

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

A STUDY IN
PRE-CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

AN EXAMINATION OF THE RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF THE OCEANIC,
CENTRAL AFRICAN, AND AMAZONIAN PRIMITIVES, THEIR DEVELOPMENT
AMONG THE LATER INDO-ASIATIC AND TOTEMIC PEOPLES, THEIR
INTERPRETATION BY THE WESTERN-ASIATIC AND CAUCASIAN RACES
OF NEOLITHIC CULTURE, AND THEIR POSSIBLE CONNEXION WITH
THE EARLIEST RELIGION OF MANKIND.

By

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THE EAST-INDIAN PRIMITIVE



COMPOSITE PICTURE OF THE VEDDA-SAKAI-TOALA-BAKATAN TYPE OF HUMANITY, ONE OF THE EARLIEST GROUPS OF MANKIND IN EXISTENCE. RECONSTRUCTED FROM SELIGMAN (VEDDA-CEYLON) PL. III, V. MARTIN (SENOI-SAKAI-MALAKKA) PL. I, II. SKEAT (SENOI-SAKAI-MALAKKA) I. 29, 63, 120. LING-BOTH (BAKATAN-BORNEO) I. 19. HADDON (BAKATAN-BORNEO) PL. XXVII. HOSE (BAKATAN-BORNEO) PL. XXII-XXVI, CLXXIV. FE. SARASIN (TOALA-CELEBES) V. (H) FIG. 2 PL. VIII. IN ALL 62 FACES, AND COMPARE THE GROUP-PICTURES WITHIN.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHB.....	Assyrisches Handwörterbuch (Delitzsch-Leipzig, 1896).
ASKT.....	Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte (Haupt).
B. A. E.....	Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington).
C. T.....	Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum (London).
J. A. I.....	Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
J. A. O. S.....	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J. I. A.....	Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia.
J. R. A. S.....	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J. R. G. S.....	Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
KB.....	Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Jensen)
KT.....	Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum alten Testament (Winckler)
O. B. I.....	Old Babylonian Inscriptions (Hilprecht-Pennsylvania).
OT.....	"The Old Testament," etc. (Works by Pinches or Jeremias).
PSBA.....	Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
R.....	Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia.
RBA.....	Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens (Jastrow-Giessen, 1914).
S. B. E.....	Sacred Books of the East (Clarendon Press, Oxford).
SR.....	Report of the Smithsonian Institution (Washington).
ZE.....	Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKT.....	Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (Innsbruck).
ZNW.....	Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft (Giessen).

TO MY BELOVED FATHER
THIS BOOK IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

But more than this. The same light of reason has also a moral aspect, it points to a great Lawgiver, the guardian of the moral conscience, one who has written His law in the heart of man in such manner that

The primary dictates of the Natural Law cannot be ignored without some culpability. (S. Thom 1, 2. q. 94. Suarez, de Legibus, 2, ch. 5-17ff.)

This means that, quite apart from any revealed decree, the love, honor, and worship of God, together with the love and respect for his neighbor, are to a large extent natural to man, nay, that even the practice of sacrifice, with the various rites or ceremonies that may yet accompany it, is so firmly rooted in the very constitution of man that it may be called instinctive.

To put it briefly, the "prehistoric" religion of man may be said to embrace a belief in God as Creator and Judge, the binding power of the ten commandments, and the offering up of some kind of atonement-rites.

On the other hand this "natural" religion has its well-defined limits:—

"If any man shall say that in the divine revelation no true and proper mysteries are contained, but that all the doctrines of faith can be understood and demonstrated by properly cultivated reason out of natural principles, let him be anathema." (Vat. III. Can. 4, 1.)

Now it is important to understand that throughout this work we are treating of man as under a double aspect, natural and supernatural, and that no attempt is being made to ground supernatural doctrines upon naturalistic antecedents, but rather to show that the supposed parallelisms are typical and nothing more. This concerns more especially

- (1) the relation of the cosmic triads to the doctrine of the Trinity,
- (2) the belief in a saving demiurge as distinct from the divine Messiah,
- (3) the use of certain medicines as preceding the Seven Sacraments,

In each case it will be our endeavor to show that no triad has ever developed into a Trinity, no demiurge into a divine Redeemer, no medicine into a supernatural Sacrament. It will be found that the former are separated from the latter by a gulf which no unaided power of reason can bridge.

Nevertheless, as the golden thread of the supernatural has never been entirely lost in any age of the human race, whether historic or prehistoric, as we cannot say to what extent the primitive revelation has not been preserved in this or that fragment of prehistoric antiquity or by this or that section of primitive man, it is clearly impossible to treat this subject in such a manner as to exclude the influx of all supernatural light from the rich body of folk-lore which we are about to examine.

For if the two orders of truth are so inextricably woven together in every period of man, we must be prepared to find occasional vestiges of an idea which we know from other sources to have been a revealed dogma. Hence in the treatment of this subject due allowance must be made for the necessary infiltration of supernatural light upon a belief, a tradition or a practice which could never have been derived from the innate tendencies of human nature. This may apply to any of the following subjects:—

(1) Under the title "*God*" we intend to show that the idea of a supreme personal Being is entirely natural to man, but that any intimations of a "Trinity" must be traced to a past revelation, handed down in corrupt form.

(2) Under "*Creation*" the idea of six creative epochs, culminating in the creation of man, may be looked upon as the relic of a fuller light.

(3) Under "*Paradise*" it is clear that the story of the elevation and fall of man presupposes a fact which cannot be gleaned by natural reasoning alone.

(4) Under "*Redemption*" it is particularly plain that, although the longing for salvation is inherent in the human breast, the distinct prophecy of a divine Messiah to come is something that cannot be read from the stars.

(5) Under "*Sacrifice and Sacramentals*" we note that the various pre-historic medicines are suggested by the various religious needs in the life of man, but that the idea of a "suffering" god, and pre-eminently that of the Mystical Lamb, must be regarded as a supernatural symbolism of an all-sufficient Sacrifice to come, while the purely natural medicines have no connexion whatever with the seven supernatural channels of grace.

(6) Under "*Retribution*" the recollection of a great devastation by fire or water must be traced in part at least to a "visitation from heaven."

(7) Under "*Life Eternal*" the notion of a heaven of delights and a hell of punishment is natural enough, though the subject of a "beatific vision" must, if genuine, be handled with similar reservations.

Thus we see that nature and super-nature are so intertwined in the history of man in all ages, that it is quite impossible to treat the one to the exclusion of the other,—we must always allow for some supernatural influx. Nevertheless, as the primary aim of our present study is simply to bring out a voluminous collection of prehistoric *facts*, and then to interpret those facts in the light of our own supernatural standpoint, it is evident that the question of fact should be the primary one; theories and explanations should in every instance be made to follow. In this way each of the above subjects will be brought before the reader just as it presents itself to us in perfectly nude and colorless form, and only in the subsequent analysis will an attempt be made to group the phenomena in such a manner as to suggest some theological conclusions.

The importance of such a work seems to me to be obvious.

In the first place there are those whose superficial reading has brought them in contact with perverted views of the nature and origin of man. They have been taught to look to a purely animal ancestor as the progenitor of the human race and naturally feel disquieted when they hear of a confessedly simian type as the only representative of primitive man. How is this consistent with the dignity and nobility of human nature? To them we offer our Introduction, in which the existence of a very primitive *human* type, of *normal* mental and moral qualities, is sought to be demonstrated out of the purely scientific and ethnological data, leaving to the biologist the task of accounting for such a type. In other words, our primitive is a *man*, not a developed anthropoid.

Then there are those who have dabbled with Tylor's Primitive Culture, with Frazer's pretentious work on Totemism and Exogamy, and who are firmly convinced that primitive man was either entirely atheistic, or if in possession of any religion at all, that the idea of God was developed out of the ghost or the magical nature-cult. To them we shall oppose an enormous array of religious facts which have only recently been unearthed, but which in their united force point to conclusions of precisely the opposite character,—it is the All-Father belief which precedes the totemic or animistic cult by indefinite ages. *Primitive man believed in God*, and only in later times was the belief corrupted.

Then again there are other subjects which have a more intimate relation to man's supernatural destiny. The fact that the Redeemer points to an age of original innocence which was subsequently lost by an act of moral rebellion, this can hardly be squared with the current notions, popular or professional, that the human race has on the contrary raised itself by its own impetus from the lowest fetichism and animal-worship to the most exalted monotheism and monogamous practices of modern times. If the one is true, the other is clearly false. Now whatever view we may take of the Paradise-story as having a mystical content, it is quite certain that the Messiah refers to it not simply as speech-figure, but as an actual condition of the first couple. "*Have ye not read, that He who made man from the beginning, made them male and female?*"—"Moses by reason of the hardness of your heart permitted you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so." (Matt. 19, 4. 19, 8.) As Christ is continually quoting the Torah, it is clear that He regards it as revealed history, and part of this history includes the originally sacred character of the marriage-tie. *Primitive man was monogamous, polygamy belongs to a later age.*

In like manner the story of Eden cannot be dissolved into myth, but is a definite prehistoric event, upon which the whole of Christian theology is founded. "*And as in Adam all die, so also in Christ all shall be made alive.*" (I. Cor. 15, 22.) What becomes of this doctrine if man be regarded as a mere product of nature, of blind evolutionary forces? *The first and second Adam stand and fall together; and in defending the one, we are defending the other.*

Similarly the idea and the hope of Redemption is traced by the Messiah and indeed by the whole cycle of Christian thought to the earliest ages of man,—it is part of a revelation given to man in paradise. Is it conceivable that this revelation should have been entirely lost, that it should have left no vestiges whatever in the folk-lore of humanity? And in the picture of the Tree of Life, in the first-fruit offerings of Cain, in the bread and wine of Melchisedech, have we not a distinct intimation of the originally unbloody nature of the primitive sacrifice? If these are facts and not fancies, it will stand to reason that they must have left some impress in the prehistoric annals of the race, and in searching for these traces, we shall be indirectly supporting the divine tradition: "*Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of Melchisedech.*" (Heb. 5, 6.)

Finally we have the revealed picture of the Father in Heaven as the Dispenser of justice, as the Rewarder of the good and the Punisher of the wicked. Here again the portrayal of the ten antediluvian patriarchs, of the rising dualism of humanity, of the pious Enoch, of the corrupting Nephilim, of the righteous Noah, of the salvation of the few and the destruction of the many in the Great Flood,—all these things, together with the broad doctrines of a future recompense in soul and body alike, *could not have vanished from the face of the earth in their entirety*; if a record of momentous facts and actual prehistoric beliefs, they must have left some mark of their presence in their trail. But what is more important, the Great Deluge is quoted by Christ as actual history:—"*And as in the days of Noe, so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. For as in the days before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, even till that day in which Noe entered into the ark and they knew not till the flood came, and took them all away, so also shall the coming of the Son of man be.*" (Mat. 24, 37 Lk. 17, 26ff.) If words mean anything at all, they imply a period of corruption, destruction, and reconstitution of the human race upon a more recent Asiatic level, of which humanity as such could not have lost the entire record. If real and actual events, they must be to some extent verifiable.

Now I am aware that I shall be met with the usual objection that I am trying to prove too much, that I am starting with dogmas, that I have already made up my mind that such and such *must* be the case. We can imagine such an objector appealing to the so-called "colorless" methods of modern science and baldly denouncing our entire thesis as an *a priori* assumption, somewhat as follows:

"You are looking for God, and therefore you find Him; for the idea of creation, and therefore it is easily verified; for the garden of pleasure, and therefore it can be readily mapped out; for redemption, and therefore every belief in a demiurge points to a future Messiah; for a primitive unbloody sacrifice, and therefore every first-fruit offering takes on a sacrificial character; for a ubiquitous deluge, and therefore every story of a floating raft is a direct reference to such an event; for a heaven, hell and purgatory, because it fits in beautifully with your own eschatology,—throughout you are consciously doctoring the facts to make them square with your own preconceived views on the nature, origin, and 'supernatural' enlightenment of the human race; you are reading the past by the light of the present,—plainly begging the question."

To this polite insinuation we make the following polite reply:—

"You are *not* looking for God, and therefore you do *not* find Him; you have *no* conception of the act of creation, and therefore you *deny* the concept to the savage; you have *no* belief in an age of original innocence, and therefore you *throw over* all the testimonies to that effect; you have *no* adequate idea of redemption, and therefore you entirely ignore the gropings of the savage heart for final deliverance; you have a *horror* of sacrifice and the greatest *contempt* for holy observances, and therefore you interpret the entire ritual of mankind as *nothing* but mummery and magical superstition; you have been taught to throw unending *ridicule* on the story of the ark, and therefore you studiously *avoid* everything that can remotely point to such an event; you have *lost* all faith in a definite hereafter, and therefore you *convert* the savage heavens and hells into mere dream-states,—in short, you are wilfully perverting the plain message of humanity to suit your own decadent philosophy, you are evidently trying to make out a case for universal nihilism in religion,—a *petitio principii* of the worst kind."

It is a pity that we should start with a mutual misunderstanding, but I will endeavor to remove it by an appeal to a more balanced judgment, a more approved system of reasoning.

Let us approach this subject in a frankly impartial spirit, putting out of our minds as far as possible any personal leanings towards this or that aspect of life or existence. It will surely be allowed that there is an order of reality which is independent of a man's personal sympathies, otherwise the science of discovery would come to an end, there would be nothing to "discover." I may not enjoy the sensations of an earthquake, but I cannot argue it away by an appeal to idealistic philosophy. The testimony of the senses is objective and absolute. In like manner it ought to be possible to bring together a sufficient number of data in the pre-history of man to point to more or less definite conclusions, whether I accept those conclusions as illustrating my own philosophical opinions or not. In other words, our first duty should be to eliminate the personal equation as far as possible, to look upon things as they are. *You appeal to the facts of prehistoric antiquity,—I will do the same,—*it is a perfectly fair challenge.

Then, as to interpretation,—here of course we are liable to part company. To you the religious phenomena may suggest nothing but a spontaneous evolutionism out of the inner consciousness of man,—to me they are eloquent of a far deeper truth, of the fact that man has preserved many fractions of a primitive undiluted truth, which in the course of ages has become corrupted by a downward moral development. And upon what do I ground this persuasion? I ground it upon what is nothing more or less than a principle of reason itself,—that there are certain truths that are beyond the limits of unassisted reason to attain, that transcend the full comprehension of the human intellect, that are frankly mysteries. To deny this would be to deny the existence of psychic powers higher than our own, to measure the Infinite by the capacity of our feeble brain-cells—a slight disproportion! If then I find a belief or a practice in the prehistoric past which is evidently more than a mere product of natural philosophy, my own logic forces me to trace these beliefs to *super-natural* causes,—they cannot be spun out of mere reflexions, they demand a communication from the Father of lights. What these truths are, we have just been considering, and it is here that we stand upon two entirely different pedestals. *You derive the entire folk-lore of the human race out of a merely natural reflexion on the facts of consciousness. I derive that same folk-lore out of a primitive plenitude of supernatural truth, which has since been shattered into a thousand fragments,—*though I also allow that some of it can be proved by natural reason. It is simply a case of separating the lower from the higher sources of intellectual vision, and this should commend itself to any fair-minded searcher after truth.

