitz, III. 192.

[‡] Grimm, D. M. 395 ff.

[§] II. 74.

[‖] Herod. VIII. 41.

[¶] Bosmann, 458 ff.; Des Marchais, II. 153.

and it is a high crime to kill them. While Bosmann was in Whida, a swine killed one of these snakes, and in punishment not alone was the individual transgressor put to death, but a general persecution broke out against the whole tribe of swine. Indeed they would have been utterly exterminated had not the Serpent granted an amnesty. Each time the crown is put upon a new head, the queen-mother and the new king himself make a solemn pilgrimage to the temple of the serpent. In the court of this temple the faithful pronounce their prayers, and offer valuable gifts. In case there be no earthquakes or other great calamities, which would necessitate special offerings to appease the wrath of the deity, there is annually held a grand festival, when hecatombs are offered. Still the High-Priest may at any time demand, in the name of the serpent, offerings of valuables, herds, and even human victims; and he must be denied nothing. There is engaged in the service of the temple a numerous host of priests and priestesses. The snake's harem is well stocked with beautiful girls. Every year the priestesses, armed with clubs, go about the country, picking out and carrying away girls from 8 to 12 years of age, for the service of the god. These children are kindly treated and instructed in songs and dances in majorem gloriam of his Snakeship. In due time they are consecrated by tattooing on their bodies certain figures, especially those of serpents. The Negroes suppose it is the snake himself that marks his elect thus. Having received their training and consecration, which are paid for by the parents according to their means, the children return home; and when they attain their majority are espoused to the Serpent. The happy brides, tricked out in festival array, are brought by their parents to the temple. When night comes, they are let down by twos or threes into pits where, as the priestesses aver, the authorized proxies of the snake await them. Meanwhile the old priestesses sing and dance around the pits. On the morning after the bridal night the girls are sent back to their homes; there these chosen maids have never been known to give birth to serpents, but only to perfectly human infants. During the remainder of their lives they enjoy eminent privileges, as being the lawful wives of the god, and receive a portion of all the sacrifices and gifts offered to him. They are permitted to marry a human spouse, and then their power over their husbands is unlimited. Should the latter presume to set themselves in opposition to the will of their divine helpmeets, they run the risk of being assassinated by the priestesses and by the other spouses of the god.

Traces of animal-fetichism are to be found even in the more highly-developed forms of religion. The Israelitish worship of the Golden Calf, and of the golden calves set up by Jeroboam is the product of a rude intelligence, as yet unfitted for the purer worship of Jahve, which belongs to a higher state of intellectual development.* The raising up of the Brazen Serpent by Moses, the sight of which healed the people of Israel, would appear to be a relic of ancient serpent-fetichism. (See above, *Fernando Po.*) Of the worship of animals among the Egyptians Bastian says:† "At Heliopolis and at Thebes, good care was taken lest travelers should peep behind the curtain. But when the specious cloak of philosophy, by means of which the Egyptians imposed on their neighbors, is stripped off, but little is to be seen beyond γόητες πάντες. What we should despise as stupid fetichism in a Negro tribe, was admired as the profoundest wisdom in the world's metropolis. The close connection between the usages of the ancient Egyptians, and those of the other African races, is too evident to be overlooked."

As we have already seen, the savage does not view his fetich as a being so exalted that in no case he may withhold from him obedience. His reverence for animals is all the more precarious, inasmuch as he is frequently brought into collision with them in the struggle for existence, as when hunger drives him to use their flesh for food, or when he is obliged to defend himself against the attacks of wild beasts. In such cases he kills the animal, how sacred soever it may be. The divine *nimbus*, however, which surrounds the animal is not thus dissipated, for the savage will pay due reverence to the body of the slaughtered beast, excusing his deed as best he may: having thus appeased the animal's soul, he contentedly feasts off its flesh, and clothes himself in its skin. "Hail, friend from the spirit-land," is the salutation with which the Indian greets the snake he meets; "we were unfortunate, and our friends yonder knew of it. The Great Spirit knew of it. Take this gift of tobacco (sprinkling tobacco dust on the snake's head); it will comfort you after your long journey." With these words he seizes the snake by the tail, passes his hand dexterously along the back, till he reaches the head, and then crushes the reptile to death. He strips off the skin, which he wears as a trophy.* "Be not angry with us," say the Indians to the bear they have killed, "for having slain you. You have understanding, and know that our children are hungry. They love you, and they want to eat your flesh. Is it not an honor for you to become food for the children of the great chief?" † Sometimes they appease the bear they have killed by placing in its mouth a tobacco-pipe, into the head of which they blow, filling the animal's throat with smoke, and meanwhile asking forgiveness. During a meal, of which the bear himself is the principal dish, they set up his head on an elevated place and chant songs of praise in his honor.‡ The Ostiaks attach the head of the bear to a tree, and pay it divine honor; then they utter their laments over its carcass, in doleful tones, inquiring, "Who has deprived you of life?" and immediately themselves giving the answer, "The Russians! Who cut off your head? The ax of the Russians. Who has stripped you of your hide? Some Russian's knife."* The inhabitants of Northern Europe, from a feeling of reverence, never call the bear by his own name, but only "the old man in the coat of fur." † When the Madagascans kill a whale calf, they make their excuses to its dam, and entreat her to go away,‡ just as the Kaffirs do, after they have captured an elephant.§

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* *Cf.* Merx, Art. *Abgottereei*, in Schenkel's Bibellexikon.

† San Salv. S. 300.

As fetiches generally, in accordance with the principles already explained (Ch. III.), are regarded as the causes of phenomena, which in point of fact stand to them not at all in the relation of effects, so too those animals which are worshiped are by their devotees arranged in causal relation with phenomena, whenever the true cause cannot be found. Hence the Yakutes regarded the camel as the cause of the small-pox (p. 24). The Mexicans first became acquainted on the one hand with the horse, on the other with ships, when the Spaniards came to their shores. The report and the flash coming from the guns of the latter they took to be thunder and lightning. Who produced these phenomena? Not men; of that they were quite sure. The horse, however, was something entirely new to them, and therefore they regarded the horse as the producer of the thunder and lightning, and on this ground worshiped him as a god. "At his departure Cortez left with these friendly people one of his horses that had received an injury in the foot. The Indians conceived a sentiment of reverence for the beast, as being in some way connected with the mysterious power of the white man. After their visitors had taken their leave, they offered flowers to the horse, and prepared for him, it is said, many savory dishes of poultry, such as they were wont to prepare for the sick. The poor beast starved to death with such novel food. The terrified Indians set up his image in stone, in one of their teocallis, and worshiped it as a god. When, in 1618, two Franciscans came to this locality (which was then as little known to the Spaniards as before Cortez's visit) to preach the gospel there, one of the most notable things they found was this image of a horse, which was worshiped by the devout Indians as the god of thunder and lightning."[*] Jacob Grimm cites numerous cases of animal-worship among the ancient Teutons. Thus, whoever kills the haus-otter (a small innoxious snake) will die within the year.[†] The killing of a swallow (which is a sacred bird) causes rain to fall for four weeks.[‡] The giant eagle Hraesvelgr, in Northern mythology, causes the winds by beating his wings on the outer verge of the earth.[§] The dew of morning is the foam that falls to the earth from the mouth of Hrîmfaxi, the black steed of the night.[‖] Sköll and Hati, two gigantic wolves, are ever chasing the sun and the moon,[¶] and hence it is that the latter ever speed on—a thing they would not do, were it not that they feared being overtaken by the wolves. Eclipses of sun and moon occur when the wolves overtake their prey, and have commenced to gulp them down; but fortunately the victims have so far been always successful in making their escape. In Oriental fable the dragon takes the wolf's place. The serpent Jörmungandr, which lives in the sea, encloses the whole earth in his folds. When he drinks there is ebb: but when he ejects water, there is flow of tide. In the mythology of Japan and China, when the dragon Tat quits the sea to saunter through the air, we have the waterspout.

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* Waitz, III. 192.
† Lettr. édif. N. E. VI. 174.
‡ Charlevoix, p. 117, 300.

* Isbrand, Voy. au Nord. VIII. 411.
† Georgi, Beschr. S. 14, 21.
‡ Owen, Narr. of a Voy. to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia and Madagascar. Lond. 1833, I. 170.
§ Moodie, Ten years in S. Africa. Lond. 1835, II. 333.

7. *Men as Fetiches.*

A fetich is an object perceptible by the senses, to which, anthropopathically apprehended, man attributes causal power, and which he worships. Hence objects the most widely diverse becomes fetiches. Hence too, man himself, if the conditions unite in him, will be a fetich. Both in Africa and in America identical views are taken of those individuals who possess any extraordinary deformity, whether of body or of mind—for instance, albinos, dwarfs, hunchbacks, fools, etc. In Bornoo albinos are objects of fear, as beings gifted with supernatural power;[*] in Senegambia, if they are slaves, they are given their freedom, are exempted from all labor, and are cheerfully supported at others' expense.[†] In Congo the king keeps them in his palace, as "fetiches which give him influence over the Europeans."[‡] They are held in such respect that they may take whatever they will; and he who is deprived of his property by them, esteems himself honored. In Loango they are esteemed above the Gangas, and their hair is sold at a high price as a holy relic.[§] Thus may a man become a fetich.

This fetichistic worship of man is a totally different thing from the respect which is paid to the man whose extraordinary power is due simply to the fact that he is the owner of certain mighty fetiches. This is the case with the ordinary fetich-priest, and with many kings, who by means of their fetiches may decree favorable or unfavorable weather, etc., as, for instance, when Ogautan and Möndull in the saga, by shaking their weather-bag (vedhrbelgr) cause wind and tempest; or when the Swedish king Eiríkr, surnamed Weather-hat (vedhrhattr), caused the wind to blow from the point toward which he turned his hat.[*] But if such power was attributed to the individuals themselves, and not to their fetiches, then they themselves became fetiches. Thus the Chitome of Congo is regarded as a fetich, as also, probably, the king of Usambara, whose power is so unlimited, that one of his subjects, describing the actual relation between ruler and subject, said: "We are all the slaves of the Zumbe (king) and he is our Mulungu (god)."[†] The Tamol of the western Caroline Islands appears to belong to the same class as the Chitome.[‡] The nobility in those islands have unlimited power over the people, but they themselves in turn are subject to a Tamol in each separate island, and he is absolute monarch. Whoever approaches him on business, must come with his head bowed down to the level of his knees. He takes his position in silence, and awaits the Tamol's order to speak. The potentate's words pass for those of a god, and his hands and feet are kissed as often as a petition is addressed to him. The idolatrous worship of the princes of Tonga, whose touch suffices to make any object holy, also appears to be fetichistic. But of a different kind was the honor which, for instance, the Mexicans paid to Cortez; [§] the Sandwich Islanders to Captain Cook; [‖] the Kamtchatdales to the first Russian seen by them; [¶] the inhabitants of Cassegut to De Brue;[**] the Gilbert Islanders to the Scotchman Wood; [††] the Oatafians to Captain Hale.[*] In these cases the motive was different: these white men were considered gods. Hence they were viewed not from the fetichistic standpoint, but from that of polytheism, the origin of which we have already pointed out. On this account the Gilbert Islanders carried Wood about in their arms, and the Oatafians entertained Hale (whose ship, as they thought, had come down from heaven) with solemn dances, lest they should offend the deity; and answered his questions in song. The white men were identified with deceased ancestors,[†] being supposed to be the latter either *in propriis personis* or in their ghosts. Accordingly, here we have no fetichistic worship.[‡]

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[*] Prescott, Conq. Mex. II. 369.
[†] D. M. Anh. Aberglaube Nr. 143.
[‡] *Ib.* Nr. 378.
[§] D. M. S. 361.
[‖] D. M. S. 368.
[¶] D. M. S. 401.

[*] Kölle, p. 401.
[†] Raffenel, Nouv. Voy. dans le pays des Nègres. Par. 1856, I. 230.
[‡] Bastian, 34.
[§] Proyart, 172.

CHAPTER VI.

THE HIGHEST GRADE OF FETICHISM.

1. *The New Object.*

ALL the objects which we have so far considered as fetiches, how much soever they may differ among themselves, have this in common, that they exist in man's immediate environment: that they are within his reach, and almost all tangible. They are all circumscribed by the limits of earth, and mostly confined to the very spot which is the savage's own habitat: he necessarily comes in contact with them, nor is there any need of special search to find them out.