With the supernatural thus well in the foreground, we have no fear of bringing to light certain aspects of belief and practice which may at first sight appear surprising. But there are two errors that we must guard against,—the error of traditionalism, and the error of immanentism.

As to the danger of deriving all forms of belief from a divine tradition, pure and simple, it is an insidious tendency which we have long since outgrown, and is already condemned by the above propositions on the “natural” knowledge of God. Before I can follow any tradition, however inspiring, I must be sure, *on independent grounds*, that the tradition is true, worthy to be followed. Thus a belief in God as Creator and Rewarder of the human race precedes the act of faith in a divine tradition at least in nature if not in time. The two acts may synchronise in this or that particular circumstance, but logically they are two distinct operations of the mind,—I believe in God, because He *exists*,—then, I believe in God, because He has *spoken*,—the one follows the other. But apart from this, it is quite certain that a divine tradition may be lost, and has *de facto* been lost by a large section of the human race. We must therefore be prepared not only for corruptions but for entire eclipses of truth, though this is fortunately the great exception.

On the other hand, the opposite practice of dissolving the entire body of revealed truth into myth and allegory, of looking upon the supernatural as a mere evolution out of subjective states of consciousness, is far more fatal in its consequences than any over-estimation of the tradition-argument. Those who would avoid all appeals to the past records of the race on the score of “traditionalism” are in reality secret immanentists; they have no belief that divine dogmas have any real or objective basis, and therefore they scorn every attempt to find such a basis. The elevation and fall of man are not physical but symbolical events, paradise is converted into a pious allegory, Noah’s ark consigned to the realm of pedagogic literature,—throughout it is symbolism, and only symbolism that forms the background of dogma, there is no objective or absolute criterion of truth, everything is psychological “tendency.” It is needless to state that this Origenistic allegorism is gnawing at the very entrails of a sound theology, that it is in direct opposition to the repeated declarations of the Church. *The separation of faith and history is a modernistic error*, and those who interpret the opening chapters of Genesis as mere “poetry” incur the risk of a severe censure. (See the decree “Lamentabili” passim, and the reports of the Biblical Commission.)

Another question, to be sure, is that which concerns the degree in which faith is *proved* by history, to what extent the divine tradition can be supported by archaeological facts. For it is not *per se* inconceivable that a divine revelation, once given, *might* have vanished from the earth in such a way as to leave but few vestiges, and none that are at all unsullied by later corruptions. This is a point which we must always bear in mind. The supernatural certainty in a divine tradition may coexist with a non-committal attitude on the subject of its prehistoric transmission, of its positive verification in this or that instance. The fact that some of these vestiges may be regarded as doubtful, and that the entire subject of prehistoric faith is a comparatively modern acquisition, naturally leads the cautious believer to suspend his judgment; he assents to the deposit, not because it is provable, but because it is revealed, even if not confirmed by vestiges, it is still eternally true. This is a well-intended measure of safety, and wisely points to divine authority as the ultimate norm of supernatural truth. But we have already noted that, although corruptions and perversions of truth are only to be expected in all the ages of man, the supernatural has never entirely vanished, and it is on the face of it incredible that in view of the enlarged field of modern research nothing whatever should be left of the finger of God in human history to be discovered by scientific means. The enemy has been throwing this at us for many centuries, and it is time that the tide were turned, that the true picture of prehistoric man were at length presented.

If, then, in the treatment of certain aspects of this question we have erred on the side of excessive realism, it is a pardonable antidote to the prevalent looseness with which the historic supernatural is dismissed,—simply ignored as a power in the life of man. We may, as I have said, try to find too much, we may overestimate the content of the message by carrying into it too much of our own psychology. But it is better to find too much than too little, and to find nothing at all is a wilful conspiracy against natural reason no less than against supernatural light,—it is simply ignoring the overwhelming evidence of both sources of truth. It is easy enough to sneer at the six “days” of creation, but what if the savage has a vague recollection of a similar work? It seems hard to believe that our first parents ate of the forbidden fruit at the instigation of a “talking” serpent, but what if this is one of the earliest persuasions of man? It is easy to make cheap jokes about a universal deluge, but what if a unique drowning-calamity is one of the most widespread traditions of the human race?

Those who studiously avoid these subjects have a secret conviction that they never *actually* occurred, and they might as well be candid enough to say so. They may smile at our reconstructions, but they having nothing better to offer in their place,—in fact, they offer us a blank, and are rather happy to do so; it helps to support their theory of a progressive evolution of dogmas. To such as these, and in fact to the entire school of negative thinkers, the present work cannot but be distasteful; it is a direct repudiation of their favorite thesis of a gradual rise of the religious conscience out of a mental and moral zero. We have firmly determined to fight this universal atheism, and are ready for the fight,—let there be no misunderstanding of our initial purpose. But to those of the conservative school, who belong to the “household of faith,” this book may yet convey a double impression:—

(1) There are those to whom the religious data will come as a welcome surprise. They will be glad to feel that the sign of the Cross is so ancient, that the All-Father cult is the earliest religion of man, that the six days of Genesis admit of such valuable illustration, that the Tree of Life and the Garden of God are once more restored to them as physical realities. Even if overdrawn in this or that particular instance, the main body of facts can hardly be questioned, and they cannot fail to be reassuring. Nay more,—the same group of believers will be looking for the Star of Redemption in the later ages of man; they will thrill with delight when they find that of all the peoples of antiquity we alone of the noble Aryan race, the Persian Magi of the gospels, were allowed to find the King of Glory as the reward of our *supernatural* faith. Is this not a beautiful confirmation of the gospel narrative, hitherto regarded by some as almost a romance, almost too good to be true? Then again the early sacrificial rites of humanity will make a similar impression. They will hail with universal sympathy the natural instinct by which man uses the medicines of nature as the natural expression of his religious feelings, they will see in the First-fruit *Sadaka* a distant symbolism of the divine benevolence, and the entire sacrificial practice will tend to show that man is by nature ritualistic, far removed from a merely esoteric religion. Finally, to hear once more of a real “ark,” and of a real heaven, hell, and purgatory, cannot but bring solace to a humanity distraught with doubts and with religious dissensions,—in fact, all these things sound traditional and orthodox, they seem to support the revealed position in a thousand different ways, and they make Christ our Lord the one unique Light of the World, the common hope of Jew and Gentile alike.

(2) There are others, however, to whom the same religious data might suggest an erroneous inference. What? The sign of the Cross before Christ? The hexahemeron before Moses? The tree of life before Eden? Redemption before the Redeemer? The sadaka before the Eucharist? Medicines before sacraments? Deluge-heroes before Ararat? Visions of God before Calvary? It looks as if you were deriving the whole of the revealed basis of faith out of a mere *human* tradition, making the supernatural to "grow" out of the natural, supporting that very scheme of religious evolutionism which you pretend to condemn. It does not increase, but rather it lessens my faith, to be told that some of our most cherished dogmas have been anticipated by unregenerate savages, that prehistoric man should have shared, however remotely, in a volume of holy lore and tradition which I cannot but regard as all-sacred, unfit for any "pagan" hands to touch. So far from being elevated by all this prehistoric rubbish, I am on the contrary chagrined and depressed at its evident portent. It seems to imply that there is nothing entirely unique in the Christian religion; that the latter is but the crown and apex of many previous attempts to solve the riddle of existence,—simply the *pleroma* or the natural fulfilment of the spontaneous longings of the human race,—a "culmination." It leaves me with a less powerful grip on the supernatural than I had before, and the last state of my soul is worse than the first.

After what we have just been expounding on the mutual relation of the natural and the supernatural in all ages of man, it is needless to repeat that the above impression is indeed deplorable, and one which we are doing our best to remove. In the first place, we deny the insinuation *in toto*. We are not deriving the religious ideas of humanity out of a primitive blank, but out of a primitive plenitude. We are starting with the supernatural, not closing with it,—even if it is also true that some of these ideas might have been suggested by the natural constitution of man. We have separated the two sources with sufficient clearness. It is therefore untrue to say that we are evolving dogmas,—on the contrary, *we are presupposing a large body of primitive dogma, out of which, as out of a rich mine, the sacred traditions of man have been quarried.* If this is not poles apart from modern immanentism, then what is it? It reestablishes the supernatural, it does not repudiate it. If, then, we find many striking beliefs in the early history of man, they are so many confirmations, not repudiations of Christian dogma, which latter, as we shall invariably show, cannot be evolved out of naturalistic speculations. This will always remain the most powerful 'critique' at our disposal, and we intend to apply it cautiously, but unsparingly.

In the second place, it must be candidly admitted that some of us have all too narrow a view of the divine economy. There was a time when we could shelve the prehistoric problem by a wholesale denunciation of every form of pre-Christian belief as a damnable superstition, an unadulterated falsehood. *Omnes dii gentium daemonia*,—"all the gods of the gentiles are demons,"—such was the cry with which the early Christian apologists justly assailed the disgusting vices with which the contemporary pagan world was rank, and it was not very difficult to prove that Christianity was immensely superior to any of its "heathen" competitors. But the matter assumes a different aspect when we ascend into high antiquity. *Not corruptions, but illuminations are the prominent feature in the earlier periods of the race*, and the further we mount up, the stronger and purer does the light of heaven appear to shine, though never with the splendor of Christian truth. All this, however, is a modern acquisition, and in keeping time with this new world of thought that is opening out before us, we are happy to find that "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world." The discovery of these facts should furnish a strong support to the dogma of a primitive revelation, indeed they point so forcibly in this direction that they cannot be explained without the theory of a partial survival of revealed truth over large sections of the human race. Thus they expand our ideas of the divine government,—they do not becloud them.

Finally, it is most important to distinguish between the external *form* and the internal content of a religion. For, although forms may be indefinitely ancient, the content is liable to change; in no case more so than in the sudden and violent transition which marks the use of the pagan rites from the entirely new use of the Christian mysteries. It is here especially that we must guard against any misconstructions. The discovery of pre-Christian analogies,—whether in theological terminology, or in the external ritual by which religion is expressed,—is something that we must be prepared for, and cannot be argued away by a worn-out appeal to the uniqueness of Christian ceremonies on the purely material side. Are there not many things in our Christian ritual which, viewed in their broader and more general aspects, exhibit some *external* points of resemblance to Jewish or pagan practice? Does not religion clothe herself in similar garb the world over? The fact is there are certain natural forms by which religion is expressed in all ages of man, and from this point of view we may rightfully admit some continuity with the remote past. Nature is *perfected* by grace, not destroyed or entirely cancelled by its higher operations.

But continuity of form has nothing to do with continuity of content. The use of prayer-beads and holy water is as old as the ocean, but neither can the Holy Rosary be derived from an Astarte-cult, nor the rite of Baptism from a Mithraic douche. Sacred candles have nothing to do with prehistoric torches, nor the Blessed Sacrament with a transplanted Soma-worship. In each case there are external resemblances and typical pre-figurations which it would be unwise to deny,—we may even hail them as the forerunners of better things to come, as providential or prehistoric “lights,”—but to evolve the one out of the other indicates the crassest ignorance of the meaning and content of the Christian formulae. Did any savage ever baptise in the name of a triune God? any Persian paitish see in the “bread of chastity” the body and blood of a crucified Savior? Is there anything in common between the Dominican Rosary, with its fifteen mysteries of the life of Christ, and the vain babblings of the gentiles, with their knotted cords and their spinning prayer-wheels? If mere externals be the test of a similarity, we answer,—yes,—there is many a rationalist that can learn from primitive man the art of invoking God by prostrations of body no less than of soul, by consecrating every minute to some ritual act, by using beads, pictures, water, and incense as the vivid expressions of his own interior faith, and to this extent we are nearer to Him than he, our religion is symbolic and sacramental,—a “living” faith. But when it comes to dogma, there is no bridge between paganism and Christianity, between the Old and the New Law, and those who cannot see the essential difference between bath-house and Baptism, prayer-beads and Rosary, soma and Sacred Host, are indeed in a pitiable state. Let them read the gospel of the New Birth, the formula of the Annunciation, the “eucharistic” chapter of St. John, and they will be convinced of the opposite; the Messiah inaugurates an entirely new dispensation, as is evident from the misconstruction put upon His words,—“*How can a man be born when he is old?*”, “*How can this man give us his flesh to eat?*” (John, 3, 4, 6, 53.) If these were current beliefs, they would not have occasioned the wonderment, nay even the apostasy of some of his early followers,—they are new, transcendent, heaven-begotten mysteries.

With this initial misunderstanding removed, we do not hesitate to reveal the beauty and the symmetry of pre-Christian faith in all its fullness, without needlessly clipping its wings under the absurd pretext that it will destroy the uniqueness of the gospel. There is a primitive light to which the Messiah would call us back, and in finding its vestiges, we shall be adding but one more jewel to the crown of His Divinity.

It is therefore hoped, that the main impression of this book will be a favorable one; that it will help to clear up certain questions which until recently have been handled with indifferent success. There are millions of people who are driven to despair by the apparently hopeless verdict of modern science on all that concerns the nature, origin, and destiny of the human species, and to whom the opening chapters of Genesis seem to be in appalling contradiction to the unanimous voice of modern research. If the revealed history of primitive man is exploded to the four winds, what becomes of the Bible as the infallible word of God? And if Moses be consigned to the limbo of romance, where is the guarantee that the New Testament will fare any better? The whole system stands and falls together as a unit, and by cultivating a negative habit of mind we gradually undermine the entire basis of supernatural truth,—the whole structure gradually dwindles from our mind,—we have lost the Faith. It is surely worth while to save what we can out of this universal wreckage, and to re-examine the data to see whether the message of science is in reality such as it is commonly given out to be, whether in fact it forces us to assume so radical a position. If it can be shown that this is not the case, that on the contrary the most recently discovered facts tend to support the revealed tradition with an almost epoch-making force, it is surely high time to bring these facts before the public, to let them know that real science has a very different story to tell. If this book accomplishes nothing more than *to restore to primitive man his birthright as a God-created being*, it will not have been written in vain. But we hope that it may lead to more than this. The reader should feel at the end of this study that he is nearer to the supernatural than he was before, that his own religion is acquiring a new lease of life by its alliance with prehistoric lore, that the name of Christ is nearer and dearer to him now that he sees what the divine Being has meant to humanity throughout the ages of time, how vividly the teachings of Christ are illustrated by the prehistoric annals of mankind, how suggestive of heavenly light are many of the beliefs and practices with which he has come in contact, yet how incomparably superior is the Faith of Pentecost. To what extent this is actually borne out by the facts must of course be our main object of controversy,—it is now to be established by a painstaking analysis of all the data. But that this may be the final effect of the book, is the sincere desire of the author.