Furthermore, all the objects which the savage in the lowest stage of intellectual development considers useful or desirable, belong in like manner to the earth; as all his aspirations and all his interests are concerned with earthly things. For what interests has he? Those of a spiritual nature are unknown to him, and those which he does recognize have reference simply to his physical well-being; his bodily appetites are the only stimuli which excite his will, and engage his whole attention. But how is he to gratify these appetites? The sky with all its stars will not appease his hunger, nor has the firmament power to sate his lust. The gratification of these appetites is to be found only here below. It is the earth alone that can give him the objects of his desire, and he has no wish for the things lying beyond. For us these earthly objects are become also objects of higher, more spiritual interest, inasmuch as we have made them objects of knowledge; but they are not at all objects for the savage in this sense. He has no desire of knowledge for knowledge' sake: he desires things only so far as they can gratify his grosser passions. Whatsoever does not minister to these, is of no interest for him, is no object for him, does not arrest his attention; just as animals "in the state of freedom only have perfectly clear conceptions of the few things which are closely connected with their daily wants and with their daily life, but suffer everything else to pass by almost unnoticed."* A plant is an object for the savage only in so far as it may supply food: it has no value for him as a botanical specimen, and it is only as an article of food that it can interest him. These mere bodily interests of his are amply secured within the narrow earthly world with which he is acquainted. So long as he experiences none but simply physical interests, he rests content with his contracted world, and his mind remains confined within its narrow sphere. If therefore his world is to extend its limits, and his mind to take a broader range, he must experience some higher interest. But now the will is never without its object, never stands by itself as *will* simply, but always as will *determined*, always as will directed towards an *object*: and it ever extends just as far as its objects. If therefore a higher will, a higher interest is to be awakened, a new object must necessarily be attained, by impelling toward which the energies of the will we give them a new direction and elevate them. But of what kind must this object be, in order to awaken a new and a higher interest?

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[*] Grimm, D. M. S. 368.

[†] Krapf, Reisen in O. Afrika (1837–55). Stuttg. 1858, I. 291, note.

[‡] Gerland *ap.* Waitz, V. 2, 116.

[§] Acosta, p. 204.

[‖] Cook's Last Voyage, III.

[¶] Müller, Sammlung russ. gesch. III. 19.

[**] Labat, Voy. V. 172.

[††] Gerland, V. 141.

[*] Hale, Eth. and Philol. (U. S. Exp.) Phil 1846, 151 seq.

[†] *Cf.* Gerland, V. 141.

[‡] This fifth chapter makes no pretension to an exhaustive treatment of its topics. Its object is simply to indicate the principal points of view, from which the various objects of fetich worship are to be regarded, with reference to the matter in hand. To collect and describe all the forms of fetichism in use among the various races of men, will furnish matter for as many special investigations as there are peoples and religions.

To arouse such interest in the savage mind it must be adapted to the savage's modes of apprehension. If it had no aspect which the savage mind might grasp, it could excite in it no interest. Let us see the mode and the measure of the savage's mental grasp. Abstract ideas, spiritual conceptions, purely mental phenomena are to him unintelligible, and consequently uninteresting, indifferent. He apprehends only what is apprehensible through the senses, or what he can *see*. The new object, therefore, if it is to excite an interest in his mind must be one that is apprehensible through the senses.

But the new object must awaken in him a higher interest than any he has hitherto known, and to this end the interests which hitherto have stimulated him must in some degree be repressed. Now it is the new object which has to do this. Let us see what kind of objects will *fail* to displace the old interests, or in other words the bodily appetites of hunger and lust, and the natural emotions such as joy and anger, which have been hitherto supreme. The savage has so far recognized only these, and has prized only such objects as answer to them. So long as he comes in contact with such objects as these, so long will this class of interests be served and go on growing. The objects therefore which answer to these appetites and passions will never tend to check the growth of inferior interests. They are only to be repressed by some object not answering to them, nor tending to enhance them, but which, *nevertheless*, can engage the savage's attention. If it can do this without at all gratifying his bodily appetites, the will of the savage will be thereby to a certain degree weaned of these appetites and turned in a new direction, *i.e.*, will have a new interest. Therefore the new object must not serve in any way for the gratification of sensuous desire; for whatsoever has that tendency belongs to the sphere of the lower interests, and so to the sphere of pure savagery. And conversely, everything that has hitherto been comprised within the sphere of the savage serves, in so far as his interests are centered in it, to gratify these sensuous desires, they being as yet his only interests. Hence every object which lies within his immediate sphere is liable at any time to become merely the object of these desires. If then the new object is to be of such a nature that it will not answer to these desires, it must be so remote from the savage's immediate sphere that these sensuous desires can never in it find their gratification: and it must ever stand on a plane high *above* these, never *beneath* them. Such grand objects as a mountain or the sea do not, it is true, serve to appease hunger or to gratify lust, but still they may in some manner be subordinated to the savage's will and desire: he can ascend the mountain, set his foot upon its summit, break fragments of rock from it, etc.; he can sail upon the sea, take water out of it, scourge it, etc. And so every object upon the earth may be brought into subjection to his power; and hence the new object must lie entirely beyond the limits of earth, and beyond the sphere of his sensuous desires. But now since it can in no way gratify these desires, and still must excite an interest in the savage's breast, how is it to attain its end? As we have seen, it must not be an object of sensuous gratification, nor yet an object for use or for consumption. But if the savage cannot employ it for sensuous gratification, and yet is to make it an object of contemplation, his attitude towards it must be one of attention, gazing, observation. Hence the new object, which is to repress sensuous desire, must be of such a nature as to rivet the attention, and to draw upon itself the gaze of the savage. It must therefore be visible, and as has been already said, an object apprehensible by sense. Now what is that object of sense which alone can rivet his attention, and yet never be subordinated to man's use? Since it must not lie within the sphere of his sensuous desire, it must consequently lie without the earth: and yet it must be observable by the senses, and specially fitted to engage the attention—hence something noteworthy and wonderful which shall surpass all things else in splendor. But now if this object could be contemplated and its properties ascertained in a moment it could engage the attention of the savage only for a brief space, and then he would be again free to give himself up anew to merely sensuous gratification. The new object must therefore not alone surpass all others in magnitude and splendor, but it must also be so vast and stupendous, that man may find no end of contemplating it, that it shall lead him on to ever new contemplations, and so ever withdraw him from ministering to his sensuous appetites. If then there be found an object which irresistibly challenges his attention merely as an object of contemplation without in the least gratifying his lower passions, he has henceforth, in addition to his former sensuous interests, a new one which consists in observation, contemplation: and this new interest we call an intellectual one, as contrasted with the other, which is sensuous or materialistic.

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* Waitz, I. 329.

Thus the savage could acquire an intellectual interest only through some object of sense lying without the sphere of his passions, and hence extra-terrestrial, which, however, was fitted to engage his attention by attracting his gaze: which should be possessed of preëminent sensuous splendor and be of such grand proportions that it might be contemplated forever and still ever invite to fresh contemplation. Now of all the objects in the universe there is but one which fulfills all these requirements, and that is the Firmament with its countless stars. The sky is the new object, being perceptible by the sense—the mightiest, grandest and most stupendous of all the objects of sense, with its blazing sun, its shining moon, its twinkling stars, its rosy blush at morn and eve, and the deep blue of its mighty arch. By the splendor of its ever-changing and sublime phenomena, it invites the savage to the contemplation of itself, without ministering to his lower nature. Thus this new object gives to his will a new direction, a new interest—that of contemplation, of thirst for knowledge: an intellectual interest.

We must go back in imagination to the time when man was without knowledge, when all was ignorance, when there was no school to give instruction, as instruction is given now. Then every step toward knowledge was an advance into the unknown land, and individual observation was the only schoolmaster. But observation was limited to those objects which Nature afforded: hence Nature was, after all, the true Teacher. Were it not that there was in the universe an object which irresistibly challenged attention, without ministering to man's lower passions, and which thus in some measure diminished the force of the latter, man could never have risen above his animal instincts, nor ever have conceived an intellectual interest. Hence wherever the savage has not yet made the heavens the object of his contemplation, we may be sure that his condition is that of extreme barbarism, which latter however diminishes, in proportion as his knowledge of the heavens advances. The firmament is the first object which awakens in him intellectual interest. It is only after he has with some interest contemplated this object, that his mind goes out to observe the universe, for knowledge' sake, and to study the other objects upon the earth, as objects of knowledge, which before were only objects of desire. This is perfectly consequent, for so soon as *one* thing is regarded with intellectual interest, all other things will be regarded from the like point of view, since they are all mutually related. Hence, of all the sciences worthy of the name, astronomy is the oldest and the first; and hence too do we find, even in the remotest historic times, and among the most ancient peoples, that the results of astronomy, such as the ascertainment of the year's length, and kindred facts, are more correctly apprehended than the results of any other science. The science of the heavens, so soon as there is any demand among savages for scientific knowledge, constitutes the first object of scientific instruction. I have said, *scientific* instruction, to distinguish it from religious, which no doubt precedes astronomical instruction: but this precedence of religious instruction is due simply to the fact that it is based upon a total ignorance of Nature, which of course is prior to knowledge. But the earliest scientific knowledge that man acquires is that of astronomy. Leaving out of view the instruction the savage gains as to the objects in daily use, even the rudest of savages oftentimes receives religious instruction, but never anything that can lay claim to the title of scientific education. If therefore we anywhere find scientific instruction given (and the first lessons will be always in astronomy) we may confidently assert that mental development has made considerable progress. This is verified in the case of the South-Sea Islanders in the Carolines. Canova, in describing the Caroline Islands, says, "In each district there are two places of public instruction, in the one of which the boys, and in the other the girls receive instruction in astronomy, as far as the natives' knowledge of that science goes. The master in giving his lessons uses a globe, on which the position of the principal stars is indicated with rude art." * Hence, too, astronomy is the first subject-matter of early scientific literature. The books of the Mexicans had on one page mythological figures, ritual directions, laws and the history of the country, while on the opposite page, out of all the objects of theoretical science, they set forth only those of astronomy and chronological calculations.† The "innumerable books" of the people of Yucatan, whose mental culture was about parallel with that of the Mexicans, give the constellations, chronological calculations, and the fauna and flora, and political history of the country.‡ Science in antiquity developed similar phenomena in its beginnings, and the library of a German peasant consists of a hymn book and an almanac.

We will suppose the savage, then, beginning to contemplate the heavenly bodies with some interest. The phenomena which these produce, viz., light and heat, and all the effects of these latter, have so wide an influence, and so intimately concern man himself, and further, it is so patent that these heavenly bodies are in truth the efficient causes of the phenomena, that man establishes a relation between them and his own life, between them and all Nature. There can be nothing on earth mightier than they, their influence pervading all space: they are supreme, they can account for everything, they are for man Ultimate Causes. But these causes do not for him operate through mechanical laws: they are not for him inanimate bodies, being, like all other objects, apprehended by him anthropopathically. Hence they have life and will, even as man himself—and thus they become the supreme fetiches. But their energies are not restricted to the production of storms and tempests: man sees his own fate as depending upon their decrees. The changes which he observes taking place among them he interprets as tokens of their good-will or their enmity, their favor or their displeasure; and hence it is that the early contemplation of the heavens, as being coupled with anthropopathic apprehension, is necessarily fetichistic, and that astronomy makes its first appearance as astrology; hence, too, the latter precedes the former chronologically.

2. *The Gradual Acquisition of Knowledge.*

Time was when the heavenly bodies were not yet an object of contemplation. We do not say that then man did not notice, did not see the sun, moon and stars—even brute beasts have so much cognizance of the heavens: but the time was when man had no definite notion of the heavenly bodies, when he knew nothing either of the mode or of the regularity of their movements, or of their periods: in short, when his knowledge of them was limited to the general sensuous impression. Later he comes to see in the heavens an object made up of distinct parts. Between the point of departure, nescience, and this term, knowledge, lies the period of gradual acquisition, where, starting from small beginnings, the mind advances step by step to knowledge. Let us form a clear conception of the order in which the heavenly bodies would by degrees come to be known to man, and we shall at the same time understand the order in which they presented themselves to him as objects of fetichistic contemplation.

When he begins to observe the sky with its various phenomena, his knowledge is limited to the sensuous impression. But in this case the observer is not one who has pushed his investigations deeply into other subjects, and now to this new investigation brings a disciplined mind which can keenly analyze the phenomena;

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* Gerland *apud* Waitz, V. 2. 110.

† Waitz, IV. 171.

‡ Waitz, IV. 311.

he is only an overgrown infant, with powers of thought all undeveloped. Such an observer will be chiefly guided by the impression left by the object on his senses. Hence that heavenly body which appears most striking to the eye, which exhibits the greatest number of varying phases, and which is easiest observed, will first attract and rivet his attention. Now such an object is not the Sun, but the Moon: and hence we find that, among savages, the latter is worshiped at a much earlier period than the former, and is considered of higher importance.* This fact, which to us who can more truly estimate the relative importance of the two luminaries, appears at first glance unaccountable, admits of a very easy explication, when we consider on the one hand the exterior, sensible aspects of the two, and on the other hand the intellectual status of the savage.