If, then, the present work is branded as a "Tendenzschrift," we have nothing to say beyond what has already been noted above. We all have "tendencies" of one kind or another, and the obvious course is to measure the *value* of the tendency by an impartial appeal to the logic of facts. The true tendency will vindicate its own right to existence.

In the nature of the case this work must assume the character of a compilation. The field of comparative and prehistoric religion being well-nigh illimitable, it is beyond the capacity of any single individual to master it with his own private resources,—he must be copiously supported by the investigations of others if his work is to be in any sense comprehensive as well as convincing. It is, therefore, necessary for me to preface once and for all that a large portion of this book is the result of the labors of specialists, whose willing cooperation has been secured, and to whom I am directly indebted for immediate and timely illumination. For while I can say without exaggeration that a large part of the prehistoric and Babylonian cuneiform matter is in a more direct sense *my own work*, while the entire treatment of the subject, with its analyses, criticisms and conclusions, as well as the diagrams, stands and falls with my own personality, it would be grossly wanting in propriety not to acknowledge the immense debt that is due to the labors of the many authors who have made it possible for me to collect this material and to offer it to the public in a new and more easily accessible dress. No modern writer can face the world of criticism unless he is firmly supported by authorities of the highest rank,—it would be unblushing audacity to attempt such a thing,—he must let the voice of professional scholarship speak without reserve, even if that voice be occasionally ambiguous and wanting in firm and well-tested solidity,—he cannot afford to stand on his own feet. It has, therefore, been my special endeavor to illustrate this subject by appealing to as many first-class authorities as is conveniently possible. I am, in fact, re-editing their work *per longum et latum*, though I wish it to be distinctly understood that all obligations have been publicly or privately acknowledged.

Among these obligations those to the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania take the first place. Dr. Kenyon has given me full authority to publish the "Cuneiform Texts" in the United States with inter-linear transliterations, while rare and interesting material has been obtained from Prof. Hilprecht's "Old Babylonian Inscriptions" and Prof. Langdon's newly-edited "Sumerian Psalms." A special and personal tribute of thanks is due to Prof. George S. Duncan, of the department of Assyriology and Egyptology of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, for reviewing the Babylonian matter and transcribing and translating the Egyptian Pyramid Texts,—the latter entirely his own composition. A word of acknowledgment is also due to Drs. Butin and Vaschalde of the Catholic University of America, and especially to Dr. Kennedy, without whom I could hardly have undertaken this work. These and that eminent Jewish expert, Dr. Immanuel Casanowicz, are the principal gentlemen in Washington to whom I owe a lasting debt of personal gratitude.

In the department of Persian hieratic literature, I have obtained practically all that is here offered from the pen of my own father, the late Professor Lawrence Heyworth Mills, Doctor of Divinity of Columbia University, New York, and for many years Professor of Iranian Literature and Philology in the University of Oxford, England. While I have the highest regard for the standing and the accomplishments of this eminent scholar,—in his own day undoubtedly the greatest living authority on the pre-exilic Persian or Achaemenean Zoroastrianism,—I have taken the liberty of viewing the entire subject from a somewhat different standpoint, and although I may rightfully assume that his literary productions are technically flawless, I have put my own perspective into their higher theological interpretation.

As to the prehistoric archaeological and ethnological data, it would take a small volume even to mention the names of those upon whose works I have reared the greater part of this edifice. The present abnormal state of the world has made it impossible to communicate with many of these European gentlemen, whose timely word of advice and assistance would have been most desirable. I can only presume their cooperation and generous approval when making use of their sources. In the meantime a sincere word of appreciation is due to Mr. F. W. Hodge, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and to his co-workers at the Smithsonian Institution, for supplying me with many archaeological curiosities, and for reviewing the material on the North-American folklore, and especially on the Pueblo ritual. Mr. W. H. Holmes furnished the Aztec fire-temple.

Finally, it is impossible to bring out a "prehistoric bible" of this nature without craving the indulgence of the public, and still more that of accredited scholars, on the subject of its necessary imperfections. It is beyond all human capacity to produce an ideally perfect edition of any ancient text by purely autographic methods,—try as hard as he may, the copyist is bound to make some slips and oversight; he is only human. And as in the present case the author is at the same time the copyist and has had to do the entire work from cover to cover without any assistance, it should be understood that these reproductions are only approximations, they cannot claim to be absolutely exact. It is therefore confidently expected that, with all the care that has been given to make these texts, tablets and transcriptions as nearly perfect as possible, the few oversights will be readily pardoned in view of the substantial accuracy of the great bulk of the work.

PHILO L. MILLS,
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A GENERAL ORIENTATION ON THE STATUS QUAESTIONIS

To bring before the reader the main points of our present study in more clear and concise form, I have thought it useful to bring out the chief objects of controversy with a view to showing how I intend to handle these questions and what provisions have been made to meet the more common objections that will naturally arise and to guard against all possible misunderstandings. The following should be carefully borne in mind by all who peruse these pages with a view to understanding their general spirit and tendency.

(1) The doctrine of unlimited evolution naturally finds no place in the present work. Natural reason and supernatural light are at one in condemning a system which is scientifically, philosophically and theologically false. Hence it will be of inestimable value to discover that in every department of religious belief and practice there is evidence of an *initial fulness and integrity* which cannot be explained on Darwinian or evolutionary lines, but presupposes the direct influx of a higher Power, something transcendent.

(2) Applying this to the human species as such, it will be found that by no possibility can the original type of mankind be deduced from an anthropoidal precursor, but that on the contrary, the gap between savage and simian is more glaring in the earlier than in the later ages of humanity, which suggests that there has been a very large, if not a universal physical degeneration. Primitive man was undoubtedly an ideal and unique being. What we see is the more or less corrupted though comparatively pure survivor, not the "ideal" man.

(3) From this it will follow that no existing type of humanity can be regarded as the bearer of an undiluted primitive faith except as an *approximation*, as something *similar* to what was once upon the earth. Hence all the existing savage beliefs are more or less tainted, but exhibit greater or less approximations to absolute truth in proportion to their antiquity or to the purity with which the primitive revelation has been handed down.

(4) On the other hand, there is no direct connexion between religious and material culture, the earliest races of man being culturally low but religiously and morally highly developed. In fact, an advance in culture is often accompanied by a collective degeneration, as can be easily proved. Only in Christianity do we find the highest material and moral civilisation fused into one, but even this by no immanent necessity.

(5) The "Law of Progress" is not so simple that it can be expressed in a single sentence. It is a complicated equation, better expressed by the zigzag than by the straight line. The fact is, humanity can advance in one sense and retard in another, and throughout all history there have been upward and downward developments sometimes going on simultaneously. It would be better to say that there is no "law" of progress when we are dealing with free agents,—it is a pure fiction except when applied to purely material or cultural data.

(6) Hence in surveying the succeeding chapters it must not be inferred that because a belief is put down as early, it is either the best or the most primitive, but simply that it is *relatively* pure, *comparatively* primitive. An idea may be late in its expression but absolutely primitive in its content for the simple reason that the ideal ancestor is beyond our reach.

(7) This concerns more especially the relation of the *written supernatural* or the inspired biblical truth to the faded or fragmentary supernatural as we read it in the corrupted folklore of humanity. On no account can a direct equation be established between any biblical and "babylonian" subject in such sense as to insinuate that the one is simply a fuller edition of the other, a more perfect recension. THE WRITTEN BIBLE IS LATE IN ITS APPEARANCE BUT ABSOLUTELY PURE AND PRIMITIVE IN ITS MESSAGE, WHILE THE EXTRA-BIBLICAL TRADITIONS HOLD A PRIORITY OF COMPOSITION BUT NOT OF CONTENT: THEY ARE VALUABLE ONLY IN SO FAR AS THEY LEND CONFIRMATION TO THE BIBLICAL RECORD WHICH IS ITSELF FOUNDED ON PREHISTORIC RECORDS WHICH HAVE SINCE BEEN LOST. This of course must be our principal controversial thesis throughout the work and it is vitally important to its clear understanding. Revelation is wider than inspiration, it is true; but I hope to show under each chapter that in no case has the inspired author simply "exploited" the contemporary records, but that on the contrary, the internal and external evidence shows very clearly that while the terminology and literary setting may often be traced to extra-biblical parallels, the dogmatic ideas are absolutely independent and presuppose a direct illumination of the mind of the inspired writer, by which the true religious history of man was brought before his vision, free from every taint of error or corruption. In this way the divine tradition is seen to be independent of any of its falsely supposed pagan "sources," while the supernatural *cannot be derived out of the natural*, as I have explained in the Prolog.

These few words will suffice for the present in order to put into proper perspective the general framework of our collected material. Its application to individual subjects will be found under each chapter.

PHILO L. MILLS, October 2, 1918.

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

In every investigation there is something that is taken for granted, and something for which we are searching, in the hope of discovering a new line of facts. In the present study on the primitive religion of man there are two questions that present themselves for immediate solution by way of a preamble:—

- (1) Are there any primitive types of man in existence?
- (2) Is it possible to reconstruct their religion from the scattered materials that have come down to us?

As to the first question, it must be admitted that, as far as the general verdict of biology is concerned, there is no type of man at present in existence that can claim to be a literally primitive type. Such a form has passed out of existence long ago and is past recovery. Incessant changes,—climatic, physical, psychological or functional,—have so modified the organic structure of man, have so influenced his constitution, somatic and psychic, that it would be bold indeed to point to any section of the race as representative of the common ancestor of mankind. On the other hand it is no less evident that among the existing races of man there are great differences. There are some that are culturally recent, others admittedly ancient, while still others seem to mirror the conditions of life of an age which has long since perished,—to represent in fact a type which is *relatively* primitive,—an approach at least to primitive man. It is with such a type that our present study is occupied.

As to the second question, it is true that much of our material is scattered, fragmentary, and at times defective. But this is no reason for rejecting the combined weight of the evidence *en masse*. The deficiency of single areas can generally be corrected by the wealth and promise of more favored regions. The material must be carefully sifted. The combined picture thus obtained should furnish a sufficient basis for drawing conclusions of a solid and scientific value. In no case can evidence be accepted that is based upon loose or inaccurate data. The material must come from an unimpeachable source.

II

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

Let us approach this subject in the light of existing evidence.

I. THE QUESTION OF "REAL PRIMITIVES"

(A) THE EVIDENCE OF CULTURE,—THE PRE-CHELLEAN AGE

In looking for the earliest types of humanity there are two methods at our disposal. We may dig into the earth and search for his early remains, for the earliest vestiges of his bones and industry,—or, we may turn to the living races and argue backwards,—we may say that the lowest and least developed section of humanity is apt to represent the earlier type. The one is the method of palaeontology, the other of comparative ethnology, and both are fruitful and productive of important results. But in comparing the value of each method we shall find that the evidence afforded by the living survivor is in many respects more certain, more direct, and more complete, than that obtained from his osseous remains. It is more certain,—because the number of facts is greater, and the general principle of a gradation of culture unquestionable,—it is more direct,—because we see the original actually before our eyes,—it is more complete,—because the existing type brings before us the life of primitive man in all its entirety, without the help of imaginary reconstructions, based on a few flints and cranial fragments.

A brief consideration will make this clear. It has been possible in recent times to produce a fairly accurate picture of neolithic and even palaeolithic man. We see ourselves reflected in the Lake-dwellers of Europe, and to some extent in the Mammoth and Bear-hunters of the great Ice Age. But the further we go back, the more dim grows the picture, the more scanty the materials for the reconstruction of man. For if the neolithic remains are generally complete and sufficiently numerous to afford a fairly satisfactory picture, the glacial skeletons are with few exceptions faulty and fragmentary, they consist for the most part of portions of a skull, a rib, or a shin-bone, from which with their accompanying industry the living form is conjured up from the dead,—we are told to look to the Australian for his modern representative. Now it is quite true that these buried or "fossil" remains are very important, they furnish in fact an indirect check to the ethnological data. But their combined result is otherwise disappointing. They tell us little of the real appearance of man, little of his daily life, nothing of his social organisation, and next to nothing of his religious beliefs. At most, they are mere landmarks, milestones in the early history of man.¹

¹ Compare in this connection G. Scott-Elliot, *Prehistoric Man and His Story*, (London, 1915), whose reconstructions are more ingenuous than scientific, though as anthropoidal types they are possibly of some value. The same of H. F. Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, (New York, 1916), an otherwise admirable work.

A far more satisfactory method is that of turning to the existing races of man and asking ourselves the simple question,—

Who are the lowest in the scale of human culture?

For the general principle will be accepted, that in the upward ascent of man the lower normally precedes the higher stage of civilisation, that where we find a comparative blank we have reasons to suspect a case of arrested development,—a primitive survival.

THE AGES OF MAN

It is evident for instance that we are now living in the age of iron and steel, of electricity and motor-cars, and we feel quite certain that where these are entirely absent it is a sufficiently plain proof that the people lived *before* these powers or commodities were discovered or became the recognised means of construction, of transportation. It is possible, of course, for a man to bury himself in the back woods, to return to the "simple" life, to live like a savage,—but it is quite impossible for an entire race to do so without assuming something akin to a miracle, an extraordinary catastrophe, by which the whole of the former civilisation was wiped out, entirely forgotten. Now although there is some evidence for cultural breaks, and even catastrophes, in the early history of man, there is hardly a single case in which a typical industry, once established, has ever been abandoned without the introduction of a higher industry, which industry has been normally evolved out of the lower. On this the buried remains speak with no uncertain voice. In every case the cruder tools have given away to the more perfected implements, and as to the celebrated "golden" age, where is the evidence that this age was material rather than moral, an age of peace and of spiritual enlightenment?²

THE BRONZE AGE

But if the use of the black metals marks the highest level of "civilised" man, the preceding Bronze and Copper Period is no less distinctive. It belongs essentially to those half-cultured yellow races of Central Asia who have carried their yellow metal to the furthest ends of the earth, not perhaps in person, but by contact with neighboring peoples. India, Arabia, North Africa, the Malay Archipelago,—all have felt the influence of the bronze sword, and its presence is an infallible index that these peoples are living in a period which has definitely passed away for the higher races, say, between 2- and 4000 B. C. These shining metals are also found in the New World, the Indians being the bearers of a high copper industry.