In the first place the savage has in the day-time little leisure for the contemplation of Nature in general, or of the Sun in particular: he must needs find his daily provision, and this care engrosses all his attention. For the more perfect the means and the implements, the machinery he employs, the sooner can he supply his bodily wants, and the more leisure he has for mental development. But the less developed he is, the clumsier are the means at his command for taking his prey, and the more time does he consume in gathering together his daily provision; and hence a Tierra del Fuegian is his whole life long occupied with this one care, and this is his sole employment, viz., to gain his sustenance. As he neither sows nor plants, and as the desert region in which he lives yields him scarcely one natural product, he must needs be restricted to this one pursuit. If perchance he succeeds in finding a sufficiency for the present, the search has wearied him and he seeks repose in sleep: and when he awakes the renewed cravings of hunger compel him again to resume his search. Thus, if he would support life, he must through the day keep his eyes steadily fixed on the earth. And then the Sun is no such object as would through the day very forcibly claim the attention of a man whose mind is void of thought, and whose only care is to still the cries of hunger. All nature is now bathed in light; there are no dark shadows, no contrasts; and contrast it is which enables an object to make a very deep impression. Day with its light is a very common occurrence—it is indeed a fact of *daily* experience. But suppose that the man directs his gaze toward the sun: beyond its daily traversing the heavens, no phases are observable which might readily impress the savage mind. The Sun changes not like the Moon: those changes which we observe in the place of its rising, from solstice to solstice, take place so gradually, and require so long a period, that only close observation can detect them at all; and for this the savage has neither the will nor the perseverance. Hence the sun is an object rather of meditation than of contemplation; and to study it requires a rather highly developed understanding. It is very different with the moon. At night the savage has finished his daily toil; his wants are supplied: hence he is now at leisure. But, most important of all, the effect of contrast is here to be observed. The earth is wrapt in darkness; the superstitious savage meanwhile shudders with fear, while every nerve and every sense is on the stretch. Then emerges from beneath the horizon the bright orb of the full Moon, round as a wheel, red as fire. Then how manifold are its apparitions, the like of which are never to be seen in the Sun, and which are specially fitted to call forth the astonishment of man, and to invite him to reflection. Now she is fiery red, in a moment pale and wan; at one time a majestic full orb, at another wasted away, and resembling a sickle. The dark spots upon her surface lead men to fancy that she has a human face, or give rise to other imaginations: oftentimes she is totally eclipsed. In short, several peculiar and directly visible phenomena are observed in the moon, which must attract the attention of man, and cause him thither to direct his gaze. He will also attempt to assign causes for these phenomena, and these attempts, how inept and anthropopathic soever they may be, still will at least have this effect, that they will connect notions together, *i.e.*, will serve as the first steps in thinking. Thus then we need not be at all surprised if when a rude people first begin to contemplate and to worship as fetiches the heavenly bodies, the Moon has precedence of the Sun.[*]

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* *Cf.* Wuttke, I. 66.

But after the Moon has become an object of man's contemplation, it is not now the Sun which he next studies, but certain stars which, as they appear in the gloom of night, affect him more sensibly and offer for his contemplation properties stranger and more easily observable than does the Sun. There are five stars and constellations[†] which first attract the notice of man, and which we always find recognized by such savages as have even made a beginning in the study of astronomy. The first is Venus, which with its brilliant light attracts attention, particularly by appearing first of all the stars in the evening, and vanishing last of all in the morning—the Morning and the Evening Star, which at first passed for two distinct luminaries, and which Pythagoras was the first among the Greeks to recognize as one.[‡] Next is the Ursa Major, the Great Bear, or the Wain, which never drops below the horizon in the northern hemisphere; together with his counterpart, the Ursa Minor, the Little Bear; both of these being noticeable from their peculiar form. Then that chain of three brilliant stars, known to the Greeks as Orion, which the people in Upper Germany still call the Drei Mäder (Three Mowers), because they resemble three mowers standing in the meadow one behind the other.[*] Finally, the space so thickly gemmed with stars, situate between the shoulders of Taurus, and of which chiefly seven (more exactly six) are easily discernible — the Seven Pleiades, which are distinguished as being in the center of the glorious system of the Milky Way, and which gain all the higher eminence from the fact that the space all around them, to the extent of six of their diameters, is relatively poor in stars; and from this, that for many regions of the South these stars never set. These five are the first to be recognized: they are *popular* stars the world over. It is toward these that Odysseus directed his eyes when, quitting Calypso's isle, he takes his homeward course over sea:

Αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνηέντως
Ἥμενος· οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτεν
Πληιάδος τ' ἐσορῶντι καὶ ὀψὲ δύοντα Βοώτην
Ἄρκτον ϑ', ἣν και ἁμαξαν ἐπίκλησιν καλέουσιν,
Ἣ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται και τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει,
Οἴη δ'ἀμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο.
Od. V. 270 seqq.

These Hephæstos represented on Achilles' shield (Il. xviii. 487 seqq.). Of these it is said: "Canst thou check the sweet influence of Chima (Pleiades) or loose the band of Kesil (Orion)? Canst thou order Mazzaroth (Sirius) in his period? or canst thou lead Aish (Arcturus) with his sons?" (Tob. xxxviii. 31.) "Who made Arcturus and Orion and the Pleiades and the chambers of the South?" (Tob. ix. 9.) These were the favorite stars of the Ancient Germans, the Sclavs and the Finns.[†]

That the Moon was the first among the heavenly bodies to be distinctly studied by man, and that the stars and the Sun followed after, is clearly evinced by the different modes of reckoning time at various periods and in various nations. The mode of reckoning by Moons is the primitive one. We meet with it in the earliest historic records of all civilized nations, and hence we also find it wherever a nation is in the lower stages of development. Here we meet with reckonings by Moons, and by the movements of certain stars: but never by the sun's periods. Nations in this stage of development are raised very considerably above the condition of the rudest barbarism. Last comes the reckoning by the Sun, and this indicates an intellectual status which leaves far behind it the barbarism of savage tribes.

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[*] *Cf.* W. Whewell, Hist. Inductive Sciences, Vol. I.

[†] *Cf.* Grimm, D. M. S. 416.

[‡] Whewell, Hist. Induct. Sciences, Vol. I. 106.

[*] Grimm, D. M. 417.

[†] D. M. 416.

Not to speak of the civilized nations of Europe and Asia, who in early historic times reckoned by moons, this mode of reckoning time is to this day followed throughout Africa[*] by most of the Negro tribes, as also in America, by the aborigines. The Indians of the latter continent generally reckon thus, and their months bear the names of various objects in Nature, especially animals and the products of the earth.[†] "Like most of the other tribes, the Dakota Indians reckon twelve months, five each for Summer and Winter, and one each for Spring and Autumn, and add an intercalary month every second year. According to Carver (216) and Heckewelder this intercalation of a so-called "lost month" without a name, occurred every 30th month: but according to Kohl (I. 167), every year. Schoolcraft (V. 419) says that the Algonquins reckon only eleven months, which are brothers, and take to wife, in succession, one woman, the Moon. The Algonquins do not appear to find any difficulty in the fact that between winter and winter there are now 12 now 13 months.[‡]

The next step in astronomy is to reckon time by the moon and the stars together, excluding the sun, except for noting the hours of the day; and this mode of reckoning is found among some of the more advanced of the American tribes. The Iroquois and the Ojibbeways had special names for a number of stars; and the latter defined with precision the hours of the night by the rising and setting of these. The Osages, too, marked the progress of night by the stars, and recognized Venus, the three stars in Orion's belt, the Pleiades, and even the Polar Star and the apparent revolution of the neighboring stars around it.[*] But it is among the natives of the Marian and the Caroline Islands that we find this mode of reckoning time best developed. The Caroline islanders not alone define the periods of the night by the stars, but even divide the year into seasons according to the ascent of certain stars at fixed times; and into months, each having a fixed number of days, according to the moon's several phases. Not alone has each day, but also each division of the day, a distinct name.[†] "According to Freycinct (2. 105) the number of their months was ten, and of these, five (from June to November) constituted the season of winds and rains, and the other five the temperate season. But that writer himself doubts whether they had not two modes of reckoning the year, the one founded on climatic reasons, the other on lunations, and giving a greater number of months than the former." Among the natives of the Marian Islands there were two parties, one of them counting twelve, and the other thirteen lunations to the year; and their disputes once even led to a war. The Caroline men, besides traversing the sea all round their own group of islands for business or pleasure, visit also, whether singly or in squadrons, the Marian Islands. In making this voyage they direct their course according to the starry heavens, which they divide into twelve regions. Cantova makes mention of these twelve regions and of the twelve winds named by the Caroline men. But they had also another division of the heavens into twenty-four regions, which took their names from the stars which rose and set in them. They guide their course at sea by these regions, as also by the sun, stars and constellations, whose rising and setting they can observe, and to which they give special names."[*] Of the astronomical instruction in vogue amongst them we have already spoken.

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[*] Waitz, II. 224.
[†] Waitz, III. 224.
[‡] Waitz, III. 224.

[*] Nuttall, Journal of Travels into the Arkansas Territory. Phila. 1821, 172 seqq.
[†] Gerland *ap.* Waitz, V. 286.

The reckoning of time by the sun is therefore of more recent origin than the reckoning by the moon and stars. Among the Mexicans, who reckoned solar years, many regarded the planet Venus to be more ancient than the sun.[†] The discovery of the solar year presupposes an extended and laborious observation of the sun, and so a high degree of spiritual interest. Hence we might à priori assert (and experience will confirm the assertion) that wherever the solar year is accepted as a measure of time, culture has gone far beyond its barbarous stages. We may go farther (and here too experience will come to our support) and assert that the worship of the sun is only possible where the mind has reached a degree of development far higher than that required for the worship of the moon and stars. The nations which have brought the worship of the sun to its highest perfection are civilized—the Persians, for instance, the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Mexicans and Peruvians.

3. *The Worship of the Moon.*

The first and lowest stage of the worship of the heavenly bodies is that where the Moon is worshiped and regarded as of more importance than the Sun.

The Kamtchatdales have not yet reached this stage, worshiping, according to Steller, neither Sun nor Moon.[‡] The Payaguas, of S. America, on perceiving the New Moon beat the air with their fists, to give expression, as they say, to their gladness. Azara, who relates this fact, further says: "Ce qui a donné lieu à quelques personnes de croire qu'ils l'adoraient; mais le fait positif est, qu'ils ne rendent ni culte ni adoration à rien au monde et qu'ils n'ont aucune réligion."[*] This joy of the savage on beholding the luminous heavenly bodies leads him to contemplate them, and he soon begins to regard them as the causes of occurrences which in no wise depend upon them. The Botokuds think the moon is the cause of most of the phenomena of Nature.[†] In the Pelew Islands predictions are made from the appearance of the Moon.[‡] Hence the Moon soon passes for a mighty fetich, and so is held in greater consideration than the Sun; and accordingly the Moon would be naturally regarded as a Man, the Sun as a Woman. Bleek says, with respect to the Hottentots, "In the lowest stage of culture to be met with among nations having sexual language, the worship of the heavenly bodies acts a very unimportant part, for the reason that the knowledge possessed by savages of the motions of these bodies is too slight to give a basis for reverential contemplation. And yet we find even here the rudiments of the mythologic (*i.e.*, anthropopathic) conception. . . . For first the phases of the Moon will excite attention. Her gradual waxing and waning gives to the savage the notion of a Being which grows for a while, and then decays, and he readily personifies it. Hence it is not improbable that Moon-worship was the earliest phase of the worship of heavenly bodies. The Hottentots, as we are assured by Kolb, a competent witness, pay divine honor to the Moon. In their language ‖khãp [§]

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[*] *Ibid.* 85.

[†] Waitz, IV. 146.

[‡] Steller, Kamtschatka, S. 281.

[*] Azara, II. 137.

[†] Pr. M. v. Neuwied, R. n. Brasil, II. 58 f.

[‡] Hockin, Supplem. to the Account of the Pelew Islands. Lond. 1803, p. 15.

[§] ‖ expresses the lateral clicking sound; Kh is a guttural consonant. and ~ marks the nasal tone.

(Moon) is, as in ancient Teutonic, masculine, and the Sun feminine." The Namaquas, an offshoot of the Hottentots, regard the Sun as a lump of "clear fat," which seafarers attract to themselves by enchantment during the night, and then spurn after morning has come, and they have no further need of it. The Moon, on the other hand, they regard as a more important personage than even their own chief Spirit u-Tixo. He (the Moon) once commissioned the Hare to inform mankind that even as the Moon always recovers again his fullness after he has lost it, so they too may come to life again, after death. The hare mistook the message and told men that they must die away, even as the moon does. This was the origin of death. Old Namaquas never eat hare-flesh, probably because this animal is regarded as a divine messenger. The waning of the moon is due to his putting his hand up to his head when he has a headache.* The Mbocovies, neighbors of the Payaguas, take some of the stars for trees with luminous branches, and others for an ostrich pursued by dogs. (*Cf. supra*, Ch. III. § 3.) The Sun, they say, is a woman who once fell upon the Earth, and caused thereby great calamity: it was only with great difficulty that she was restored to her place. But the Moon is a man: and his eclipse is caused by a dog tearing out his bowels.† The Navajoes say that the Moon is a man riding on an ass: but that the Sun is set up in the heavens every morning by an old woman.‡ The Greenlanders say that Anningat, the Moon, is a man who is in pursuit of Mallina, the Sun, his sister, with whom he is in love.§ By the Lithuanians, Arabs ‖ and Hindus ¶ the Moon is also regarded as a man. Our Teutonic ancestors had the same opinion: "Audio veteres Germanos Lunum quoque deum coluisse et appellasse Hermon, id est, dominum Lunum (Herr Mond)." (Gesner, *Mithridates*, Tur. 1555, p. 28.) Hulderic. Eyben (De titulo nobilis. Hemst. 1677, 4, p. 136) says: "Qua etiam ratione in vetere idololatrico luna non domina, *dominus* appellatur:

Bis gottwillkommen, neuer mon, holder herr,
Mach mir meines Geldes mehr.