² Comp. W. I. Thomas, *Source-book for Social Origins*, (Chicago, 1912), p. 335ff. for inventions and technology J. Dechelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, (Paris, 1908), for palaeographic data.

IV

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

THE NEW STONE AGE

It is possible, however, to go considerably further down in the scale of human progress. We have all heard of the great Stone Age, and its name marks it off from all the metallic cultures. Though distributed over vast sections of the earth's surface, it exists in its purity only in the wilder and less accessible portions of the globe, more especially in the Oceanic and Australian regions of the far East. In all other quarters it is partly fused with the metal cultures, though it still forms the background of the Central Indian, the North-African, and the native North and South-American cultures. The American Indian is still living in the Stone Age, even though he understands the use of copper and has borrowed his steel chisel from the whites, for the latter are clearly imported or superficially acquired, —otherwise he would not continue the use of stone as the chief instrument of his handicraft. This puts him back at least 5000 years before the commencement of the present era, and for similar reasons the above races must be dated back to a period at least equally early.

THE OLD STONE AGE

But the shape and finish of stone implements is by no means uniform. There is a sharp distinction between the perfected and polished flint of the neolithic age and the more crude productions of its predecessor, a difference which is accompanied by a standard of life and industry which is in every respect more primitive. Man is no longer tied to the soil, he has become a wild hunter, for whom the animal creation possesses a paramount interest, it becomes the chief theme of his art, of his inspiration. Clothing, housing, nutrition, navigation, and so on,—all are adapted to the more simple requirements of the buffalo-hunt, they show a continual tendency to become less artificial, more and more dependent on the needs and circumstances of the hour,—skin-raiment, round-house, forest-fauna, bark-canoe, etc.—the latter a specially commodious and portable means of locomotion. Among the peoples where this phase of life may still be seen in its more essential features are the wild Dravidians of Southern India, the Bantus of Eastern Africa, the Prairie Indians of North America, and again the Australian and Melanesian peoples of Oceanica. While the staple foods and commodities vary considerably throughout this region, the general similarity in habits and conditions of life, more especially in the interior, is too striking not to arrest attention. They carry us back to the time when our forefathers hunted the bison on the steppes of Central Europe,—a period between 10 and 20000 years before Christ.³

³ W. J. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters and their modern Representatives*, (London, 1915), pp. 160ff. Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, (Vienna, 1914), pp. 176, 253, 316ff. It is not pretended that the American and European Palaeolithic were strictly contemporaneous. The glacial culture of Europe reached America at a later age. See p. LVI.

INTRODUCTION

V

THE AGE OF SHELL, BONE, AND BAMBOO

Will it be possible to sink still lower, to arrive at a period when humanity had not even acquired the art of making the pointed flint, of cutting the hard stone into the more or less definite form of a lozenge? Such a period seems to be postulated by the existence of "eoliths," which are hardly more than scrapers, rough flints of jagged outline, of irregular pattern. In view of the fact, however, that acknowledged experts are unable to agree as to the human origin of these flints, and that several notable writers have boldly denied it, they are not a safe means for measuring the age or industry of a people, they are of no value as a time-piece, except in so far as their exclusive use would seem to show that the users had not yet arrived at the stage known as the Chellean industry.

If, however, we find a group of peoples who cannot manufacture any kind of a flint, but simply pick up the eoliths ready made, and whose cutting-implements consist for the most part of flakes, shells, bones, bamboo-slivers, and pointed pieces of wood, hardened or "tempered" by fire,—the suggestion arises that they may belong to an age before flint-chisels were manufactured, especially when their mode and manner of life is even more primitive than anything to be found in the Stone Ages. Who are these peoples?

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF THE BAMBOO CULTURE

(1) *Malay Peninsula*.—"Stone implements are very numerous in the peninsula, but it is an open question whether any forms of stone implement, except possibly chips or flakes, were ever manufactured by any of the wild tribes, *the weight of evidence being decidedly against it*. The rudimentary stage through which these tribes have passed, and in some cases are still passing, may perhaps be more accurately described as a "*wood and bone*" age than as an age of stone. The most primitive form of knife, still found among them, consists of a sharp sliver of bamboo, which makes a very fair tool. None are in the habit of dressing themselves in the skins of animals, or of decorating themselves with the feathers of birds. "They use a girdle made of leaves or fungus-strings, and live in the simplest of wind-shelters. Their weapons are the wooden bow and the bamboo blowpipe, they hunt the tiger, the elephant and the rhinoceros, but they do not resort to the hunting of game until their supply of vegetable food begins to give out. They live off wild yams and jungle produce, they "plow" fire, but have no knowledge of navigation. Their bamboo tubes furnish the only music." ⁴

⁴ W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, (London, 1906), Vol. I. pp. 242, 249ff. (weapons and implements), 137-138, (dress), 168ff. (habitations), 200, (hunting), 109, (food), 113, (fire), Vol. II. 117ff. (music),—an indispensable work on the aboriginal life, recommended to all beginners (copious illustrations.)

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF THE BAMBOO CULTURE

(2) *Andaman Islands*.—"Stones are not used by the Andamanese for cutting wood or bone, the latter being usually crushed by a hammer for the sake of the marrow. Before the (quite recent) introduction of iron, small holes were bored with bone or pieces of shell, but rarely if ever with stone, and no implement has been found which might be supposed to have served as a stone saw or scraper, for which purpose shells apparently have been generally employed. The Andamanese assert that they never, even when iron was scarce, made arrow-heads, axes, adzes, or chisels of stone. They also affirm that the fragments that have been found in the kitchen-middens are merely quartz-flakes or broken pieces of cooking stones or hones which in former times, as now, were thrown among the rubbish when no longer in use. The bamboo, though not employed in such a variety of ways as it is by many savages, is yet in constant use,—for the making of harpoon and arrow-shafts, of water-holders, knives, tongs, and netting-needles." Their only vesture consists of small bunches of Pandanus-leaves, skins of animals are not made use of in any way, and their huts are simple lean-to's or tree-shelters. With large bows and harpoons they hunt for flesh, fish, or fowl indiscriminately, though here also their primary diet is a vegetable one. They cannot make fire, but produce rude pottery and fairly good canoes, made of solid tree-stumps, and formerly hollowed out with shells.⁵

(3) *Southern India, Ceylon*.—Among the Forest-Veddas the use of stone, except in the shape of quartz-eoliths, is apparently unknown. Here the bow and arrow seem to perform the function of implements. "The arrow is still the almost universal cutting-tool, as we had good opportunity of ascertaining at Hennebedda." Both are made of hardwood or bamboo, and the bowstring of twisted tree-bast. Their leaf-hut is equally primitive, and their hunting-life closely resembles that of the Andamanese. Like them they make crude pottery, but do not manufacture any kind of canoe.⁶

(4) *Philippines*.—The Negritos of Zambales make practically everything out of bamboos, banana-leaves, and bark fibre-strings. In no single case has the use of stone chiseling instruments been reported. In the wild state they build rough wind-screens, hunt the forest deer with bamboo bows and arrows, and use the bamboo firestick. Baskets, combs, knives, fiddles and flutes,—all are made of the same material. Navigation is wanting.⁷

⁵ E. H. Man, *On the Original Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, (London, 1885), p. 160-161 (flint chips and shells,—cf. Stoliczka, *Notes on the Kjökken-Möddings of the Andaman Islands*), p. 157 (bamboos), p. 110 (attire), p. 39 (huts), p. 179 (shell-adze). ⁶ C. G. Seligman, *The Veddas*, (Cambridge, 1911), p. 324ff. (tools, etc.), p. 19-20 (quartz implements), p. 36ff. (huts). ⁷ W. A. Reed, *Negritos of Zambales* (Manila, 1904), p. 39-48, (general ethnology).

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF THE BAMBOO CULTURE

(3) *Borneo*:—The wild Dayaks, or Bakatans, are grouped in small communities and inhabit the dense jungle at the head-waters of the principal rivers of Borneo. They are a nomad people who build no permanent houses of any kind, do not cultivate the soil, and live by hunting and gathering the wild fruits and jungle produce. Their mode of life is very much more primitive than that of the Kayans and other inhabitants of the interior. Leaf-shelter, fire-stick, absence of clothing, use of cocoanut-shells, of palm and banana-leaves, of bamboo harps, flutes, implements, and blowpipes, all connect them with the Malakkan, and still more with the Philippine region, the actual use of higher stone implements being conspicuous by its absence.⁸

(4) *Celebes*:—The Toalas or "Back-woodsmen" of Celebes make quartz imitations of palaeolithic celts, but their quality is far inferior to the Magdalenian flints, the natives preferring the use of tooth, bone, and bamboo.⁹

(5) *New Guinea and Melanesia*:—Though the Papuans are living in an age of stone, there are many tribes in the interior that reveal vestiges of a far more primitive state. Among the Mimika of the North-West "the one and only kind of shelter (except the communal dwelling) is the primitive and temporary leaf-hut, pitched to the ground." Though in possession of a stone adze, a great deal of their cutting is done by means of shells and bone-scrapers, and among the Tapiros these and the split bamboos are the only cutting instruments of native use. The Mafulus of the East know nothing but a shell, bone, and bamboo industry, their stone axe being borrowed from the coast tribes. This distinctive culture may in fact be traced far into Melanesia, where it still survives in the bamboo-knives, bows and arrows, quivers and jew's harps, that are so frequently met with.¹⁰

(6) *Central Africa*:—Among the Akkas or Negrillos of the great Congo region, a very similar stage of industrial life has been revealed. Most of the above elements are here represented in equally crude form, and as to the use of stone implements, there is nothing intermediate between the borrowed iron and the prehistoric bone or shell-industry, if we except a few stone hammers or scrapers. Central Africa has hardly been touched by the palaeolithic wave, and its isolation is still to be accounted for.¹¹

⁸ H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, (London, 1896) Vol. I. p. 16-18. A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, black, white, and brown*, (London, 1901), p. 320. Hose and McDougall, *Journ. Anthr. Instit.* (1901) Vol. XXXI, p. 125. A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, (Leyden, 1907) Vol. I. p. 52. ⁹ P. and F. Sarasin, *Materialien zur Naturgeschichte der Insel Celebes*, (Wiesbaden, 1905), Vol. V. Pt. I. p. 9-26ff. ¹⁰ C. G. Rawling, *The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, (London, 1913) p. 253-259 (shells, split rattans). W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, (London, 1912) p. 26ff. ¹¹ B. Ankermann, *L'Ethnographie actuelle de l'Afrique méridionale*. *Anthropos*, I. (1906) p. 919. Mgr. LeRoy, *Les Pygmées d'Afrique et de l'Inde*. (Tours, undated) p. 255.

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT OF THE BAMBOO CULTURE

(9) *South America*:—In the forests of Central Brazil there are groups of wild peoples who seem to be on the same primitive level of existence. "*The Shingu-tribes are living in an age of shell, wood, tooth, and bone,*"—such is the implied conclusion of the greatest expert on the Amazonian region, and it is based on the fact that so few of the natives understand the art of making a celt, though they are otherwise intelligent and the materials are not wanting. All their necessities are supplied by the natural produce of the jungle,—cane, rattan, bamboo, or palm-wood,—and the exceedingly low state of their culture is out of harmony with what we know of the material condition of the stone-age peoples. If a stone-industry is nevertheless in existence, the above author is convinced that these are not native but imported features. A similar condition is revealed by the Kaingang and Botokudos in the mountainous regions of Eastern Brazil.¹²

A PARALLEL CULTURE IN THE ANTARCTIC REGION

But if all the above phenomena be explained on the principle of acclimatisation, of the loss of a high stone culture through migration into the tropics, where stone is scarce, and wood and bamboo abundant, such a theory is gravely impugned by the parallel condition of very low peoples at the extreme southern ends of each of the continents, to wit—

THE TASMANIANS, BUSHMEN, AND FUEGIANS

Here we find an almost identical state of affairs as in the equatorial belt, less only the tropical material, out of which weapons and implements are manufactured. The Tasmanian is still very near the "eolithic" age of industry, stones and sticks are his only weapons, flakes or scrapers his only tools, and his manner of life is almost equally primitive.¹³ The same to some extent of the Bushmen,¹⁴ also the Fuegians.¹⁵ The very fact that these tribes go almost naked and sleep in miserable lean-to's in spite of the biting frosts of a frigid climate, this alone is sufficient evidence that they have never learnt the art of making clothes or houses, they are a "survival."

A PRE-PALAEOLITHIC HORIZON (?)

If then a pre-palaeolithic age is unquestionable, it will seem highly probable that the above equatorial peoples *have not lost a higher stone industry, but have never possessed one*, as it is inconceivable that such an enormous section of humanity should have *sunk* to the crude level of life in which we find them,—a level far below the wildest of North-American Indians.¹⁶

¹² K. Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Central Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894) p. 200-204ff. P. Ehrenreich, *Über die Botokudos*, (in ZE. 1887, p. 14-33.) ¹³ H. Ling-Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, (Halifax, 1899) p. 67, 83, 145 (eoliths.) ¹⁴ G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South-Africa* (London, 1910) p. 62ff. ¹⁵ J. M. Cooper DD. *Bulletin 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1917) p. 223. ¹⁶ Obermaier, I. c. 176, 415. For a full presentation of the culture argument see below, pp. XLI, 121ff, where the entire material, mental, social and religious complexity is seen to form a "convergence" irresistible in its power.

(B) THE EVIDENCE OF GOVERNMENT,—THE PATRIARCHAL AGE

This is not the place to enter into a discussion of all the theories that have been propounded to solve the problem of the primitive social organisation of man. Such a solution seems as far off as ever as long as we confine ourselves to one line of argument to the exclusion of every other. Nay more, the supposed priority of this or that social system cannot be judged on its own merits, (intrinsic probability), but must be determined in every case by the concomitant evidence of the cultural and ethnological sciences, which in this respect should claim our principal attention. In other words, the priority of a system should be judged by the priority of its culture, and not otherwise. This means that a sociological argument tends to become more and more a cultural one, and is treated as such by the more advanced experts. Nevertheless, there is something to be said for the psychological method, to this extent at least, that, given a complex system, a more simple state of society is thereby postulated.

Now in comparing the social condition of the above peoples even with their nearest neighbors, a perceptible difference is at once noticeable. Kingship and aristocracies are for the most part unknown, hereditary chieftainship as a rule the exception, natural "headmanship" by far the more common, and simple patriarchal rule on family units the most common of all,—evidently the basis of the entire system. But what is still more important, the complicated institution of totemism, by which the whole of the community is divided into innumerable clans or septs, and these again combined into higher groups, known as the two-, four-, or eight-class "phratries,"—such a state of society is largely unknown to these peoples, and it is a point upon which I desire to lay particular stress. While a primitive tribal division is here and there to be found, and may no doubt have taken place in very early times, it seems quite certain that the family must have preceded the higher unit, whether as class or clan, that the individual must have existed before the social group, unless we admit a system of group-evolution from lower forms, a theory which is entirely arbitrary and has no foundation in fact. What we see in this lowest stratum of human culture is the prominence of the individual as against the state, a method of government in which the father of a family obtains a "natural" leadership, which is largely independent of the collective group.¹⁵

¹⁵ See the above authors *passim*, under social organisation, government, totemism, relationship, etc. Thus Skeat, I. 494. Man, 40, 58. Seligman, 59-121. Reed, 70. Ling-Roth (Borneo), CXC VII. Hose and McDougall, 202-212. Sarasin, V (II). 125. Rawling, 275. Williamson, 90, 114. LeRoy, 210, 221. Von den Steinen, 330. Ehrenreich, 30. Ling-Roth (Tasm), 57, 63. Stow, 33. Cooper, 149, 177. But Bushmen are more advanced and most Melanesians have arrived at totemic organisation. Comp. also W. I. Thomas, *Source-Book for Social Origins* (1912), p. 753ff. on the Patriarchate. Contra: E. S. Hartland, "Matrilinea Kinship and the Question of its Priority," *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (Jan.-March, 1917), whose analysis is excellent but incomplete. The author seems to be entirely oblivious of the above peoples, where father-right is the preponderating, if not the only form.

This has been well expressed by Ratzel and Westermarck:—

“Among most ‘natural’ races the family and society form unions so large, so frequently coinciding, so exclusive, that little remains to spare for the state. The rapid break-up of (the later) empires is counterbalanced by the sturdy tribal life. When the empires fall to pieces, new ones form themselves from the old tribes. *The family of blood-relations, in their common barrack or village, represents at the same time a political unit,* which can from time to time enter into combination with others of the same kind, to which perhaps it is bound by more distant relationship. But it is quite content to remain by itself so long as no external power operates to shake its narrow contentment. Negro Africa, with all its wealth of population, contains no single really large state. In that country, the greater an empire, the less its duration and the looser its cohesion. It requires greater organising and consolidating power, such as we meet with among the Fulbes or Wahuma, not merely to found, but also, even if with difficulty, to maintain kingdoms like Sokoto or Uganda. Even the Zulus, high as they stand in warlike organisation, have never been able to spread permanently beyond their natural boundaries, and at the same time maintain cohesion with their own country. Even in the Mussulman states of the Sudan we meet with this want of firm internal cohesion, which is equally at the bottom of the weakness which brought down the native states of Central and South America. . . . In the Malay Archipelago it seems not to have been until the arrival of Islam that the formation of states rose above disjointed village communities. Even in our own day the great powers of South and East Asia lacked the clearness and definition in the matter of political allegiance, which are a privilege of the higher civilisations.”¹⁶

“The suggestion that, in olden times, the natural guardian of the children was not the father, but the maternal uncle, has no foundation in fact. Neither has the hypothesis that all the males of the tribe indiscriminately were the guardians. All the evidence we possess tends to show that among our earliest human ancestors *the family, not the tribe, formed the nucleus of every social group.* Even now there are savage peoples of the lowest type who live rather in separate families than in tribes, and facts indicate that the chief reason for this is want of sufficient food(?). The sociability of man sprang in the main from progressive intellectual and material civilisation, whilst the tie that kept together husband and wife, parents and children, was, if not the only, at least the principal factor in the earliest forms of man’s social life.”¹⁷

¹⁶ F. Ratzel, *A History of Mankind*, Vol. I. p. 138. ¹⁷ Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (N. Y. 1903), p. 538.

(C) THE EVIDENCE OF LANGUAGE,—THE PRE-INFLEXIONAL AGE

On the same principle it is impossible to argue with absolute certainty that the structure and vocabulary of a language is an infallible index of its relative age, that because we find words that are short and simple, they are *ipso facto* the earlier forms. Phonetic decay has affected nearly every living tongue, and is demonstrable for the modern Chinese, and to some extent also for modern English. The history of language is not so simple a matter that it can be expressed by a rigid formula, according to which the monosyllabic invariably precedes the agglutinative, this again the inflexional or polysynthetic stage. A reverse process is conceivable, at least in the matter of syllables. On the other hand it is equally one-sided to deny the existence of primitive "roots" on the ground that no root-sound was ever uttered by man, and that primitive languages already show an advanced, a complex organisation.

Now such a statement is at variance with facts. Nearly all the tongues spoken by the above peoples are simple and crude in the extreme, monosyllabic roots are common, not only as interjections, but as fully constituted words, descriptive of persons, actions, or things. But what is more striking, there is practically no syntax,—no delicate arrangement of words or particles by which the meaning of the sentence is more or less modified, if we except a few inversions or prepositional uses. The meaning is more often determined by the context or by the tone of voice, and as to inflexions, they simply do not exist. There is often no article, no gender, number or case, no declensions, no conjugations, no voices, moods, or tenses, other than occasional inversions, reduplications, appositions, or postpositions. The same word may stand for noun, verb, or adjective, and even when of two or more syllables, the use of prefixes, affixes, or infixes as an *integral* part of a word is quite frequently wanting. This means that many of these tongues have not even arrived at the agglutinative stage of development, and apart from any theories, it seems incredible that these races should have *entirely lost* a developed grammar, together with a higher numeral system, if they had ever possessed one. Again, the existing distribution of archaic Melanesian forms is phenomenal,—extending from Hawaii to New Zealand, and from Madagascar to Easter Island, almost to within reach of the South-American continent,—further evidence for the priority and remote antiquity of the Oceanic tongues.¹⁸

¹⁸ For the aboriginal dialects of Malakka, consult C. O. Blagden, apud Skeat op. cit. II. 481ff. O. Tauern, Versuch einer Sakai-Grammatik (Anthropos, Vol. IX 1914) p. 529. For the other regions see the above authors under "language," and comp. H. Codrington, The Melanesian Languages (Oxford, 1885) p. 101ff. There is considerable evidence to show that human language was originally one, and continued to be one in root-sounds long after agglutination had begun to operate.

To take an illustration from the Senoi-Sakai dialects of Central Malakka, we shall see at a glance how simple, or rather "imitative," they appear to be. Thus,—*Eng cha cha-na*, "I eat rice", *Heh te-las kuh ka jih*, "He has killed fish this-one", *Derk eng be ma-chut*, "House mine very small", *Ok iodz eng ma he*, "Give axe mine to him", *He chip ma'lor?*, "You go to where? (whither?)", *Ja-lok me-nang eng hot chip ma se-rak bort chep*, "Tomorrow brother mine will go to forest, catch birds", (*ma*, general particle for motion, direction) *Abu eng ta peng ta adja*, "My father (is) a great chief, great master", etc.

The Andamanese, though essentially monosyllabic, has advanced to agglutination:—*Ar-tam do-ra ab-ja-bag l'eda-re, dona a-chitik a-be-ri nga-ke*, "Dora was formerly a bad man, but now he is a good one," literally: *artam*, formerly, *dora* (proper name), *ab-ja-bag*, man-bad, *l'eda-re*, exist-did, (*l'euphonic*, *eda*, exist, *re*, did,-past time), *dona*, but, *a-chitik*, now, *a-be-ri-nga-ke*, man-good is (*ke*, present time) (*Abu*, *abe*, *apai*, generically for man,-father or mother.)

The Sinhalese, though considerably influenced by Sanskrit, shows many archaic forms as spoken by the wilder Veddas:—*Bus-ki Bas-Ki! adina atak gena at baruwak gena pimbina atak gena, thopa ammat appat enda kiyapa*,—"Bush-ki, Bash-ki! (imitating cry of deer), bring the bow, axe, and firestick, and tell your mother and father to come", (*atak gena*, lit. pulling-stick.)

The Philippine Negrito and Bornean Dayak exhibit the Austronesian tongues in their greatest purity, as witness:—*A-ma na-na ma-ham-pa*, "Father-mother are good", *Iko sam a-nak mang-an-ka-nin*, "I and my children eat boiled rice", *Al-lo bu-in bi-tu-in alet la-lang-it*, "Sun, moon, and stars, shine in the sky", (Zambal-Aeta.) *A-ba-lin-go a-ma-ka ta-bru-wa ta-peng ta adja bali pen-ya-long*, "Our Father (in) heaven (is a) great father, great spirit, great master, great man, a heavenly spirit" (Central Bornese and Forest-Dayak).

The Melanesian languages will be found to re-echo many of the above word forms, and to show in fact traces of an original linguistic unity. This is less the case with the Tasmanian-Australian group, though expressions like (*a*)-*baia*, *at-natu*, *dara*, *papang*, *mung-an*, *mara-wa*, point in the same direction.

For the Congo region of Central Africa we have abundant illustrations:—*A-ba-ta a-dya ani-amba wa-lungu wa-nkula wa-aka wa-ba-twa*, etc. The father hunter, the great one, who has made the heavens, the fruit-trees, the black man, the persecuted race", (*wa* sign of plural, *twa* passive of *ta*, to hunt.)

For the Amazonian belt we have such forms as *Aba-angui pa-pa ka-mu-shi-ni*, "Father (of) heaven, father (of) shining light", in which the same fundamental roots may be traced, though the structure is otherwise polysynthetic.¹⁹

¹⁹ These examples are taken partly from quoted authorities, partly from material collected by the author independently. Further illustrations will be found throughout the text of this book.

(D) THE EVIDENCE OF MATHEMATICS AND MUSIC

THE QUINARY SYSTEM AND THE PENTATONIC SCALE

It will stand to reason that when life is simple and the needs of a people are few, the science of counting will be correspondingly weakly developed, that there will be little or nothing to count. At the same time, some method of measuring things, of determining, for instance, the number of foodstuffs collected,—plants, animals, or birds,—will be clearly of primary importance, and must have taken place at a very early age of human development. There can now be little doubt that the first measuring-rod of humanity was supplied by the human body, it was the legs and arms, and more especially the fingers, that were first used to express number. This means that the first mathematical system was a quinary one, based on the five fingers of one hand, the decimal system being by comparison complicated and presupposing at least a greater number of things to count, while the astronomical method of dividing the year into months, weeks, days, hours, and minutes, according to the relative position of sun, moon, and stars in the zodiac etc. requires an elaborate study of the motions of the heavenly bodies, which (except for day and night-divisions, seasons and so on), can hardly be credited to the unsophisticated consciousness of early man.

Now this is in harmony with what we actually find among the lowest peoples of whom we know. Among the aborigines of Malakka native numerals do not extend beyond three, four, or five, all higher digits being demonstrably of Malay origin. In the Andaman Islands the only arithmetic consists of one, two, and many, expressed by the forefinger, this and the middle-finger, and finally by all the fingers united. The Veddas count everything by one's, holding up sticks or fingers, and they become confused when attempting to count above five or six, the Sinhalese twenty being incomprehensible. The Philippine Negritos and the Bornean Dayaks are in a very similar stage. They count things by their fingers and toes, the one-to-five series being again fundamental. The five-system is equally prominent among the Melanesians, and more especially in the Banks Islands, where we have reasons to suspect a primitive survival. Australians rarely get beyond four or five, or at most ten, while the Tasmanians close their counting with five. The same or very similar conditions are presented in Central Africa and South-America, which shows that this is not a mere local but a universal trait of very primitive peoples. Can this and the absence of exact time-divisions be explained on any other principle but that of a primitive finger-counting?²⁰

²⁰ Evidence on this subject will be found in each of the above authors under "Numeration", "Arithmetic", sometimes under "Language", or "Mental culture". Compare G. Kewitsch, *Zur Entstehung des 60-Systems* (*Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, June, 1915), p. 265ff. For a possibly still earlier 3-system,—father, mother, child,—see the same, and compare the East Indian one, two, three,—*ja, dua, telo*,—certified for Borneo and the adjacent territory. (Hose-McDougall, *Pagan Tribes*, II. 193).

But if the finger-method represents the earliest because the most "natural" means for the expression of number, the same five fingers will also suggest a series of five musical sounds which is the leading idea of the "scale," though there is of course no necessary intrinsic connexion between the two. What has the evidence to say on this subject?

By the "Pentatonic Scale" is to be understood a succession of sounds which do not cover the whole of our modern octave, but stop at the fifth note of the series, all other tones being either disregarded or looked upon as the members of a new scale. Such a system is evidently more primitive or at least more undeveloped than the octave, double-octave, or the modern eight-octave system, the latter of which offers no less than 57 tones or semi-tones with all the accidentals. This scale has the advantage of great simplicity as well as beauty. It consists of three fundamental elements, the *tonic*, the *mediant*, and the *dominant*, which, when sounded together give the beautiful triad of harmony that was destined to play such a prominent role in modern music. Suffice it to say, that among the great majority of our "primitives", this series of five tones—*do, re, mi, fa, sol*,—furnishes the normal range of their voices as well as their instruments, that is, to judge from the records that have so far been obtained. It exists both in major and minor modes, the minor triad being particularly dulcet, and reminding in its plaintive wail of the sorrowful tones of the Gregorian. It is not too much to say, that this "plain chant" dates back to the very beginnings of the race, and is in striking contrast to the polyphonic, fugal, and sometimes decidedly sensual music of later times. Even the Hindoo, Australian, and North-American folk-song can show nothing so primitive as this in the East Indies.

As to the expression of sound by natural or artificial contrivances, there can be no doubt that the first instrument used by man was his own voice, and this is found as a fact to be the most universal tone-producer. Side by side, however, we find the bow and the bamboo tube at an extremely early period of human development, and these were destined to furnish the basis for all the string,—wind,—or percussion-instruments of later ages. As a curiosity the bamboo-viol of Indonesia is at least worth mentioning. It is known as the *Aka Buluh* (lit. Bow-bamboo), the *buluh* consisting of nothing but a bamboo tube strung with one, two, or three pieces of plant-fibre! There is some difference between this and the *ravanastron*-fiddles of India, the *rebab* of Arabia, and the modern Amati Violin! ²¹

²¹ For details on this interesting subject see the above authors under "Music" "Instruments", etc. esp. Ling-Roth (Borneo), II. 257-266. Compare Erich von Hornbostel, *Über ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge*, (ZE. 1911), p. 601-615. The prehistoric five-tone scale has no connection with the Scotch-Irish Pentatonic, though this also is found. Hornbostel speaks of "Quintenparallelen," five-tone singing.