And Eligius: nullus *dominos* solem aut lunam vocet. The Sun, too, they regarded as a woman: Vetulam novi, quæ credidit solem esse deam, vocans eam sanctam dominam. (Nicolaus de Gawe *ap.* Grimm.)* The Greeks had for the Moon the two appellations μὴν, masculine, and σελήνη, feminine, and μὴν is the more ancient name. The Romans likewise had the two words Lunus and Luna.† The citizens of Carræ believed that whoever regarded the Moon as a male deity, would be lord over women: whoever held him to be female, would be their slave.‡ With regard to the utterly barbarous aborigines of New California Bägert§ states that not alone are they without social organization, but that not even the trace of any religion is to be found among them. Picolo's account contradicts this, for he says that they worship the Moon.‖ The Panches are by Gomara ¶ said to worship Sun and Moon, while Piedrahita* expressly affirms that they worship the Moon only. But these conflicting statements may perhaps be reconciled if we recollect that Piedrahita's account is of earlier date than Gomara's: thus Gomara's narrative would exhibit the progress to the worship of both Sun and Moon from simple Moon-worship. The difference between Bägert and Picolo admits of a similar explanation. With regard to the Kaffirs, too, we have accounts on the one hand asserting that they do not regard Sun or Moon as objects of worship, though they hold them to be animate beings; and on the other hand accounts affirming explicitly that they hold festival and conduct religious dances at the time of the New Moon.† The Maravi celebrate the return of the New Moon.‡ Traces of the old German moon-worship, in addition to those already mentioned, are found in the following passage from Nicolaus de Gawe's work *de Superstitionibus*: "Insuper hodie inveniuntur homines tam layci quam clerici, literati quam illiterati, et quod plus dolendum est, valde magni, qui cum *nouilunium primo viderint flexis genibus adorant: vel deposito capucio vel pileo inclinato capite honorant* alloquendo et suscipiendo. Ymmo eciam plures ieiunant ipso die novilunii, sive sit dies dominica in qua secundum ordinacionem ecclesiæ non est ieiunandum propter resurrectionis leticiam siue quacunque alia die, eciamsi esset dies dominice nativitatis. Quæ omnia habent speciem ydolatrie, ab ydolatris relicte." §

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* Waitz, II. 342.

† Guevara, Hist. Paraguay, Rio de la Plata y Tucuman, I. 15. *Cf.* Waitz, III. 472.

‡ Davis, El Gringo, or New Mexico and her People. N. Y. 1857, p. 414.

§ Grimm, D. M. 400.

‖ *Ibid.*

¶ Muir's Sanskrit Texts, vol. v. p. 76. "In Indian mythology the Moon is a god, not a goddess."

* D. M. 400 ff.

† Macrob. III. c. 8. *Cf.* Meiners, I. 389.

‡ Spartian. in Vit. Anton. Carac. c. 7. Et quoniam Dei Luni fecimus mentionem, sciendum, doctissimis quibusque id memoriæ traditum atque ita nunc quoque a Carrenis præcipue haberi, ut qui lunam fœmineo nomine ac sexu putaverit nuncupandam, is addictus mulieribus semper inserviat: at vero qui marem deum esse crediderit, is dominetur uxori, neque ullas muliebres patiatur insidias. Unde quamvis Græci vel Aegyptii eo genere quo fœmineam hominem, etiam Lunam deam dicunt, mystice tamen deum dicunt.

§ Bägert, Nachricht. v. Californ. S. 168

‖ Ap. *Waitz*, IV. 250.

¶ Hist, gen. de las Indias, in Historiad. prim. de Ind. Madr. 1852, p. 202.

The Moon being an animated thing and regarded with such veneration, it cannot surprise us to find the liveliest sympathy excited in her favor, especially whenever she appeared in danger of perishing, *i. e.*, when she is eclipsed. We have already seen that several tribes of savages account for this phenomenon by attributing it to the attack of a wolf on the Moon. Hence they hasten to render her assistance by making a fearful noise, with a view to frighten the monster away.* "Nullus, si quando luna obscuratur, vociferare præsumat," says Eligius in a sermon. "Vince Luna," was the cry of the Romans, prompted by a similar belief: and we meet with the same usage in other nations, for instance, among the Christians of Abyssinia.† The Mbocovies, as we have seen, supposed that a dog was tearing out the entrails of the Man-Moon. Similar beliefs are entertained by American Indians, and this circumstance will explain their custom of beating their dogs, during an eclipse of the Moon, as the Hurons did, according to Charlevoix, and also the Peruvians. The Potowatomies, who are Sun-worshipers and who regard the moon as a maleficent deity, as compared with the Sun, suppose that in the Moon there dwells an old woman who weaves a basket, on the completion of which the world will come to an end: but the basket is always torn in pieces by a dog, before it is finished. Whenever the woman struggles with the dog there is a lunar eclipse.‡ Many of the South Sea Islanders explain this phenomenon differently,§ accounting for it in accordance with the dogmas of Soul-worship, which appears to overmaster their fetichism, and to force it into the background. According to them the Moon is the food of departed spirits, and by feasting off it, they make it smaller; just as the Dakota Indians say that the waning of the Moon is caused by the gnawing of a number of little mice (Mice-souls?). But it ever waxes again. When therefore the Moon is eclipsed, these islanders are alarmed, lest the souls should go without sustenance. To prevent so great a calamity they make a great offering of cocoa-nuts. On the island of Eap * it is a wizard that causes the Moon to wane, by his enchantments.

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* Hist. de las conq. del nuevo reyno de Granada, I. parte. Amberes, 1688, V. I.

† Waitz, II. 411 f.

‡ Monteiro in the Ztschr. f. Allg. Erdkunde, VI. 260 ff. Ausland, 1858, p. 260; Waitz, II. 419.

§ Grimm, D. M. Anhang. S. XLIV.

* *Cf.* Grimm, D. M. 401.

† Waitz, II. 503.

‡ De Smet, Missions de l'Oregon et Voyages aux. Montagnes rocheuses (1845). Gand. 1848, p. 298.

§ Turner, p. 529 seqq.

We need not be surprised if we find a well-developed worship of spirits among people who pay no worship to the stars. The conception and worship of ghosts and spirits belong to the lowest grades of human development, and are parallel with those phases of fetichism which have all their objects upon the earth itself. More recent than either of these is Star-worship; and to the highest grade of this, which is the climax of fetichism, answers polytheism, the climax of spirit-worship. Where the two intersect, monotheism results. But of course we can only state these points here as theses susceptible of proof.

4. *The Worship of the Stars.*

The Hottentots, who are Moon-worshipers, and who take the Sun to be a lump of fat, have names for several stars, yet do not worship them.† The ancient religion of the Moxos differed for each village. They worshiped severally the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, as well as spirits and fetiches of every description. Their principal objects of worship were the evil spirit Choquigua and the jaguar: yet they kept a festival at the time of the New Moon, and Carasco is inclined to consider Star-worship as their primitive religion.‡ The Abipones of S. America worshiped as fetiches the Pleiades, which for them never set. They regarded this constellation as the founder of their race, and gave to it the same name which they gave to their conjuring doctors, Keebet.§ The Pawnee Indians used to offer human sacrifice annually to the "great star" which they worshiped, viz., Venus; and the same planet had a chapel dedicated in its honor among the Mexicans, who held it to be more ancient than the Sun. The last sacrifice offered to the "Great Star" by the Pawnees was offered in 1837 or 1838. Then a Sioux girl was the victim, and she, after having been carefully tended and well fed, without any intimation of her fate being given her, was bound fast upon a funeral pile and shot to death with arrows. Whilst yet she lived, they carved pieces of flesh off her body, and suffered her blood to flow over the young shoots of corn.*

5. *The Transition to Sun-Worship.*

Wherever the Moon and the Stars are objects of worship, the Sun's claims to adoration will soon be recognized, and then the Sun and the Moon will at first receive equal veneration, to the prejudice of the stars, which will hold but a subordinate position. But when once attention has been directed to the Sun, it will quickly be seen that, as compared with the Moon, he is the superior Being, and then their mutual relations will be reversed, the Sun coming prominently into the foreground. Hence in the worship of Sun and Moon, we recognize two stages: in the one these two luminaries jointly receive equal worship; in the other they are both worshiped indeed, but still the Sun far outranks the Moon, and the religious halo surrounding the latter is as pale as her beams. For all these stages we can find representatives, and of the latter it is to be observed that their intellectual advancement will correspond with the progress they have made in the worship of the heavenly bodies.

The Comanche Indians † worship the Sun and Moon *ex æquo*. They call the Sun the God of Day, the Moon the God of Night, and the Earth, the Common Mother of all.

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* Gerland *apud* Waitz, V. 2, 147.
† Campbell, First voyage.
‡ Waitz, III. 538.
§ Dobrizhofer, II, 80, 87 seqq. 317.

* De Smet; J. Irving, Indian sketches. Lond. 1835; Schoolcraft, IV. 50, V. 77.
† Waitz, IV. 213, ff.

In their view the Sun and the Moon are both *men:* they stand on terms of equality, not of subordination, which latter would not be the case were they regarded as Man and Woman. The savage considers woman to be immeasurably the inferior of man, and in the earlier stages of the worship of Sun and Moon the latter would be male, the former female. In that stage which the Comanches have reached they are both male: and it is only later that the Sun is held to be a man, the Moon a woman. As for the intellectual culture of these savages, it may be estimated from the following circumstances. On journeys they direct their course by the Polar Star. They do not follow agriculture, living solely by the chase. Their clothing is of tanned deer-skin. Their weapons are bows and arrows, the lasso and the shield; and now muskets. Each individual is allowed unrestricted freedom of action, but yet offenses are punished by decree of a council summoned annually by the chief. Debauchery is common, and polygamy prevails amongst them. They have no word meaning *virgin*, and it is simple politeness to offer to the stranger a female companion.

On the stage next above this, both Sun and Moon are also worshiped, but the Sun has precedence of the Moon, the latter being female, the former male. The Muzos say the Sun is their Father, the Moon their Mother. The natives of Cumana, one of the Caribees, used to worship Sun and Moon as man and wife.* The Sun goes on increasing in importance: thus the Potowatomies † hold the Moon to be an evil female deity (*supra*, p. 93); the Sun-worshiping Winnebagoes ‡ do not believe that the Moon has any power over mankind; while the Osages regard the Sun as the Great Spirit, ruling over Moon and Earth.* Here we reach that stage in the worship of the heavenly bodies, where the Sun assumes the unchallenged pre-eminence.

6. *The Worship of the Sun.*

Almost all the tribes of American Indians worship the Sun as the Supreme Deity. In North America, according to Waitz (III. 180) this is true as regards all the tribes as far west as the Crows and the Blackfeet, and as far north as the Ottawas. In Florida the worship of the Sun reigned, and it extended thence to the Apache country. Sun-worship, however, reached its highest stage of development in Middle and South America, among the Mexicans and the Peruvians.

The Indians of Florida prayed to the Sun, whom they held to be a man, for victory in battle, and sang hymns of praise in his honor.† The chief offering made to the Sun by the Indians is tobacco-smoke from the pipe, and thus smoking is among them a religious rite. The Hurons, Mandans, Menitarees and other tribes held the tobacco-pipe, whose high importance as the pipe of peace is well known, to be the gift of the Sun: and they, as well as many tribes lying further south, offer this incense to the Sun, to the four cardinal points of the heavens, and to Mother Earth.‡ The chiefs of the Hudson's Bay Indians used to direct three puffs of smoke toward the rising Sun, and greet him with a reverential salutation.§ In the Council, the pipe is always passed around, following thus the Sun's course, as they say.‖ In Virginia, the aborigines used to crouch at sunrise and sunset, and direct their between their mode of intercalation and that of Julius Cæsar which is adopted for the Roman Calendar, this difference, that instead of intercalating one day every fourth year, they added 13 days every fifty-second year. "They waited," says Prescott, "till the expiration of 52 years, when they interposed 13 days, or rather 12 days and a half, this being the number that had fallen in arrear. Had they inserted 13, it would have been too much, since the annual excess over 365 is about 11 minutes less than 6 hours. But as their calendar, at the time of the Conquest, was found to correspond with the European (making allowance for the subsequent Gregorian reform), they would seem to have adopted the shorter period of 12 days and a half, which brought them within an almost inappreciable fraction, to the exact length of the solar year, as established by the most accurate observations. (*Cf.* La Place; *Exposition*, p. 350.) Indeed, the intercalation of 25 days in every 104 years, shows a nicer adjustment of civil to solar time than is presented by any European calendar; since more than 5 centuries must elapse, before the loss of an entire day.[*] Such was the astonishing precision displayed by the Aztecs, or, perhaps, by their more polished Toltec predecessors, in these computations, so difficult as to have baffled, till a comparatively recent period, the most enlightened nations of Christendom!"

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* Gomara, 208; Herrera, Descripcion de las Indias occidentales. Madrid, 1730, III. 4. 10 seq.

†Keating, I. 216.

‡ Schoolcraft, IV. 240.

* Morse, Rep. to Sec. of War, on Ind. Affairs. New Haven, 1822, Appendix, 229.

† Landonnière, Histoire notable de la Floride (1562–67). Par. 1853, 8, 99; Herrera, VII. 1, 15, 2. 6; Buschmann *ap.* Abhandl. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berl. 1854, S. 300.

‡ Lafitau, II. 134 seqq.; Lettr. édif. I. 763; Nuttall, 274; Keating, I. 408 *et alibi.*

§ De la Potherie, I. 121, 131, II. 106.