(E) THE EVIDENCE OF PHYSIQUE,—THE PRE-NEANDERTHAL AGE

It has been seen that the reconstruction of the primitive type offers no ordinary difficulties. And indeed, apart from our knowledge from revealed sources, it must be admitted that the primitive nature of man, whether physical or mental, eludes our grasp. In the words of Dwight and Kohlbrügge, "we know nothing of the great problem of evolution, we have not even seen its face."¹ At the same time there are a certain number of facts, descriptive and scientific, which seem to suggest that we must look to the above equatorial races as the nearest approach to the primitive type. Let us see upon what grounds this assertion is made.

(1) A TROPICAL FORM

It is true that we have no means for fixing the first appearance of man with anything like certainty. If he arose during the last glaciation or in high altitudes, a more or less familiar "white" type is not unpicturable. But the fact is, we have grave reasons for believing that man as a species is pre-glacial. His Chellean industry was certainly interglacial, and the existing Java skull and other remains,—even if parallel, anthropoidal forms, as they probably are,—point suspiciously in the same direction. We are thus inclined to look to the melanic races as satisfying more closely the demands of a monogenetic original. With the growing consciousness of the enormous antiquity of man, and his possible existence under pliocene suns, there has come the conviction that the earlier types must be sought among those branches of humanity that exhibit the conditions of life that are decidedly tropical, if not equatorial. The fact that man is a non-furry animal would seem to indicate that he saw the light in a warm climate, that he belongs in fact to the tropical fauna. In other words we may have to go back to the time when the whole earth was covered with giant grasses and bamboos, when the conditions of climate, of heat, vegetation and moisture, were more or less uniform, when the combined action of environment, of food, occupations, and habits of life, was such as naturally to suggest the type of humanity that is now confined to the two tropics. To this opinion the great majority of writers are now converging, even if considerations of climate are not always the primary ones. The question of temperature as a morphological factor is one which we cannot ignore.²

¹ T. Dwight, *Thoughts of a Catholic Anatomist*, (N. Y. 1911), p. 199. L. H. Kohlbrügge, *Die morphologische Abstammung des Menschen*, (Stuttgart, 1908), p. 88. ² Consult among others A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, (Cambridge, 1909) pp. 221-240. A. C. Haddon, *The Wanderings of Peoples*, (Cambridge, 1912) p. 15ff. A. R. Wallace, *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature*, (London & New York, 1895), pp. 178-181. K. Weule, *Kulturelemente der Menschheit*, (Stuttgart, 1912) p. 8-9. Stratz, *Naturgeschichte des Menschen*, (Stuttgart, 1904) p. 45. Dr. Hugo Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, (Munich, 1912), p. 325ff.

(2) AN INDO-OCEANIC FORM

But there are other and more weighty reasons why we should turn to the tropics, and more especially to South-Eastern Asia in our quest for the earlier forms. Given a more or less uniform climate in the earlier days of the earth's history, this would locate man at the poles with as much propriety as on the equator. Palm-trees and magnolias then flourished as far north as Spitzbergen. This might be a plausible argument, but is contradicted by the palaeontological and zoological evidence, which confines the continuous evolution of higher life to the eastern tropics. Contrary to the Darwinian theory, which is purely hypothetical, the existing primitives as we actually find them are distributed over an area which shows that they *followed* the higher anthropoids but are *in no wise descended* from them. Now the Southern-Asiatic and Australasian area is precisely that region in which these forms predominate, and for this reason nearly all modern authors turn to this area as to the cradle of the race.³ It is true that the "higher life"-zone extends into Central Africa, and in fossil form as far north as Switzerland, where we have the *Pleiopithecus* of the miocene. But it has always been felt that these groups are too sporadic and isolated to form anything like a continuous bridge. Africa is poor in fossils, and European anthropoids can hardly be said to furnish us with a complete cycle of higher forms. Thus it is precisely the zoological and biological data that make the Southern-Asiatic theory so powerful. In no other portion of the earth is there such cumulative evidence for the continuity of floral and faunal development.⁴

If then the verdict of biologists is now almost unanimous on the Old-World origin of man,—the pan-American theorists finding but little favor among our best specialists,—the question arises, what type of humanity the term "melanic" is intended to imply. Though it is commonly associated with a negroid physiognomy, it is important to note that we do not take it in this restricted, but in the wider sense of "constitutionally dark-skinned." As such it includes not only the negroid, but, as we shall presently see, the proto-mongoloid and proto-caucasioid peoples, which are perhaps equally ancient, or approximately so. All that is here intended is that the tawny to dark-faced aborigines of the far East are, as far as we can conjecture, the nearest approach in a lineal descent to the supposed "primitive" man.

³ Keane, Haddon, Wallace, Stratz, Obermaier, etc. loc. cit. supra. ⁴ See especially Obermaier, l. c. p. 380, the leading Catholic authority on the matter. The term "Indo-Austral" is meant to include any land (possibly submerged) extending from Peninsular Asia southwards, vaguely "Australasia" "Lemuria" "Miocene Continent", etc. Compare Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, (1916), p. 49, 511ff.

(3) A MELANIC SUB-FORM

Another and more subtle question is that of the relative priority of the melanic races among one another. Here there is room for considerable controversy. There are two types that present themselves,—the normal melanic, and the pygmoidal sub-form. The latter exist in three varieties,—known as Negritos, Veddas, and Jakuns—, the latter being the famous Malayan sea-gypsies who form the undercurrent of the present Malayan civilisation.

(1) It is argued in favor of the pygmoidal races that they are real "first-forms", that the biogenetic law requires a juvenile as a prelude to the fully developed type, that we must go beyond diluvial man to a still more primitive, ante-diluvian, pre-Neanderthal form of high-brow features, that some of the tertiary anthropoids are more strikingly human, and exhibit these qualities in a manner which they share with the above races alone, that these are in any case the most tropical peoples and exhibit the most rudimentary form of life and industry,—all this, moreover, on the embryological theory, that the development of the race follows the development of the individual and postulates therefore a more juvenile form. (The general position of Keane, Kollmann, Ranke, Schmidt, Hubrecht, Kohlbrügge, based on previous speculations of Huxley, Haeckel, Mueller, etc.)

(2) For the priority of the normal type it is asserted that there is no palaeontological evidence for the existence of any pygmoidal primitives, that nearly all the diluvial skeletons are of normal height, dolichocephalic and low-brow types, that the negritos are pygmies, degenerates, or biological freaks, (on the starvation-theory), that the true homo primigenius must be sought among the Indo-Australians as the nearest approach to diluvial man, (Neanderthal, Piltdown, Heidelberg, Java.) (Followed by Schwalbe, Klaatsch, Virchow, Obermaier, though with considerable hesitancy).⁵

It is evident that this question cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless it is worth while to bring forward the chief arguments which, apart from mere plausibilities, tend to make the priority of a human sub-type a fairly strong proposition. It is necessary in the first place to be impartial, and not to be swayed either by sentiment or by the sound of great names. As to sentiment, it makes no difference to "Man", psychology being equal, whether he be five or six feet in height.

⁵ For a full discussion of the biological question, see J. Kollmann, *Die Pygmäen und ihre systematische Stellung innerhalb des Menschengeschlechts* (Verhandlungen der Naturforscher-Gesellschaft, Basel, 1902) Vol. XVI. Idem, *Die Abstammung des Menschen*, Globus, 87, 1905) p. 144ff. Also Rev. W. Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der Menschheit*, (Stuttgart, 1910) pp. 1-43 (Opinions of Huxley, Haeckel, Kollman, Ranke, Müller, Klaatsch, etc.) Rt. Rev. Mgr. LeRoy, *Les Pygmées d'Afrique et de l'Inde* (Tours, undated) pp. 283-308. (The two latter from the Catholic standpoint). Also Keane, *Ethnology*, pp. 242-263.

NORMAL AND SUB-NORMAL FORMS

And as to authorities, the balance is if anything in favor of the sub-type theory, the names of Schmidt, Huxley, Kollmann, being more professional in this line of research than those of the rival school, who are moreover divided.

(1) There is a gradual decrease of stature as we descend into the remote past. (Comp. modern European with neolithic and glacial man,—5 ft. 6 to 5 ft. 2 (Neanderthal). The Veddas (av. 5 ft. 1) taper into the negrito (av. 4 ft. 10).⁶

(2) The embryonic phenomena are particularly strong among the negrito races. This does not imply any genetic relation with existing anthropoids, but rather the opposite, the appearance of a very primitive, more or less embryonic or foetal form. This form is characterised by the high brow, normal profile, straight features, and brachycephalism,—something very different from the long-headed, sloping-faced negro, as we know him. It is generally surmounted by an abundance of frizzly, in the case of the Veddas of curly black hair, which makes the combined impression a passable one. There is nothing pathological about this type. It is normal, vigorous, healthy, human,—but exhibits certain very primitive, almost embryonic symptoms which are altogether unique. Foremost among these is the *lanugo*, or pall-like hair, which occurs sporadically among these types, and regularly with the human foetus, but which is not found among any other section of humanity of which we know. Then again, the large eye-balls, the broad nose, the receding chin, the smallness of the legs and hands in proportion to the trunk,—all these are not so much anthropoidal as infantile, if not foetal traits, and stamp their possessors as being possibly a very primitive people.⁷

(3) The uniformity and distribution of these peoples is another proof of their antiquity. The fact that we find three nearly identical types on both sides of the Indian Ocean,—Negrito-Negrillo, Toala-Vedda, Tasmanian-Bushmen—, that all are sub-types to the higher races, that all have been isolated by the stronger races that surround them,—this fact can hardly be explained except on the theory of priority. Moreover a large portion of the Indo-Asian, Australian, and Polynesian sub-area is strongly negroid, and presupposes a melanic and probably a negrito basis in extremely remote times.⁸

⁶ For gradations of stature among living races, see F. Birkner, *Die Rassen und Völker der Menschheit*, (Munich, 1914) p. 184-192. Kollmann, 1. c. supra. ⁷ Comp. Birkner, 1. c. p. 191-192, for Nubian and Akka-type, (side-face, limbs), p. 194-203 (for infantile traits), LeRoy, 1. c. p. 82. Schmidt, 1. c. p. 27. Keane, 1. c. p. 175 (for *lanugo*). ⁸ Recently called Papuasias. Comp. Keane, 1. c. p. 242-294. Also A. B. Meyer, *The Distribution of Negritos* (Dresden, 1899) p. 79. Gerland, *The physical uniformity of the Oceanic Race* (London, 1895). Flower and Lydekker, *The Study of Mammals*, p. 748. Quatrefages extended this area even to the New World, an opinion which has been recently revived by Kollmann, in *Globus*, 81, (1902) p. 325. Comp. Schmidt, 1. c. LeRoy, 1. c. p. 321ff. Haddon, 1. c. p. 33-37.—The reader is cautioned against many of Keane's statements, which, though true in the main, are entirely unreliable on the negrito physique, as are his appended sketches, which are mere caricatures.

NORMAL AND SUB-NORMAL FORMS

(4) The alleged absence of palaeontological evidence is at most a negative argument, and is partly at variance with facts, partly not to the point. Most of the glacial skeletons are rather below the normal, and the existing Piltdown skull is a high-brow type, now proved to be fully human.⁹ We are dealing with a pre-Australian, pre-Neanderthal form, and the existing fragments are too problematical to furnish any certain conclusions, the Java remains being very possibly those of a female gibbon(!)

Such in brief are the reasons which make the theory of a subtype more or less plausible. In fact the evidence is sufficiently positive and sufficiently variegated to establish a certain presumption in favor of its truth. In any case, as this is one of the types of humanity that is to be the main object of the present study, it is well to know what can be said in favor of its antiquity. It is a type of mankind which is quite interesting. Though small of stature, the Vedda-varieties exhibit an attractive exterior. Their splendid physique, unmarred by scarification, their noble locks of curly or wavy hair, their almost biblical countenances,—all combine to make this in many respects a worthy approximation to primitive man.

The negritos are divided into two sections, Indo-Oceanic and African. Besides the pure negritos, properly so called, there are the allied pygmoidal races mentioned above, who are slightly below the normal height. Of these the Veddas, Dayaks, and Tasmanians are of principal interest to us as belonging to one of the oldest groups of humanity in existence.

(A) PURE NEGRITOS

(1) Indo-Oceanic: The Semang of Malakka, the Mincopi of the Andaman Islands the Aeta of the Philippines, the Tapiro and Mafulu of New Guinea.

(2) African: The Akka, Batwa, Watwa, Wambutti, etc. of the Great Congo Forest, with scattered East- and West-African Negrillos, (as far as known to us). The Ainos of Japan are at present irreducible.

(B) PYGMOIDAL RACES

(1) Indo-Oceanic: The Sakai and Jakun of Malakka, the Veddas of Ceylon, the Forest-Dayaks of Borneo(?), the Toalas of Celebes, and the extinct Tasmanians.

(2) African: The Bushmen only are so far known to belong to this group.

(3) American: The Tapuya races of Central Brazil,—Botokudos, etc.—together with the Fuegian primitives at the far southern end of the continent, though it is far from certain that these can be classed with them.

If tropical man and woolly hair be made the chief test of priority, it will be seen that (A) takes precedence of (B), though we cannot afford to ignore (B) as a very primitive offshoot of early man.

⁹ The earliest certainly human remains so far discovered, belonging to the third interglacial (Riss-Würm), See Osborn, *Men of the Old Stone Age*, (1916), p. 512 (Appendix).

THREE TYPES OF MELANIC PRIMITIVES

This, however, involves no small assumption. If there are good reasons for believing that primitive man belongs to the torrid belt, and more especially to the Oceanic regions of the Old World, if moreover we admit, that the case for the negritos is a plausible one, especially when coupled with the cultural and ethnological data, as we have seen,—it is still far from certain that the woolly-haired types are necessarily the earlier ones. On the basis of flat or round hair-sections we find the following gradations among existing races:—

(1) Nigritic Form—Frizzly Hair—Flat Section—(Negroid).

It may be argued that as the weak hair-section predominates in the eastern tropics, the Malayan invasion being quite recent, it is quite probable that this accompanies the earliest form of bodily evolution as yet known to us, the downy or fluffy nature of the lanugo tending to confirm it,—(Infant hair). It is here that the juvenile traits are most pronounced, whether in stature, physiognomy, or bodily proportions.

(2) Veddaic Form—Smooth Hair—Elliptic Section—(Caucasioid).

Nevertheless,—the existence of a very similar type with wavy or Caucasian hair, and with features of almost European regularity, and this also within the tropics and suspiciously near the negrito areas, among a people that are almost equally low down in the scale of culture,—this should make us hesitate in assigning point blank the priority to the woolly-haired varieties. The Veddas are perhaps equally ancient, the 'hairy Aino' being very probably the survival of a pre-Mongolian race, with long curly locks, in the near Pacific.

(3) Malayic Form—Lank Hair—Round Section—(Mongoloid).

Finally, there is the proto-Malayic or Jakun form of humanity, which is characterised by the lank or sleek hair-section, and has also shown a fair degree of persistency in both eastern and western tropics, if we are to consider the Brazilian aborigines as their nearest relatives, (proto-Indian form). These also are wild races on extremely low levels of existence.

THE REAL PRIMITIVE A COMPOSITE

Thus on the embryological theory of sub-forms we find three more or less close approaches to what is believed to be the aboriginal form, the three types furnishing the germs as it were for the three main divisions of humanity,—black, white, and yellow. Such a convergence would seem to indicate that the real primitive was a composite, that he embodied the characteristics of many races. At the same time the shapely Vedda, as being a medium-type and satisfying all the essential requirements of a primitive, may not impossibly represent the nearest approach to the underived original.

RECENT EVIDENCE ON THE PHYSIQUE OF THESE PEOPLES

(1) *Malakkan Type*:—"Both Semang and Sakai are generally well-formed, and are not unfrequently described as showing a magnificent physique. Deformed people and dwarfs are extremely rare". "The Semang as a race were far from being unpleasant-looking people, the most striking peculiarity in their appearance being a certain wild look about the region of the eyes, as well as a natural restlessness of the eyes themselves, which these tribes possess in common with wild animals." "Their skin-color is a dark chocolate brown, their hair woolly and brownish-black, their face round, their forehead narrow and projecting, their nose short, and their nostrils much distended." "The face of the Sakai is fairly long and broad, but pointed towards the chin, their color is distinctly lighter than that of the Semang." The hair is black, long, and wavy, and they have large brown eyes, very much as the Veddas.¹

(2) *Andamanese Type*:—"The remark that is commonly made by strangers who see them for the first time is, 'How well these savages are developed!' In confirmation of this I would refer you to the photographs. The ammoniacal, rancid, goat-like exhalations of the negro are not found among them. When in health and under ordinary circumstances, their breath is sweet".²

(3) *Sinhalese Type*:—"The Veddas are a medium brown-black—the eyes are always dark-brown—the chin is rarely prominent—the lips, though well developed, are not tumid—the jaw is not prognathous—a short, wavy-haired, dolichocephalic race, with moderately long faces, and moderately broad noses".³

(4) *Philippine Type*:—"So far from being ape-like in appearance, some of the Aetas are very well-built little men, with broad chests, symmetrical limbs, and well-developed muscles, hardened by incessant use. The lips are medium-thick, far less than the lips of the African negro, and are not protruding. The Aeta have practically no prognathism".⁴

(5) *Bornean Type*:—"The Forest Dayaks, or Bakatans, are a slender race, of moderate height, and paler in color than most tribes. They are among the finest of aboriginals, with long wavy hair, imposing brows, and fairly regular features". "The physique of the inland tribes is superior to that of the Malays. The Kayans and Muruts are specially lithe and active,—bronzy, straight-limbed, and statuesque". "It seems very probable that the pure Dayaks, like the Battaks (of Sumatra), belong to a protomorphic, almost mediterranean aboriginal race and are closely related, if not identical, with the American and Oceanic primitives".⁵

¹ Skeat, 1. c. I. p. 100. Also 34-42, 43-48, 56-57ff. ² Man, 1. c. p. 5-7. ³ Seligman, 1. c. p. 17-18. ⁴ Reed, 1. c. p. 34-36. ⁵ Ling-Roth (Borneo) Vol. I. pp. 16-19, 57. Haddon, 1. c. p. 81. (combined statement). F. W. Burbidge, *The Gardens of the Sun*, (London, 1880), p. 156. Stratz, *Rassenschönheit*, (Stuttgart, 1904), p. 192-193.

RECENT EVIDENCE ON THE PHYSIQUE OF THESE PEOPLES

(6) *Celebesian Type*.—The Toalas or “Backwoodsmen” of Celebes are of medium height, medium brown complexion, deep brown eyes, lofty brow, and black wavy hair. They are in all essentials a Vedda-race.⁶

(7) *Papuan Type*.—“They were of good proportions, strong and wiry, without any signs of deformity or dwarfishness, and in color a dark chocolate. The nose was straight and broad, the eyes black, the lips thick, the general contour of the face oval.” “Physically the Papuan of the Mimika Coast is an extraordinarily fine creature, which is all the more surprising when the slothful life he leads, the meagre food upon which he subsists, and the amount of disease prevalent in this swampy district are taken into consideration”.⁷

(8) *Tasmanian Type*.—The Tasmanians were a negroid race of low to medium stature, but the existing reports reveal in some cases a noble picture, though the evidence on this subject is scanty and at times conflicting. To judge from the earlier prints, it would seem that they were closely allied to the Papuan race, though their Papuan affinities are still uncertain, and perhaps they form an ethnic group of their own. (Compare them with the Bushmen?)⁸

(9) *African Type*.—“The Negrillo is far from being deformed or badly proportioned. On the contrary he is a very gay, agile, well-built little man. I have seen no ugly wounds, skin-diseases, or nervous troubles among them.”⁹

(10) *South American Type*.—The Botokudos are of medium stature, go absolutely nude, and exhibit at times a splendid physique. Like the Kaingang they have oval faces, black horizontal eyes, and brown rather than copper complexions. The mongolic traits are very generally absent among them.¹⁰

These reports might be multiplied indefinitely, and extended into further details on the physical anthropology of these peoples, their exact stature, cranial measurements, and so on. But on the one hand, such exact statistics are not always to be obtained,—they are at times even contradictory—, on the other, I am firmly convinced that craniology alone is a very poor index of the physical and even mental character of a race. However defective the above summary as a complete scientific statement, it shows that the common opinion of the low, degraded, quasi-simian character of early man is one that needs to be severely corrected. The above races are the physical equals of any others, and some hygienic respects perhaps their superiors.¹¹

⁶ Sarasin, 1. c. Pt. II. p. 41ff. ⁷ Rawling, 1. c. p. 54, 110, 253. ⁸ Ling-Roth (Tasm) p. 7-10ff. ⁹ LeRoy, 1. c. p. 71, 91. ¹⁰ Ehrenreich, 1. c. p. 14ff. P. Teschauer, S. J. Die Caingang oder Coroados-Indianer, (Anthropos, IX, 1914), p. 21. ¹¹ For medical statistics, consult the same authors under “Medicine”, “Disease”, from which it appears that native diseases are few and non-syphilitic.

THE ABORIGINES OF THE FAR EAST

PRIMITIVE GROUP-PICTURES



VEDDA-
CEYLON



VEDDA-
CEYLON



BAKATAN-KANOWIT, ORANG-UKIT,
BORNEO

SENOI-
MALAKKA

SENOI-
MALAKKA



SPECIMENS OF THE
VEDDA-SAKAI-TOALA-BAKATAN TYPE OF HUMANITY,
ONE OF THE EARLIEST GROUPS OF MANKIND IN EXISTENCE.
TAKEN FROM C. G. SELIGMAN (VEDDA-CEYLON), PL. V, VI. R. MARTIN SENOA-SAKAI-
MALAKKA), PL. II, II, LING-ROTH (BAKATAN-BORNEÖ), P. 19, AND COMPARE F.
SARASIN, V (II), PL. VIII (FOR TOALA-CELEBES).

"The Ukits do not build houses, and I have been told by a Dyak chief who once lived with them for a while that they make temporary shelters between buttresses of large forest trees. They live by hunting, and use the snuffian or blow-pipe. I have only seen one Ukit and he was a chief, a well-built man about 5 feet 8 inches high, slim, and with a rather refined face, and a rather more prominent nose than the Dyak, Malay, or Kayan; but this characteristic may have been peculiar to the man." (Maxwell, Apud Ling-Roth, Borneo, Vol. I, P. 19).

THE PHYSICAL PICTURE OF PRIMITIVE MAN

We are now in possession of sufficient materials for forming a more or less proximate estimate of the physical appearance of primitive man,—an estimate which is based not upon hypothetical fragments, but upon the actual appearance of living groups of humanity which antedate anything that can be certainly known from the buried remains. It will be seen that the groups which we have established as the “child-races” of man are practically the same as those which we have found to be primitive on entirely independent grounds,—culture, industry, social and linguistic phenomena. Such a united testimony can hardly be accidental, but makes the antiquity and priority of these peoples an increasingly certain proposition. But on closer inspection it will be noticed that cultural and physical evolution do not always proceed *pari passu*, that there are some very low races of man that are physically well-developed, practically normal. Such for instance are the wild Dayaks of Borneo, the Fuegians and Botokudos of South-America, and perhaps also the Tasmanians. From this it will appear that

Stature is not the final test,
that it is possible to have very primitive peoples who, however juvenile in other respects, show no signs of being stunted or underdeveloped.

THE BORNEAN TYPE AS A NORMAL PRIMITIVE

If we take the East-Indian types as the nearest approach to the real primitive on biological grounds, we shall find that the Central Indonesian group contains specimens of humanity that are as low as any to be found on earth, while their stature approaches the normal, if it does not sometimes exceed it. Here in the supposed cradle of mankind, at the meeting-point of Malaysia and Papuasia, of black, brown, and yellow races, are we brought face to face with a type of humanity which forcibly recalls the traditional picture of the father of humanity. Whether as Toalas or Toradjas, Bukits or Bakatans, Kayans or Kanowits, a confused but noble type may be dimly discerned in the background. It is of medium height, with well-proportioned limbs, and of statuesque bearing. The color is a genial dark-brown, which in the depths of the forest verges into a lighter tint. The face is oval, the forehead erect, the eyes large and piercing, the long black hair falls in graceful curls over the shoulders. These are largely “ideal” traits, rarely to be found in combination, but the juvenile symptoms are nevertheless strongly marked,—slender hands and feet, fresh complexions, generally youthful features—, which tends to show that they belong to the same child-group of humanity that we have already described above. (See the frontispiece and the appended group-pictures).

SUMMARY,—CONVERGENCE OF EVIDENCE

It will thus be seen that from whatever point of view the subject be approached, the antiquity of the proto-melanic area,—understanding by this the more or less nigratian sub-types of Oceania, Central Africa, and possibly South America—, is one that makes a growing impression on the mind of the student. This does not imply of course that any one type can be taken as literally primitive, for such a type is no longer in existence. Doubtless there has been a process of degeneration as well as evolution, which makes the fixity of any single type largely problematical. But in spite of this it will hardly be denied, that the races in question do approximate more closely to the primitive conditions of life,—climatic, somatic, social and industrial—, than any other section of humanity that has so far come within our knowledge. Moreover the general similarity of type, of physical, mental and social culture, over such vast and widely separated areas, has long been a puzzle to ethnologists, and can only be explained on the supposition of a fundamental unity of stock, from which by successive climatic modifications the present races of mankind have been developed.

Such being the present state of our knowledge, it is useless to indulge in further speculations as to which of these varieties should claim precedence over the other. There has been a tendency in recent times to look upon these so-called pygmoidal races as the common progenitors of humanity. It must never be forgotten, however, that the real primitive eludes our grasp, that he was probably a composite, that he may have been anything from a simple Negrito up to a handsome Vedda, but that the youth of humanity would seem to be in harmony with a youthful type,—such a type being commonly called pygmoidal, but *in its one line perfect, fresh from the hand of the Creator*. On the supposition then, that this idea should be rendered increasingly plausible,—and the cultural and biological data seem to suggest it—, the term itself, implying as it does a tone of contempt, is an unfortunate one. Did not the giant Germans ridicule the puny Romans as a band of pygmies? And yet the “pygmies” conquered the world. The designation is therefore best avoided, and in dealing with these types they will be referred to as “negritos”, “veddas”, “dayaks”, “toalas”, or simple “primitives”, as the case may be. In this way their dignity will be safeguarded as in the best sense human, while ample room will be left for the priority of an “ideal” form in the remote past. But such an “ideal” is beyond the powers of any known science to reconstruct. The existing types are shadows of the original, the original itself has been lost.

II. THE SOURCE-QUESTION

In estimating the value of a prehistoric tradition, it is important to separate the clear from the doubtful, the certain from the problematic, the indigenous element from that which has been borrowed from an outside source. This concerns the authenticity of two factors,—(1) the authenticity of report, and—(2) the authenticity of tradition.

(1) As to the truth of that which is reported, much will depend on the character and equipment of the reporter. The field of comparative religion is a new one, that of prehistoric religion quite recent. The latter department is being pioneered by men who, whatever their powers of observation, are certainly beyond the average of trustworthiness. Names that include those of Catholic bishops, like Schneider¹ and LeRoy,² Prefects apostolic, like Mgr. Dunn,⁴ missionaries of the Divine Word, like Schmidt³ and Hestermann,⁴ apostles of the Sacred Heart, like Meyer⁴ and Egedi,⁴ are apt to solicit our attention on the score of seriousness, if on no other. But apart from this, they have lived, or are living, on intimate personal terms with the natives, they have penetrated into regions that are rarely if ever visited by the white man, and they have studied their customs, their folklore and their mythology in a manner that is epoch-making and that reflects undying credit on the great Institution that brought them forth. If to this be added the names of Breuil and Cartailiac,⁵ of Piette and Obermaier,⁶—experts in the allied field of palaeontology and rock-paintings—, the honor-list of the Catholic Church swells to a noble figure. If however their writings be suspected of “tendency”, these tendencies can easily be corrected by more secular writers, whose “tendencies”, though in an opposite direction, have involuntarily brought out the same results. Graebner, Thomas, Foy, and Ankermann,⁷ are admittedly colorless, while Mrs. Parker⁸ and Andrew Lang⁹ are frankly “converts”, who have been brought to change their opinions solely by an impartial examination of the overwhelming evidence of facts.