‖ Perrin du Lac, I. 179.

In addition to their solar year they had also a sacerdotal, or, so to speak, an ecclesiastical year of 20 times 13 days, and this year was called the Metzlapohualli (Lunar Reckoning), as distinguished from the civil year Tonalpohualli (Solar Reckoning).[†] This religious computation of time, which served to regulate the festivals, as also the circumstance that one word, Metzli, served to express both *month* and *moon*, are evidences of an earlier computation by Moons, which in fact Echevarria asserts to have been their more ancient mode of reckoning.[*]

But even as the Moon lost importance for computing time, so too did her worship decline. She came to be regarded as the wife of the Sun, as the Stars were his sisters.[†] As for her eclipses, the true cause of which they very probably recognized,[‡] they were not regarded with the same emotions as by savages.[§] Amid the countless temples and chapels of Mexico two were specially famous, the great temple of the Sun, and the smaller temple of the Moon at Teotihuacan, and around each of these stood a cluster of minor temples, probably dedicated to the worship of the Stars.[‖] The planet Venus had a temple called Ilhuicatitlan.[¶] The Stars were objects especially of astrological observation, and were consulted with regard to the most trifling domestic affairs as well as the weightiest concerns of the State;[**] even the kings were attentive observers of the stars, and one of them, Nezahualcoiotl, built for his own use an observatory.

The Mexican State was a carefully articulated organism, down even to its minutest subdivisions. The affairs of the army, the revenues, the courts of justice, the police, etc., were thoroughly organized. The king, vicegerent of God on earth, was possessed of powers limited only by divine authority and the prescriptions of religion. The prayers addressed by him to the deity, to obtain strength and light for the discharge of his important duties, sound like some of David's Psalms.

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[*] Gama, parte 1, p. 23. El corto exceso de 4 hor. 38 min. 40 seg., que hay de mas de los 25 dias en el periodo de 104 años, no puede componer un dia entero, hasta que pasen mas de cinco de estos periodos máximos ó 538 años.

[†] *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 174.

[*] De Echevarria y Veitia, Hist. del Origen de las Gentes que poblaron la N. España (Ap. Kingsborough, VIII.) I. 4.

[†] *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 154.

[‡] Humboldt, Vues des Cordillères, 282; Prescott, I.

[§] Kingsborough, V. 156.

[‖] Clavigero, I. 247 seq.

[¶] Clavigero, p. 244.

[**] *Ibid.* I. 209 seqq. 271, 291, etc.

No Jewish prophet could use more impressive language than this, addressed to a Mexican King:[*] "Graciously and meekly receive all who come to you in anguish and distress; neither speak nor act from passion. Calmly and patiently listen to the complaints and reports that are brought to you. Silence not the speaker, for you are God's image, and his representative: he dwells in you, using you as the organ (flute) through which he speaks; and he hears through your ears. Punish no man without cause, for the right of inflicting punishment, which you hold, is of God:—it is as it were the talons and the teeth of God, to execute justice. Be just, and let who will be offended; for such is God's decree. Be it your care that in the tribunals all things be done according to order, and without precipitancy, and nothing in passion. Let it never enter your heart, to say, I am Master, and will do as I please; for that would tend to destroy your power, lower you in men's esteem, and impair your royal majesty. Suffer not your power and dignity to be to you the occasion of pride and arrogance, but let them rather remind you of the lowliness from which you have been raised, without any merit of yours. Be not given to sleep, nor to indolence and sensuality, nor to reveling. Squander not the sweat and the toil of your subjects. The favor which God has shown you, abuse not for profane and senseless purposes. Our Lord and King! God has his eye upon the rulers of States, and when they commit a fault, he laughs in scorn, but is silent: for he is God, and does what he will, and derides whom he will: for he holds us in his hand, tosses us from side to side, laughing at us when we totter and fall."

The material progress of the Mexican nation may be judged by the number and size of the cities. The city of Mexico had from fifty to sixty thousand families, or *houses*, as some authors suppose; Tezcuco was of equal magnitude; Tzimpantzinco had 20,000; Cholula, Huexocinco and Tepeaca, each 40,000; Xochimilco 80,000; According to Cortez himself Tlascala was in every respect a more opulent place than Granada in Spain. These cities all possessed buildings of considerable magnificence, and there were besides a number of smaller cities.[*]

The earnestness of their moral sentiments is evinced by the rigid discipline enforced as well in their domestic education as in that of their schools and seminaries, and by the exhortations, the prayers and the proverbs which were learned by rote. "Nothing," says Padre Acosta, "astonished me more or appeared to me more praiseworthy and notable, than the system followed by the Mexicans in the education of their children." "In truth it were difficult to find a nation," adds Clavigero, "that bestows more diligent care than they upon a matter which so nearly concerns the well-being of the state. Doubtless," he continues, "they disfigured their teaching with superstitions; but still the zeal they showed for education might well put to shame many a father of a family in Europe: and many of the instructions which they gave to the pupils would make profitable reading for our own young people."[†]

As a specimen of these I give the exhortation addressed by a Mexican to his son, which is admitted to be genuine by all the critics:[‡] "My son, you came forth out of your mother's eyes and their hands toward that luminary.* The Osages † each morning pronounce a prayer to the Sun, and in the chants of the Algonquin prophets ‡ the Sun is honored as supreme Deity. The Potowatomies § used occasionally to get upon the roofs of their huts at the rising of the Sun and on bended knees make an offering to him of maize gruel. The Spokans call themselves "Sons of the Sun." We can estimate the intellectual status of these Indians from the grade of religious development which they have reached; and the notable researches made by Waitz show that the former is on the whole considerably higher than has been commonly supposed. The nearer we approach to Mexico, the higher is the development of Sun-worship, and the higher the intellectual status of the aborigines. Even the natives of the lower Colorado country,‖ who were Sun-worshipers, did not practice polygamy, jealously watched over the chastity of the young women previous to marriage, and were of mild manners, though warlike. The Pueblos,¶ dwelling in the N. E. part of New Mexico, whose chief god is the Sun, are very industrious farmers with well-constructed implements of husbandry; weave woolen and cotton fabrics; are well clothed, and build houses of stone and adobes, three or four stories in height. As well in geographical position as in culture and worship the Mexicans had for neighbors the Natchez of Louisiana, together with the kindred people of Texas, whose principal tribe was that of the Assinais.** Waitz says that among these is to be found "the truest and most definite expression of Sun-worship, in conjunction with a theocratic form of government." The Natchez lived under an absolute monarchy, and the royal family, descendants of the Sun, stood high above the common people, like the family of the Incas of Peru.

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[*] Sahagun, *ap.* Waitz, IV. 68.

[*] *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 93.

[†] Clavigero, I. 299.

[‡] I translate it from Clavigero's work (*ubi supra*). He says it came to his hands from those of Motolinia, Olmos and Sahagun, missionaries in Mexico, perfect masters of the language, and zealous students of Mexican manners, etc. Besides this address of the father to his son, Clavigero gives a similar address of the mother to her daughter, to be found in Prescott (Append. II.), and which is even a more charming composition than the address given in the text. (See the latter also in Waitz, IV. 125, who takes it from Sahagun, Hist. de N. España, VI. 18.)

American Sun-worship found its highest development among the Mexicans and Peruvians. These races at the period of their coming in contact with Europeans were no longer savages, but civilized nations in the strict sense of the word, and capable of still further native development. This civilization would have produced the fairest fruit had it not been ruthlessly interrupted by the fanatic zeal of a Cortez and a Pizarro, and later purposely, persistently and violently stamped out by the barbarities of Christian tyrants.

Although polytheism was fully developed among the Mexicans,* still the Sun was their Supreme Deity, especially among the Toltecs, who were the authors of all Mexican culture. It has occasioned surprise to many to find polytheism and Sun-worship co-existent, as in the religion of Mexico. One explanation accounts for this by supposing that this religion had its origin among several diverse nations who coalesced into one, each importing its own religious ideas. But this supposition cannot be established on historical grounds, nor is it at all necessary. We have already more than once remarked that the worship of spirits and the worship of material objects are developed simultaneously and side-by-side. The one *never* arises alone, and unaccompanied by the other. The development of spirit-worship advances *pari passu* with that of matter-worship. Wherever the latter assumes the form of Sun-worship, the former becomes a complex polytheism; hence we find in the religion of Mexico not two incongruous elements, but rather the regular combination of two lines of objects of worship which constitute the inception of religious development in the mind of man. We have no need, therefore, of supposing that the Mexican religion came from different peoples: its two phases are rather the genuine products of the Mexican understanding itself.

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* Strachey, Hist. of Trav. into Virginia Britannia. Lond. 1849, p. 93.

† Nuttall, 95.

‡ Schoolcraft, I. 399.

§ Journal étranger, 1762, Mai p. 7, *ap.* Waitz, III. 182.

‖ Castañeda, Relation du Voy. de Cibola (1540), éd. Ternaux. Par. 1838, p. 299 seqq.; Herrera, VI. 9, 14.

¶ Rivera, Diario y Derrotero de la Visita general de los Presidios de N. España. Guatemala, 1736; Villa-Señor, Teatro Americano, Descr. gen. de los Reynos y Provinc. de la N. España. Mex. 1746. *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 227.

** Waitz, III. 219 ff.

* *Cf.* Prescott, Conq. Mex. I.; Waitz, IV S. 1–180; Wuttke, Gesch. d. Heidenth. S. 251–299; D. Fr. Saverio Clavigero, Hist. Antig. de Megico, sacada de los mejores historiadores españoles y de los manuscritos y de las pinturas indias, etc. Londres, 1826.

The Sun's preëminence over the other gods is shown in the Mexican myth which traced the origin of the Sun, as also in the fact that the Mexicans called themselves "the Sun's children." This myth is given in full by Clavigero,[*] but we need here refer only to that portion which speaks of the heroes or demigods (heroes o semidioses), who, prior to the appearance of the Sun, ruled over men, and opposed that god when he began to run his course; but seeing that they could not make head against him, such of them as had not already been slain by the Sun made away with themselves, leaving him sole master. Quetzalcoatl, a sort of Mexican Christ,[†] is said to have been created by the breath of Tonacateotl, the Sun.[‡] Whereas offerings were made to the other gods only four times a day, in the morning, at noon, in the evening and at midnight, there were nine daily offerings to the sun, four by day and five through the night, of copal or other fragrant gum, such as chapopotli [§] (called by Clavigero betun judaico, asphaltum). They offered also quails to the Sun at his rising, and solemnly greeted his appearance with music.[‖] That their conception of the Sun was anthropopathic though a most exalted one we see from all their myths. At the solemn naming of the new-born infant, when ceremonies were used having a strange resemblance to those accompanying the baptismal rite in Christian churches—as, for instance, their sprinkling the babe with water and then entreating the deity "that he would cause these holy drops of water to wash away the sin which became the infant's heritage before the creation of the world, to the end that the babe might be born anew"[*]—the mother thus addressed the Sun and the Earth: "Thou Sun, Father of all that live, and thou Earth, our Mother, take ye this child and guard it as your son."[†] They often employed this solemn form of asseveration, "By the life of the Sun and of our Lady, the Earth."

The Mexicans, who thus paid supreme honor to the Sun, and made him the object of constant observation, gained an astonishing degree of accuracy in their knowledge of his course. All who have studied the matter are agreed[‡] that the Mexicans, who used sun-dials, calculated the length of the solar year with the utmost possible exactitude. First, their year consisted of 18 months having 20 days each—360 days. To the last month they added 5 days, which they called *nemontemi*, unemployed, as they did nothing on those days but pay visits.[§] "But what is most wonderful in their reckonings, and what will appear scarce credible to those who are unacquainted with Mexican antiquities, is this," says Clavigero,[‖] "that the difference of some hours between the civil and the solar years was noted by them, and that they resorted to intercalation to equalize them. There was, however, womb as the chick from the egg, and as you grow you are like the chick preparing for your flight over the earth, nor is it given us to know how long Heaven will insure to us the jewel which we possess in you. However that may be, be it your care to lead a correct life, praying unceasingly to God for his support. It was he that created you, and he is your owner. He is your Father, and loves you more than I. Turn your thoughts God-ward, and let your aspirations rise to him by day and by night. Honor and greet those who are older than yourself, and never give them tokens of contempt. Be not deaf for the poor and the unfortunate, but rather make haste to console them with kindly words. Pay respect to all men, especially your parents, to whom you owe obedience, reverence and dutiful service. Have a care never to follow the examples of those wayward boys, who are like wild beasts void of reason, and who do not respect those who have given them their being, nor heed their admonitions, nor submit to correction: for whoso walks his own ways will come to a disastrous end, dying in blank despair: he will either be hurled down a precipice, or will fall under the claws of wild beasts. Make not merry, my son, over the aged, nor over those who have any bodily defect. Mock not those who happen to make a misstep, nor reproach them therewith; on the contrary be humble, and fear lest what offends you in others become your own. Go not whither you are not invited, nor meddle in affairs which are none of yours. In all that you say, and in all that you do, be it your study to show your good breeding. When you converse with any one, do not annoy him with your hands (mit den Händen belästigen) nor be too voluble: do not interrupt or disturb others with your remarks. If perchance you hear a man speaking foolishly, and it is not your business to correct him, hold your peace: but if it is your business, then consider first what you will say, and speak not arrogantly, that your corrections may avail the more. When any man addresses you, listen to him attentively and with proper demeanor, neither shuffling your feet, nor munching your mantle, nor spitting out, nor jumping up every moment if you are seated: for such conduct shows levity and bad breeding. When you are seated at table, eat not ravenously, nor betray signs of displeasure, if any dish fails to please you. If any one comes in while you are at table share with him what you have, and when one sits at your board, fix not your gaze upon him. When you go out, keep your eyes directed forward lest you hustle against those you meet. When any one approaches you, walking on the same path, give place a little that he may have room to pass. Never walk in advance of your superiors, except when necessity requires that you should, or they command it. When you eat in company with them, serve them with whatever they wish. and so you will gain their favor. If a man make you a gift, receive it with tokens of gratitude: if the gift is of great value, be not vain of it: if it is trifling, do not despise it, nor grow angry, nor anger the man who does you a friendly act. If you are rich, be not supercilious toward the poor and the needy: for the gods who refused riches to others in order to bestow them on you, disgusted at your arrogance, may strip you of them, and give them to others. Live by the fruits of your labor, and then your bread will taste sweet. Hitherto, my son, I have supported you with the sweat of my brow and I have discharged all the duties of a father; I have given you the necessaries of life, without wronging any man. Do you the same. Never tell a lie, for lying is a grievous sin. Whenever you recount to another what you yourself have heard, then tell the simple truth without adding anything. Speak not evil of any man. Conceal the misconduct of others, unless it be your duty to mend it. Avoid gossiping, sow not the seeds of discord. If you are the bearer of a message to any one, and he grows angry, and he vituperates the sender of the message, do not take back that reply, but strive rather to deprive it of its harshness, and if possible say not a word of what you have heard so that there may not be dissensions and disagreements, which you could only regret. Tarry not in the market-place longer than is needful, for such places afford frequent temptations to debauchery. If an office is tendered you, regard the offer as made with a view to test you: therefore do not accept at once, even though you know you are more capable than others; but excuse yourself, until they oblige you to accept: thus you will be all the more esteemed. Keep your passions in check, else the gods will be angered with you and cover you with disgrace. Repress your sensual desires, my son, for you are still young; and patiently await the time when the maid, whom the gods have chosen for your wife, shall have reached the required age. Leave such concerns to the care of the gods; they will do what is best for you. When the time comes for you to marry take no step without your parents' consent, else you will meet with an evil end. Steal not, rob not, if you would not disgrace your parents: it is your duty rather to reflect honor upon them and to show that they brought you up properly. That is all, my son; I have discharged my duty as father. It was my purpose to confirm you in good dispositions by this instruction. Do not despise my words: for your happiness through life depends upon your fidelity."

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[*] Lib. VI. p. 228, Apoteosis del Sol y de la Luna.

[†] *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 141 f.

[‡] Kingsborough, Antiq. of Mex. Lond., 1831, V. 135, 184.

[§] Clavigero, VI. 251: Al sol incensaban nueve veces, cuatro de dia y cinco de noche.

[‖] *Ib.*, p. 260.

[*] *Vide* Prescott, I.

[†] Clavigero, p. 290: Tú, sol, decia la partera, padre de todos los vivientes, y tú, tierra, nuestra madre, acoged á este nino y protegedlo como á hijo vuestro.

[‡] *Cf.* Prescott, I.; Waitz, IV. 174.

[§] Gama, Descripcion Historica y Cronologica de los Dos Piedras. Mejico, 1832, II. 111 seqq.

[‖] Libro, VI. p. 269.

Prescott gives a number of Mexican proverbs,* which, according to him, may compare with any found in the moral codes of antiquity. He discovers in the following admonition "a most striking resemblance to Holy Writ": "Regard not curiously the walk and demeanor of the great, nor of women, especially married women, for the old proverb says: Whoso regards a woman with curiosity, commits adultery with his eyes." * Monogamy was the rule amongst the Mexicans, and in this respect they came up to that moral standard of marriage with which we are familiar. Nor was the idea they had of their gods unworthy of their moral code, and Clavigero, who compares Grecian and Roman Mythology with that of Mexico, thus expresses himself: "There is not to be found anywhere in Mexican Mythology a trace of those immoralities with which other nations have disgraced their gods. The Mexicans paid homage to virtue rather than to vice, in the objects of their religious veneration: in Huitzilapochli they honored valor; in Centeotl and others, benevolence; in Quetzalcoatl, chastity, justice and prudence. Though their gods were of both sexes, still they did not marry them to one another, nor did they attribute to them that love of obscenity with which the Greeks and Romans credited their gods. They represented them as averse to all kind of vicious indulgence and hence their worship was intended merely to appease the wrath of the gods, excited by the sins of mankind, and to secure their protection by repentance and religious service." It is no wonder if so enlightened a religious system as this surprised the Christian priests; and the latter would no doubt have preferred to find it of a lower type. The language of Mexico, rich in metaphysical and moral expressions, opposed no obstacle to the teaching of the Christian Doctrine, and Clavigero gives specimens of the writings of 84 European and Creole authors "who treated of Christian Doctrine and morals in the languages of Anahuac," as also a list of 49 Autores de Gramaticas y

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* Vol. I.

* Sahagun, VI. 22. Tampoco mires con curiosidad el gesto y disposicion de la gente principal, mayormente de las mugeres, y sobre todo de las casadas, porque dice el refran, que él que curiosamente mira à la muger adultera con la vista.

Diccionarios de las lenguas de Anahuac.[*]

King Nezahualcoiotl endeavored to do away with the human sacrifices which were so frequent in Mexico, but without success, and the attempt only served to show him how difficult it is to convince the people of the falsity of ancient religious notions which have taken root in their affections. We may justly reproach the Mexicans with their religious fanaticism as displayed in these sacrifices: but we must not charge them with inhuman cruelty. In fact no action is *per se* either good or evil, but owes its moral quality to the motive which prompts it: and the same is to be said of human sacrifice. The Mexicans offered to the gods the most precious goods they possessed, *viz.*, themselves, human beings. No animal could suffice, and man alone was the becoming victim to atone for sin. And is not the profoundest teaching of Christianity based on that last and greatest human sacrifice? Hence the motive which led them to offer human victims was the profound earnestness of their religious convictions. Besides, as the Mexicans sacrificed only condemned criminals and prisoners of war, Montezuma could with some show of reason excuse this custom, as he did, by saying to Cortez: "We have the right, as you also have, of slaying our foes in battle. Where, then, is the injustice if we sacrifice in honor of our gods men already doomed to death?"[†]

That we should find remnants of the lower grades of fetichism in company with the worship of the Sun and of Gods, was to be expected. The Mexicans appear to have been largely given to Animal-fetichism. It included the frog, the God of fishery, as also the butterfly and other insects.[‡] A grave containing the bones of some unknown animal, was found in 1790, and in it was also discovered the famous Calendar-Stone.[*]

Oajaca, Chiapas, Yucatan, Guatemala and Nicaragua[†] stand on the same level with Mexico, as regards religion and culture. The Peruvians, who were the equals of the Mexicans in intellectual and material advancement, surpassed them perhaps in moral culture.[‡]

Although the Peruvians, no less than the Mexicans, worshiped a multitude of gods[§] they too held the Sun to be supreme, none of the other gods coming near him in sanctity or eminence, except perhaps Pachacamac. Previous to the Inca period the Peruvians were by no means such savages as they are represented to have been by Garcilasso, who attributes to them all kinds of fetichism, and who asserts that Sun-worship was introduced by the Incas. On the contrary, the Sun was worshiped in Peru, before the time of the Incas, having been introduced by the Aymaras, "the predecessors and teachers of the Inca-Peruvians."[‖] But the Incas, to whose family Garcilasso belonged, had an interest in ascribing to themselves the honor of having been the founders of the State and of the religion of Peru. The story which they told in confirmation of their claim is characteristic.[¶] "The Sun, our Father, seeing the pitiable condition of mankind, was moved to compassion and sent to them from heaven two of his children, a son and a daughter, to teach them how to do him honor, and pay him divine worship. These two children of the Sun were further charged to give laws to men, and to direct them how to live like rational creatures, to acquire culture, to dwell in houses, to inhabit cities, till the soil, cultivate plants, save the harvest, breed cattle, enjoy the benefits derived from all these sources, prepare the products of the soil for food: in a word, their mission was to teach the people how to live like men, rather than like wild beasts. It having pleased the Sun, our Father, to give his children such commands as these, he let them down upon the earth in the neighborhood of Lake Titicaca, bidding them to go whithersoever they would. They were however instructed to drive into the earth a golden staff wherever they thought of establishing their residence in any particular spot: if the staff on the first blow sank into the earth, it was the will of the Sun, our Father, that they should settle there. On coming to the spot where Cuzco was afterwards founded, the sign which had been foretold was given to them. The savages soon began to flock around them, gazing with wonder on the pair, who were arrayed in the precious apparel of the Sun, and who, no less by their speech than by the majesty of their countenance, gave evidence that they were the children of the Sun. Then the Inca instructed the men in all needful arts, such as house-building and agriculture; while his sister and spouse gave instruction to the women in all kinds of feminine work, such as needlework, and the weaving of cotton and woolen cloth, the making of garments, etc. Furthermore, they both taught the natives the worship of the Sun, their Father."

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[*] Clavigero, II. 394.

[†] Clavigero, Tom. II. Append. VIII.

[‡] Riétos Antiguos, Sacrificios e Idolatrias de los Ind. de la N. Esp. p. un frayle menor (1541) (ap. Kingsborough, IX.) 21; Gomara, 444.

[*] Gama, I. 12.

[†] *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 312.

[‡] Prescott, Conq. of Peru, I. Book Wuttke, Gesch. d. H. I. S. 303-336; Waitz, IV 378–477; Garcilasso de la Vega, Hist. Gen. del Peru. Cordova, 1617.

[§] *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 452 seqq.

[‖] Waitz, IV. 447.

[¶] Garcilasso, I. c. XV. XVI.

Thus the Sun was worshiped, and we have now to ascertain in what light they regarded this object of religious veneration. Man can attribute to any object only those notions which he already possesses. The higher then his development, in an intellectual and in a moral sense, the nobler will be the conception he has of the object which he takes for his supreme ideal. The Peruvian will regard the Sun as combining all those virtues and properties which he has himself.

They were an industrious and an ingenious people. Agriculture formed the basis of the commonwealth, and was pursued with the greatest diligence and skill. No spot of ground was untilled, maize and potatoes being the chief products of the soil.* Even the stony sides of the mountains were turned into blooming gardens, by means of terracing, artificial irrigation and the use of guano as manure. They produced excellent cotton and woolen fabrics, and their metal manufactures, in gold, silver, copper and tin (they had no iron) bore the stamp of skillful workmanship. Every part of the country was connected with Cuzco, the capital, by means of excellent highways, some paved, others macadamized,† having well-constructed bridges, a service of posts and a sort of telegraphic system. The latter enabled them to send dispatches a distance of 900 miles in three or four hours.‡ Cuzco had a population of 200,000 souls, exclusive of an equal number dwelling in its suburbs. The other cities were smaller, and yet had a considerable population.§ By means of a division of the population into decads the most exemplary order was maintained.‖ The entire population formed one family, the Inca being its head. All labored and earned for the good of all. The state, not the individual, was an owner of property. Hence none were rich, but also none were poor. The contrast between proprietors and non-proprietors was done away, and all enjoyed prosperity. There were neither beggars nor drones.¶ The citizen's obligation to labor was correlative with that of the state, which owned his labor and its total product, to reward him for his toil. Under the guardian rule of the Incas, whose duties were prescribed to them by the Sun their Father, and who but rarely, as history attests, failed to exercise a paternal care for the commonwealth, the people lived in peace and happiness. Each conquered nation were immediately allowed to share the rights and privileges of their conquerors. Indeed, it was the desire to extend civilization that led them to undertake wars of conquest.*

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* Prescott, I.

† Waitz, IV. 429.

‡ Garcilasso, VI. c. 7; Wuttke, I. 334.

§ *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 424.

‖ Prescott, I.

¶ *Ib.* I.

It is evident that such a constitution of the empire must have had many defects, and that it hindered individual development, as well as favored the abuse of power by a tyrannical Inca. It was for the interest of the Incas to keep the people in subjection, and hence they cut them off too jealously from all intellectual culture, the possession of which they reserved for themselves alone.

A state organized on such principle cannot subsist without a morality quite free from selfishness, that root of all evil. Their family-life was chaste and pure; their women were not chattels, as among savages, but persons who, as represented in the virgins of the Sun, held a high position in the ceremonies of religion. Intellectual culture, in the sense of erudition, was restricted to the Inca caste; still the education of the people was a function of the state. The picture-writing of the Mexicans was here replaced by that curious contrivance, the quipu,† which was employed by many scholars, and also, but in a less degree, by the people generally. Garcilasso speaks of maps of the whole country and of particular districts and of charts of cities. The learned class did not, as in Mexico, belong exclusively to the priesthood, and they were classed as astrologers, physicians, botanists, poets, designers, painters, etc.‡ The Quechua, like the Mexican language, contained a number of very abstract terms, such as *spirit*, *thought*, *eternal*, etc., which will enable us to form some notion of the degree of mental development attained by this people.§

As to the Peruvian mode of reckoning time we have not the same accurate information as we have with regard to that of the Mexicans. Humboldt * says that the year was made up of 12 lunar months, giving a total of 354d. 8h. 48m.; and according to Rivero and Tschudi,† 11 intercalary days were added at the end of each year, but according to Herrera ‡ there were 12 intercalary days, one being added at the end of each month. In the face of these statements Desjardins § maintains that the Peruvian computation was more exact than the Mexican, and Montesinos ‖ speaks of very precise intercalations, and of cycles of 10, of 100 and 1000 years. But Waitz has strong doubts as to these statements.

Prescott ranks the Peruvians above the Mexicans for skillful workmanship in house-building, tillage, and the construction of roads and canals. Their inferiority to the Mexicans in intellectual culture—for instance, in astronomy—he strives to explain by showing that the Mexicans owed their intellectual advancement, not to their own native qualities, but to that mysterious Toltec stock, which the eye of history fails to discern, and which Prescott supposes to have been equaled by the Peruvians in all other departments of culture.¶

Among a people, who have reached so high a degree of moral and intellectual development, the ideal object of worship must exhibit these moral characteristics in the highest degree. And such is here the case, for the Peruvians regarded the Sun "on the one hand, according to his position in Nature, as the great Power of the universe which upholds all things (a mere heavenly body); but on the other hand (anthropopathically) as a spiritual power, having mind and will. Not that there was supposed to be any spiritual object whose symbol was the Sun (*i.e.*, the object of worship was not a spirit inhabiting the Sun); but the bright luminary itself (in his own proper form and shape) was truly and really the deity, though not as a simple, soulless sphere, but as a divine and animated body, imparting to all things around him light and life." * When once a monk expounded the Christian doctrine to the Inca Atahuallpa, and asked him to renounce his faith, the eyes of the prince flashed fire, and he exclaimed: "I will never change my faith. Your God was, as you say, put to death by the men he himself had created. But my God," said he, pointing to the Sun which was then setting in full splendor behind the mountains, "my God lives in the heavens, and looks down upon his children." † When the Sun sent his children down upon the earth he thus addressed them: "My children, when you have subjected these people to our obedience, it must be your study to hold them by the laws of reason, of piety, of mercy and of justice, doing for them all that a father is wont to do for the children whom he has begotten and whom he tenderly loves. Herein you will follow my example, for, as you know, I never cease to do good to all mortals. I illumine them with my light, to the end they may see and go about their affairs: when they are cold, I warm them; I make their fields and their meadows productive, bring forth fruit on their trees, increase their herds and send them rain and fair weather as need may be. Further, I journey around the world daily, to see what the earth needs, and to restore all things to order, for the comfort of its inhabitants. Therefore it is my will that ye follow my example, as most dear children, whom I send on earth for the welfare and the instruction of these poor men, who live like beasts. Hence I give you the title of kings, and I desire that your kingdom be extended over all the nations whom ye shall instruct in right principles and good morals, especially by your example and mild rule." * Through reverence for the Sun, even the Inca durst not look upon its face.†

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* *Ib.* I.
† *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 470.
‡ *Ib.* 473.
§ *Ib.*

* Vues des Cordillères, 129.
† Riv. y Tschudi, Antig. Peruanas. Viena, 1851, p. 127.
‡ Herrera, V. 4, 5.
§ Desj. Le Pérou avant la Conq. Espagn. Par. 1858, p. 122.
‖ *Ap.* Waitz, IV. 474.
¶ Prescott, Peru, I.

The offerings made to the Sun consisted, besides the morning prayer, at his rising, of a libation (as among the Persians); then of fruits, herbs, flowers and animals, llamas especially.‡ Garcilasso expressly denies that they offered human sacrifices, and often mentions the laws which forbade the sacrifice of captives: still other accounts render it tolerably certain that on high festivals they sacrificed a child or a beautiful maiden.

Where Sun-worship is so highly developed, the worship of the other heavenly bodies holds a very subordinate position. They worshiped the Moon as the Sun's sister and spouse, and the stars (among which Venus and the Pleiades were specially observed) § were considered as their *suite.*‖ The most famous temple in Peru was that of the Sun, at Cuzco, which, on account of its fabulously rich endowments, was called Coricancha—Place of Gold;¶ and the temple next in renown was that of Pachacamac, also at Cuzco. The Temple of the Sun included a chapel plated all over with silver, and dedicated to the Moon, as also three other chapels, richly plated with gold and silver, and sacred to the Stars, to Thunder and Lightning, and to the Rainbow.

With the Peruvians we may class, from the religious point of view, first the Araucanians,** who dwell to the south, in Chile, and who reckoned a solar year of 12 months, each month having 30 days, and five days being intercalated through the year. They were able to determine the time of the solstices from the length of shadows. Then came a very advanced people, of higher culture than the Araucanians, viz., the Chibchas,* and their kinsmen, living in New Granada, a country whose antiquities bespeak for its inhabitants a relatively high degree of culture in very early times. Among the Chibchas the Sun held the same important position as among the Peruvians. There is no evidence to show that they imported from Peru their religion and their intellectual culture, but rather everything tends to prove that their development was of native growth.

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* Wuttke, I. 306 seq.
† Prescott, I. 3.

* Garcilasso, I. lib. I. c. XV.
† *Ib.* IX. c. X.
‡ *Ib.* II. c. VIII.
§ *Cf.* Waitz, IV. 475.
‖ Prescott, I.
¶ *Ib.*
** *Cf.* Waitz, III. 515 ff.

7. *The Worship of the Heavens.*

In the view taken of the heavens by all men on the basis of the external appearances, the heavenly bodies pass for bright points fixed in the blue vault of the sky, rather than for spheres free-poised in infinite space. Sun, moon and stars are only parts of the celestial vault. Hence, howsoever they may differ from one another, still essentially they are of equal value, being all celestial. The supremacy therefore does not belong to this or to that one body, but to the entire firmament. It is therefore really no new standpoint, but rather the sum of the data already obtained, if now the religious consciousness considers no longer the sun, the moon, or the stars, but the sum-total of them all, the celestial vault, the sky itself, as the supreme fetich, the supreme god. And here too, as in all the objects of fetich-worship, it is the vault of heaven. as such, anthropopathically apprehended, and not any god supposed to be symbolized by it, that receives religious honors. But this worship of the entire heavens does by no means interfere with the worship of the individual heavenly bodies, but rather, on the contrary, favors it. Sun, moon and stars may each receive its peculiar worship and sacrifice; but no one of them has the absolute ascendency. That the people who stand on this stage of fetichism are, from a mental and moral point of view, very advanced, follows from what has been already said. As representatives of this stage we might cite the Persians, as described by Herodotus; also the Chinese.

"To erect statues of the gods, altars and temples," says Herodotus, "is not the custom of the Persians, and indeed they reproach those who do so with folly, and this, as it appears to me, for the reason that they do not believe, as do the Greeks, that the gods are anthropomorphic. On the contrary, they are wont to sacrifice to Zeus on the summits of high mountains, and to invoke the entire celestial vault as Zeus. They also sacrifice to the sun and the moon: to the earth, to fire and to the winds. . . . . The Persians have no holocausts, no libations, no meat-offering, no flutes, no garlands, no barley cakes: but whoever would sacrifice to one of these gods puts a crown of myrtle around his tiara, conducts the animal to some place free from pollution, and there prays to the god to whom he is about to make the offering. Still he prays not for himself alone, but prays rather that it may be well with all Persians and with the king. Then the animal is slain, cut up, seethed, and afterward spread upon the green sweet grass; the Magi then chaunt a song of consecration, standing by the side of the one who makes the offering, and the latter finally takes the flesh home, to make such use of it as he may wish. . . . . The Persians believe that the gods desire only the soul of the beast as a sacrifice, disdaining the flesh; hence they do not burn the flesh, lest they should pollute the fire, which is sacred to the gods: nay, even one durst not even blow on the fire, to quicken it, for that is an offense that is punished with death. As they make offerings to fire, so too do they to water, betaking themselves to some lake, or river, or fountain, and digging a trench in the vicinity, lest the blood should defile the water. There they slay the victim, and spread the pieces on sprigs of bay or myrtle; the magi, who are present, make libations of oil, milk or honey, and chaunt a sacred song; and the sacrificant takes away the flesh of the victim." This conception of sacrifice, where only the soul of the victim is accepted by the gods, (*gods* as defined by Herodotus himself) shows that the Persians no longer viewed their gods from the gross materialistic point of view, and subordinated the material to the spiritual. Their praying for all Persians and not for themselves individually is evidence that they stood high above the egotism of the savage, who cares only for himself.

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* *Ib.* IV. 532 ff.

As objects of religious contemplation, the sky is regarded as the Father, the Earth the Mother of all things by the Chinese, the religious views of the masses being but little affected by the more philosophical and abstract speculations of their later teachers.[*] Yang, the Sky, is procreative, strong, masculine; Yu, the Earth, is conceptive, weakly, feminine.[†] All things are the products of these two. "So soon as Yu and Yang unite, an actual existence results, and this is the work of Heaven and Earth."[‡] That this Sky-worship is most intimately connected with Sun-worship, nay, even that it derives its origin from Sun-worship, appears to be beyond question. The Y-King, for instance, says that Yang makes his most perfect apparition in the Sun.[§] The movement of Yang, again says the Y-King, is in a circle, being accelerated from the beginning of spring until the solstice, and then retarded. He consists of an extremely subtle matter, invisible to our eyes, but yet most real, and has a fixed and never ceasing circular motion; and his form is spherical, whereas that of the earth is angular, and therefore less capable of motion.[*]

In the Spring and Summer, when the quickening power of the heavens is greatest, Yang bears sway, but in Autumn and Winter, when the quiescent earth predominates, Yu assumes rule. Yang is lord of the day, culminating at noon, and then gradually yielding to Yu, who rules the night.[†] All these functions of Yang belong more properly to the Sun than to the Sky.

"Wherever," says Wuttke,[‡] "in accordance with our habits of thought, we expect to find mention of God in Chinese writings, it is always the Sky that we find named, sometimes Sky and Earth, but more commonly the Sky alone. And the Sky which is meant is the visible heavens, whose apparent revolution around the earth is held to be the cause of all life and movement. Sun, Moon and Stars are set in this blue Sky, which is the manifestation of deity." Uninfluenced by the nice distinctions which the philosophers of China have made as to the essence of the Heavens the popular mind takes the anthropopathic view, which, however, as was to have been expected of a people so advanced in moral culture as the Chinese, attributes to the Sky only the noblest and sublimest characteristics. They give to the Heavens the name Shang-to, "Sublime Ruler, Supreme Lord."[§] He is almighty and omnipresent. His all-embracing love is shown in the saying: "The Sublime Ruler of the Universe is to be feared and reverenced: he hates none. Who durst say that He hates any man?"[‖] His justice is not to be bribed, and is as immutable as his celestial movement; great is his wrath against the unjust;[¶] from his omniscence naught is hidden.[*] And these things are all predicative of the blue vault above our heads, *v.g.* "O blue Sky, look down with scorn upon the proud, and have pity on the unfortunate," is a Chinese prayer.[†] The Sky so considered is man's moral prototype, which he must reproduce in his own life. "His four properties set forth the ideal of a prince: he is so great, that he encompasses all things; so mighty that he creates all things; so orderly that he adapts all things to their ends; so persistent that he never stands still, never ceases to be." [‡] The Sky is the supreme lord. He requires of man perfect righteousness and sinlessness. Being omniscient he knows when a man is guilty of sin. His wrath is enkindled against all injustice, and he manifests it on occasion by celestial phenomena and by the convulsions of Nature, which are thus brought into relations with the moral life of man. Eclipses of Sun and Moon, earthquakes, thunder and lightning and the other grave phenomena of Nature are warnings sent from Heaven to man.[§] Crops fail on account of the sins of the people or of their rulers. "When virtue reigns," says Kitse in the 12th century B.C., "the rain falls betimes; when the sovereign rules justly, there is fair weather, etc.; when sin reigns, the rain falls incessantly, or else there is a drought," etc.[‖] The guilty are oftentimes punished directly by the Heavens. An emperor of the second dynasty having defiantly shot arrows at the sky, and erected idols was slain by the lightning.[¶] For the space of three days did the Heavens envelop the earth in dark clouds, because another emperor had committed a crime.[*] We might cite a multitude of similar instances; [†] but as our purpose here is only to define the position of China with regard to religious development, we refrain from any further illustration of this point.

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[*] *Cf.* Wuttke, Gesch. des H. Bd. II. S. 1–208; Bluntschli, Altasiatische Gottes-u. Weltideen S. 135–164; le Chou-King par Confucius, trad. par P. Gaubil, revu par M. de Guignes. Par. 1770, p. 88–150.

[†] Y-King, ex Interpr. Regis. Ed. Mohl, 1834, I. p. 165–169, II. p. 381.

[‡] *Ib.* II. 547.

[§] *Ib.* II. 406.

[*] *Ib.* II. 385 seq.; I. 203.

[†] *Ib.* I. 196, 214; Tschu-hi, übersetzt von Neumann, in Illgen's Zeitschr. 1837, Bd. I. 56, 74, 82.

[‡] II. S. 25.

[§] Chou-King, p. 13, Note 7; Y-King, II. p. 216.

[‖] Confucii Chi-King, s. Liber Carminum, ex Lat. P. Lacharme Interpr. Ed. Jul. Mohl. Stuttg. 1830, II. 4, 8.

[¶] *Ib.* II. 4, 8; II. 5, 1.

However just the claim of the sky to the undivided worship of man, and howsoever strictly philosophico-religious speculation may show it to be the one object that deserves to be worshiped, still the popular mind will not renounce its own nature as a fecund principle, and so it fashions for itself notions of spirits and gods on purely empiric grounds. Hence in China, besides sky-worship there is a complex system of Spirit-worship and polytheism.[‡] In addition to the Ancestral Spirits, which are the principal objects of veneration, there are the Celestial Spirits, which dwell in the heavenly bodies, in the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Earth; on mountains, in rivers; in the thunder and in the winds. There are the guardian Spirits of families, of houses, of communities, of cities, of provinces, of agriculture, etc., and we find mention of these even in remote times: yet they rank so far beneath the Sky that by an ancient law it was forbidden to make offerings to them such as were made to the Sky, and it was allowed only to make them gifts of food, and to show them a limited amount of reverence.[§]

In Africa, too, among the more advanced nations, we find traces of a growing Sun and Sky worship. In Dahomey, a country ruled with barbarous rigor, but yet possessing a well-organized monarchical government, the Sun is held to be the highest of all beings but yet is not worshiped.[‖] The Duallas call the Sun and the Great Spirit by one name.[¶]

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[*] Histoire Générale de la Chine, trad. du Kong-Kien-Kang-Mon par de Mailla, publ. par Grosier. Par. 1777, I. p. 92, 111.

[†] Chi-King, II. 5, 6.

[‡] Wuttke, II. 26.

[§] Chou-King, p. 13, 54, 87, 96, 99, 142, 160, 347; Chi-King, p. 291, II. 5, 6, 8; De Mailla, I. 78.

[‖] Chou-King, p. 172.

[¶] De Mailla, I. 227.

[*] Chou-King, p. 91.

[†] *Cf.* Wuttke, II. 55 ff.

[‡] *Ib.* II. 36 ff.

[§] De Mailla, Hist. gén. I. 33.

[‖] Omboni, Viaggi nell' Africa Occidentale. Milano, 1845, p. 309.

[¶] Allen and Thomson, Narr. of the Exped. to the R. Niger in 1841. Lond. 1848, II. 199, 395 *note*.

In Acra Römer discovered a sort of worship paid to the Sun.* The Negroes of the Gold Coast, at least their devotees and fetichmen, call Njongmo (the Sky), which is omnipresent and *ab ævo*, the Supreme God, and the Maker of the world.† "You may every day see," said a fetichman, "how the rain and sunshine sent by him cause the grass and grain and trees to grow: he must therefore be the Creator." Every morning they go down to the stream, wash themselves, dash a handful of water or sand on their heads, and with eyes turned to the sky, utter this prayer: "O God, give me this day rice and yams, gold and *agries:* give me slaves, wealth and health, and grant that I be quick and swift." The same belief, substantially, prevails in Akwapim, the Supreme Deity being the firmament, and the Earth, the Universal Mother, holding the second rank, while in the third rank stands Bosumbra, the head Fetich. Before embarking in any new enterprise the people of Akwapim offer a libation to these three, saying: "Creator, come, drink; Earth, come, drink; Bosumbra, come, drink." ‡

CHAPTER VII.

THE AIM OF FETICHISM.

HAVING traced the development of religious ideas from their earliest origin to their more advanced stages, we would now gather the results of our analyses in order to show the ulterior aim to which the system is directed.

1. *Retrospect.*

The understanding has cognizance only of its own conceptions, and these conceptions are its objects. Hence its range is limited to the conceptions and objects it has, and hence too it grows as the number of its objects is increased. If we would appreciate a man's intellectual status, we must know what are his conceptions, his *objects.* In his lowest condition man has but few objects: but as these are multiplied the more, the more does he advance in every respect.

It is a law of our mind that we shall range our conceptions in the order of cause and effect. But we can so range such conceptions as we possess. *Cause*, as being the efficient, the productive principle we can conceive of only as something possessed of power, of special efficiency. Accordingly that object or that conception will pass for causal and efficient, which appears to be the stronger, the more excellent. We have seen how, as the number of objects was greater or less, their values differed proportionally, and how the mind with few objects must set as high a value on trifles (as viewed from a higher standpoint) as a superior understanding sets upon its more important objects: for a relatively trifling object assumes importance when its surroundings are more trifling still than itself. Hence we have seen that because he has but few objects, and a very narrow *world*, the fetichist takes to be causal an object which for him is momentous, though insignificant for us. We have seen that as he increases the number of his conceptions, the number of assignable causes is increased in proportion; and then we considered the various objects regarded as fetiches: stocks, stones, mountains, plants, etc. All these lay in man's own sphere, and he was attached to them by bodily interest. A new and spiritual interest could be awakened only by an entirely new object, and this he found in the heavenly bodies, by the worship of which man stepped beyond simply material interests and entered a spiritual sphere.

In proportion as the spiritual interest increases the more is the will detached from the simply corporeal. Animal passions are repressed in proportion as objects of spiritual interest attract the will to themselves. But in order to devote himself to spiritual interests man had need of repose, tranquillity and bodily security. The higher this spiritual interest rises, the more is fierce and destructive egotism repressed. Life is more tranquil, more orderly. Man builds up commonwealths, and his thoughts are now no longer concerned about himself alone, but about the commonwealth also. But in proportion as he abandons egotism, the more does he acknowledge moral control. In the higher stages of the worship of heavenly bodies we therefore found a high degree of development, not only intellectually but also morally. For morality being will-stimulus, or will-direction, and the will being elevated only by gaining higher and ever higher objects, therefore morality is elevated in proportion to the elevation of the objects.

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* Römer, S. 84.

† Waitz, II. 170.

‡ *Ibidem.*

2. *The New Problem.*

Sky-worship, including Star and Sun-worship, is the highest grade of fetichism, not only because its objects are the most exalted, but also because it contains the nucleus of something altogether new. So far, man has been tracing causes from object to object, and in the pursuit of the final cause at length passed from earth to sky. But even there his final cause was found to belong to the order of sensuous things. His eyes discern his efficient causes; he *sees* them producing all phenomena, all objects. But the law of the mind is that he shall still search for a cause, and when once the mind has begun to question, it will never cease to question. What is the cause of A? it asks: and the answer is, B. But further it will ask, What then of B? and an answer it must have. Now so far it has taken the Stars, the Sun, the Sky for its ultimate cause: but the greater man's reverence for this cause, and the more he contemplates it, the more he learns as to its true nature. Soon all manner of thoughts will spring up, and he will observe contradictions between its actual, empirical phenomena and his own conception thereof, and of the mode in which it must operate. How is this? he will inquire. And when such and such effects are produced by the Sun, the question will come up, But what produced the Sun itself, with its phenomena? And in fact wherever this worship of heavenly bodies attains its highest stage, as among the Mexicans, Peruvians and Persians, this question did actually arise. The Persians not alone put this question, but they found the answer to it, and the result was a new religion, that of Zoroaster. But the Mexicans and the Peruvians had their development interrupted by the fanaticism of a Cortez and a Pizarro, and hence they could not reach a solution of the problem, though it was explicitly stated by some eminent minds among them, and the nation was in a fair way soon to enter on a new religious epoch.

But let us see how the problem must be solved by a people in their stage of development. As long as the objects of sense afforded the grounds for considering them as causes, so long did man ascend the series. But when the last link in that chain is reached, the senses fail; and the eye cannot penetrate beyond the blue vault of the heavens. Hence when he comes to inquire as to the cause of the sky itself, he cannot assign any sensible object, there being none that is greater than this. If therefore he would still pursue his search after a cause, he must needs go beyond the domain of sense, and assign causes not apprehensible to the senses, prætersensual or supersensual. But now he could not assign anything super-sensual as a cause, if he had no conception of the "supersensual." But his gods and spirits have furnished him with such a notion, and he has often held them to be the causes of sundry phenomena in the world of sense. All his conceptions are empirical, and his conception of gods also had an empirical origin. It is not our business here to account for the idea of gods and spirits: it suffices if we know that it exists. When therefore an ultimate cause is to be assigned for the ultimate of sensible causes, it will be a God. But just as when he looked for the ultimate Cause among sensible objects, that passed for ultimate which was unique, supreme, and above all things else in power and dominion: so too must this God be unique, supreme, exclusive. Here then is the point where, by the crossing of the two series of conceptions (referred to already at p. 26)—viz.: on the one hand sensible objects, and on the other spirits or gods, both in their highest state of development (Sun and Sky-worship, and Polytheism)—Monotheism is evolved. The proofs of this proposition are not in place in an essay on fetichism: it will be sufficient if we show from history that the *question* we have spoken of does actually arise where man has reached the highest stage of fetichism, and that it is answered precisely as we have said.

Of the famous Inca, Tupac Jupanqui,* Garcilasso states that "he was wont to say: Many hold that the sun is endowed with life, and that he is the creator of all things. But whoever creates a thing must be present when he creates it: but now sundry things are produced in the absence of the Sun: therefore the Sun is not the creator of all things. Furthermore, his never tiring is proof that he is not a living thing. If he had life, he would weary even as we: and were he free, he would visit other regions of heaven besides those in which his daily course now lies. He is, as it were, an object that is restricted in its movements, and which ever describes the self-same course; or like the arrow which flies in the direction in which it is shot, and which cannot choose its own course." Another Inca was once, upon the feast of Raymi, attentively contemplating the Sun. A priest having twice reminded him that the reverence due to that luminary forbade such conduct, the monarch replied: "I will put you two questions. I am your king and lord. Would any of you venture to order me to rise from my throne and set out on a long journey? And would any of my vassals be so bold as to refuse obedience, were I to command him forthwith to hasten off to Chile?" The priest having answered both questions in the negative, the monarch thus continued: "My word for it, there must be over the Sun, our Father, a master greater and mightier still, who requires him to perform his daily course: for were the Sun himself the Supreme Lord, he would not pursue forever the same daily path: he would rest when it pleased him, even though he had no need of rest."*

One of the most eminent of the Mexican kings, "an intellectual hero of the New World," was Nezahualcoyotl. "His enlightened mind, and the love he had for his subjects, largely contributed to make his court famous, and it was ever after regarded as the home of the arts and the center of refined culture. At Tezcuco, his capital, the Mexican language was spoken with the greatest purity and correctness; and there were always to be found the best artists, and a vast assemblage of poets, orators and historians. Not alone the Mexicans themselves, but many other nations received laws from Tezcuco, and hence we might say that Nezahualcoyotl was the Solon, and his capital the Athens of Anahuac."† Well-versed in the poetry of his native land, the king was himself a poet of some distinction, and as late as the 16th century sixty hymns composed by him in honor of the Creator of the heavens were held in high esteem even by the Spaniards. "But nothing possessed so deep an interest for Nezahualcoyotl as the study of Nature. He acquired a considerable amount of astronomical knowledge from the numerous observations which he directed to be made of the courses of the stars. He also devoted much time to the study of botany and zoology, and those specimens which, as requiring a different climate, could not live at the capital, he had painted in the natural size on the walls of his palace. *He studied attentively the causes of the phenomena of Nature, and this study led him to recognize the worthlessness of idolatry.* He told his sons, in confidence, that whilst they paid exterior reverence to the idols, in deference to public sentiment, they should in their hearts abhor this contemptible worship of inanimate things. As for himself, he acknowledged no god save the Creator of the Heavens, but he did not forbid idolatry, much as he wished to do so, lest any man should charge him with setting himself in opposition to the teachings of his forefathers. He prohibited human sacrifices, but succeeded only so far as to limit them to the offering of prisoners of war."[*] To his "Unseen God," "the Unknown God, the Cause of Causes,"[†] he dedicated a tower of nine stories, with roof painted blue, and studded with golden stars.[*]

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* Garcilasso, VIII. 8.

* Acosta, Balboa, 59; *apud* Waitz, IV. 449.

† Clavigero, I. p. 175 seq.

At stated hours certain officials appointed for the purpose struck a sonorous metallic plate in the tower, at which signal the king knelt and recited a prayer. From the ornamentation of this tower, as well as from his poems,[†] it is plain that, as Prescott says, "he combined star-worship with worship of the Almighty;" or rather, by combining star-worship with Polytheism, he reached Monotheism. This is clear from what Ijtliljochitl says of him, viz., that although he "invoked the Almighty, by whose grace we live, and who hath in himself all things," still he also "acknowledged the sun to be his father and the earth his mother."[‡]

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[*] Clavigero, I. p. 175 seq.

[†] "Al Dios no conocido, Causa de las Causas." M. S. de Ijtliljochitl apud Prescott, I. 155.

[*] "Su boveda estaba pintada de azul." Clavigero, I. 176.

[†] "Let us strive heavenward, for there all is everlasting and incorruptible." Aspiremos ál cielo, que allí todo es eterno y nada se corrompe. "The horrors of the grave are but the Sun's cradle: and the sombre shadows only brilliant lights for the stars." El horror del sepulcro es lisongera cuña para el, y las funestas sombras brillantes luces para los astros.

[‡] *Apud* Prescott, I.

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