Though this subject has all the attractions as well as the dangers of novelty, it is beginning to occupy the serious attention of men of science, of religious students of all persuasions.¹⁰

¹ Mgr. W. Schneider, *Die Naturvölker*, (Münster, 1885). *Idem*, *Die Religion der afrikanischen Naturvölker*, (Münster, 1891). ² Mgr. A. LeRoy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, (Paris, 1911). ³ Rev. W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, (Münster, 1912). *Idem*, *Pygmäenvölker*, (Stuttgart, 1910). *Idem*, *Mythologie der austronesischen Völker*, (Vienna, 1910). ⁴ *Articles in Anthropos passim*, (Vienna, 1907-1914). ⁵ Cartailiac-Breuil, *La Caverne d'Altamira á Santillane*, (Paris, 1910). ⁶ Dr. Hugo Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit* (Munich, 1912). ⁷ The Culture-cycle school, see below under Kulturkreis, p. XLiff. ⁸ Mrs. Langloh-Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, (London, 1905). ⁹ Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion, Magic and Religion, Secret of the Totem* (London, 1901-9). ¹⁰ *Comp. Intern. Congr. of Religions* (Basle, 1904, Oxford, 1908, Louvain, 1912).

So much for a general survey. As to special sources for particular areas, we have, in addition to the above, a large number of independent authors, whose divided voices might be open to question, but whose united testimony is surely powerful. Only the most important can be given here. Thus we have Skeat,¹¹ Vaughan-Stevens,¹² and Martin,¹³ for the Malakkan races, Man¹⁴ and Portman¹⁵ for the Andaman Islands, Meyer,¹⁶ Reed,¹⁷ and Montano,¹⁸ for the Philippines, Rawling¹⁹ and Williamson²⁰ for New Guinea, Howitt²¹ and Ling-Roth²² for the Tasmanian-Australian region. For the Central African Negrillos we have only one standard work, that of Mgr. LeRoy, Bishop of Alinda.²³ The same for the South-African Bushmen, where the name of Stow²⁴ stands easily first. This completes the negrito cycle strictly so-called, but includes the somewhat taller Tasmanians and Bushmen as cognate races with hair of woolly texture. With regard to the wavy-and sleek-haired pygmoidal races, so little is yet known of their higher culture that they are not always a safe investment in the present state of our knowledge. We have Skeat²⁵ again for the Sakai, Seligman²⁶ for the Veddas, and Sarasin²⁷ for the Toalas, and in the New World, Von den Steinen²⁸ and Ehrenreich,²⁹ for the lank-haired primitives of the Amazonian belt. If we touch upon these races at all, it is chiefly for the reason that something should be said to complete the picture, if it is only to show how the primitive ideals may still be kept up by a group of races which on the above ethnological schedule are possibly equally ancient. As to the much later, glacial and neolithic, peoples, (Indo-Asiatic and Eurasian), authorities are quoted only for the sake of comparison, chiefly religious, with early man. Names and titles are too numerous to be mentioned in this place,—they will be found in the footnotes, under each section.³⁰

¹¹ W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, 2 vols. (London, 1906). ¹² H. Vaughan-Stevens, *Materialien zur Kenntniss der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malakka*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1892-4). ¹³ R. Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malaischen Halbinsel*, (Jena, 1905). ¹⁴ E. H. Man, *The aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, (London, 1883). ¹⁵ M. V. Portman, *A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 2 vols. (Calcutta, 1899, rare). ¹⁶ A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1902). ¹⁷ W. A. Reed, *The Negritos of Zambales*, (Manila, 1904). ¹⁸ Joseph Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines*, (Paris, 1886). *Idem*, *Missions aux Philippines*, (Paris, 1887). ¹⁹ C. G. Rawling, *The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, (London, 1913). ²⁰ R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, (London, 1912). ²¹ A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, (London, 1904). ²² H. Ling-Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, (Halifax, 1899, rare). ²³ LeRoy, *op. cit. supra*. Also, *Les Pygmées d'Afrique et de l'Inde*, (Tours, undated). ²⁴ G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, (London, 1910). ²⁵ Skeat-Blagden, *op. cit. sup.* ²⁶ C. G. Seligman and Brenda Z. Seligman, *The Veddas*, (Cambridge, Engl. 1911). ²⁷ Dr. Paul and Dr. Fritz Sarasin, *Materialien zur Naturgeschichte der Insel Celebes*, (with valuable plates), (Wiesbaden, 1905). ²⁸ K. Von den Steinen *Unter den Naturvölkern Central Brasiliens*, (Berlin, 1894). ²⁹ Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen und Legenden der Süd-Amerikanischen Urvölker*, (Berlin, 1905). ³⁰ A good reference-work on primitive man in general will be found in W. I. Thomas, *Source-Book for Social Origins*, (Chicago, 1912), with excellent bibliography. Tylor's *Primitive Culture* should be read with caution as many of his data are entirely unreliable.

SUPPLEMENTARY SOURCES

For those, however, who wish to pursue this subject at further length and do some original work on areas that are still largely unexplored, I would recommend as a preliminary study the inspection of certain works which have recently attracted considerable attention by reason of the important facts which they promise to bring to light. Among these are the collections or discoveries of Ling Roth,³¹ Haddon,³² and Nieuwenhuis,³³ concerning the wild inhabitants of Central Borneo, and the articles that have appeared on the same subject from the pen of Messrs. Hose and McDougall in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, and in a more recent work.³⁴ In view of the fact that many of these inland tribes are as primitive as any to be found in the archipelago, the startling disclosures of the two latter should be carefully examined and weighed,—the only two white men that have given us anything like a complete account of the beliefs and practices of the Forest-Dayaks and their allies in the tropical jungle, though the work of Nieuwenhuis is otherwise indispensable. For similar reasons the mythology of the Celebesian Toradjas, commonly known as Posos or Alfoors, should not be omitted, as they may shed some valuable light on the Toala beliefs, which are as yet very obscure.³⁵ Nor should the Molukkas be passed over without comparing the findings of Kruyt and Riedel on the subject of the pre-Islamic Malayan and Papuan faith, which are here found in juxtaposition.³⁶ As to New Guinea itself, it is a land of mystery, but the current articles in the *Anthropos*³⁷ and the reports of the Royal Netherlands Missionary Society³⁸ should be occasionally inspected. These and the *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*³⁹ furnish in fact the main channels through which further light in this region may be expected. Finally the important work of Dr. Cooper is opening out a new world of research in the antarctic zone, his immense collection of facts on the South-American Fuegians being altogether invaluable.⁴⁰

³¹ *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, (London, 1896), 2 vols. ³² A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, black, white, and brown*, (London, 1901). ³³ A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, (Leyden, 1900). *Idem*, *Quer durch Borneo*, (Leyden, 1904), both two-volume works. ³⁴ Charles Hose and William McDougall, *The Relation of men and animals in Sarawak*, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* Vol. XXXI, (London, 1901), p. 173-213. *Idem*, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, (London, 1912), 2 vols. ³⁵ A. Kruyt, *De legenden der Poso-Alfoeren*, *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelingsgenootschap*, 38de jaarg. (The Hague, 1894). *Idem*, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel*, (Hague, 1906). ³⁶ Fr. Riedel, *De sluik-en kroesharigen rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, (Hague, 1886). ³⁷ *Anthropos*, (Vienna, 1907-1916). ³⁸ *Mededeelingen van wege het Koninklijke Nederlandsche Zendelingsgenootschap*, an annual report published at the Hague, Netherlands. Also the reports of the Koninklijke Nederlandsche Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, (*ibid*), a geographical publication of the Dutch government. ³⁹ *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, Also *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (Straits branch), both of which contain at times interesting material. ⁴⁰ J. M. Cooper, D.D. *Analytical and critical Bibliography of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent territory*, Bull. 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, 1917), p. 1-228.

THE SOURCE-QUESTION,—INDIGENOUS ORIGIN

(2) A more complex problem is that of the antiquity and indigenous origin of the beliefs and practices that are reported. Can it be possible that this or any other section of humanity has preserved intact a tradition which upon the most conservative estimate must reach back many thousands of years? From what we know of 'progress' in modern times, such an idea seems altogether unlikely,—an improbable assumption. But perhaps we have not been schooled in time-values. It seems difficult to realise, for instance, that Chinese culture has been stagnant for three-thousand years, that the neolithic age was for six-thousand years non-metallic, that before that time the unpolished flint was in use for at least double that period and the rough eolith for periods indefinitely longer. But if there is one thing that palaeontology has impressed upon our minds, it is the fact that for countless ages the human race has been on the same *uniform level of culture*, that changes have been incredibly slow, and that in many instances there have been 'stagnations' of ancient areas which have left them in precisely the same condition, social and industrial, that they occupied from time immemorial. Now if such a 'stagnation' be admitted in type and physiognomy, in arts and industries, in social and linguistic phenomena, why not a stagnation in religion also? Does it not form an important, nay, the most essential cultural element of all? But this is a problem of wide ramifications. Suffice it to say for the present, that the evidence for the remote antiquity of a cult is based on the convergent testimony of numerous and widely separated sources. The secrecy of the cult, the nature of its propagation, the mythology in which it is clothed, the fidelity with which it is echoed in distant centers on exactly the same level,—all these make a combined impression of originality, which it would surely be unwise to put down as a mere coincidence. They may in some cases produce moral certainty. Whether they do this or not, must of course be determined in single instances. It is through elimination of all impossible values that the unknown quantity is discovered.¹⁰

¹⁰ Comp. an excellent article by Father Le Clercq: 'Indications pratiques pour faire des observations en matière religieuse chez les peuples incultes', in *Anthropos*, VIII. (1913) p. 12-21. The objection on the score of "hoary antiquity" is sentimental rather than scientific. Wherever a borrowing cannot be distinctly proved, the evidence is in most cases too strong to be resisted. Comp. A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, (London, 1901), Chapt. II. (pp. 15-45), on "The Theory of Loan-gods", a clear and forcible statement. It is through the principle of "cumulative convergence" that the mind begins to see that the early development of man exhibits a homogeneity of mental phenomena which is so striking that, in view of the parallel phenomena in the social and cultural field, an essential connexion is positively demanded between the age of a people and its corresponding beliefs. See below, pp. XLI, 121, 507.

III. THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PRIMITIVES

—A NORMAL MENTALITY—

Another question that has intimate bearings on the present subject is that of the mental capacity of the races with which we are dealing. Given a set form of religious beliefs, how far can they be said to embody an adequate, that is a metaphysical idea of divine truth? Have the races in question a sufficient power of abstraction to attain to the idea of God in any sense in which we understand it? Clearly there is room for discussion here, as opinions have not been wanting that have boldly affirmed, that the so-called "savage" of today is a mental pariah, that his intellect is but little removed from the associative power of brutes. Evidence for this was believed to be abundant. They could not count beyond four, they had no names for generic ideas, they could not always recognise pictures, they were slow and unprogressive, they were stunted if not obtuse. This impression has colored the works of nearly all writers, from Sir John Lubbock¹ down to Tylor² and even Westermarck,³ and it was easy to make out a case for the stupidity of primitive man, when so little could be said for his modern survivor. These hasty inductions were destined to be modified, partly by the findings of palaeontology, partly by the more profound study of the nature-peoples as we actually find them. In both cases have materials come to our hand that have greatly influenced, in some cases reversed, our judgment on the early mentality of the race.

—INVENTIVE POWER—

(1) As to palaeontology, it has long been recognised that the very fact of the survival of man amid the wreck and ruin of the glacial epoch is in itself a proof of his decided superiority to the animal creation. What he lacks in physical and muscular strength, he more than makes up by the quickening power of his intellect. Thus it has come to pass, that while large and swift-footed animals, like the Cave-Bear and the Irish Elk, were unable to protect their species from extinction, man alone has, by the sheer force of his ingenuity and contriving-power, saved his race from the "deluge" by means of *inventions*,—tools, fire, clothing, means of transport,—devices. It has even been argued that the art of making fire by friction is alone sufficient to prove his higher mentality.⁴

¹ Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, 6th. Ed. (N. Y. 1910) p. 548. ² Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th. Ed. (N. Y. 1904). ³ Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, (New York, 1912) II. 595. ⁴ Obermaier, *op. cit.* p. 418. Weule, *Die Kultur der Kulturlosen*, p. 60-99.

PSYCHOLOGY,—CRANIAL CAPACITY

Then again the fossil remains of man are telling a similar story. They have revealed the fact that there is no substantial difference between man glacial and man recent, that in both cases we are dealing with a true 'homo sapiens', however undeveloped the type may be. For neolithic man parallels may be found among the Caucasian races of today, while the palaeolithic type recalls a confused Caucasioid to-Mongoloid to-Negroid image which is best expressed by the Dravidian or Indo-Australian races of our time. There is in fact so close a resemblance between the Neanderthal and the modern Australian skull, both in form and capacity, that many authors, including Klaatsch and Virchow, have boldly identified the diluvial race, and even primitive man, with this type.¹ For reasons that have already been given, such a conclusion seems altogether premature. Granted, that diluvial man and the Australian type are close parallels, a loophole must surely be left for the priority of still earlier types on the basis of Kollmann's theory of pre-glacial forms.² Here palaeontology deserts us, but the finger of ethnology points with growing emphasis to the equatorial belt, and offers the melanic sub-type as a possible transition to glacial man. Once more, therefore, the past yields to the present, the dead is interpreted by the living form.

—HIGH ART—

But before quitting the field of buried antiquity, it would be well to call attention to the general verdict of this science on the mental endowment of the human race during the long period of the Ice Age. Apart from the inventive talent already referred to, the more recent discoveries of rock-paintings have revealed a degree of esthetic taste, of artistic refinement which is surprising and which has caused many to look upon them as masterpieces, which have rarely if ever been excelled.³ Summing up this question Prof. Klaatsch thus expresses himself:—"Primitive man was neither bad nor stupid. . . . He is rather to be looked upon as a *superior being* . . . ('hochstehendes Wesen') . . . who by the power of his individuality and mental adroitness was in many respects above the parvenues of culture."⁴ Compare also some very similar remarks made by Eduard Meyer in his new History of Antiquity, an admittedly cold and materially prejudiced author: "We shall have to descend to the fifth dynasty of Egypt in order to find parallels of equal worth." (to the Magdalenian paintings).⁵

¹ Australian-Preneanderthaloid, (Klaatsch, in Proc. Anat. Soc. 1908, 38.) ² Kollmann, l. c. supra. ³ Cartailhac-Breuil, op. cit. p. 126. Obermaier, p. 253. ⁴ Klaatsch, at the Cologne Congress of German Physicians and Scientists, 1908. ⁵ E. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, (Berlin, 1910), vol. I. p. 247.

PSYCHOLOGY,—THE MODERN SURVIVOR

(2) So far the verdict of archaeology. What have the living races to tell us of their own psychology? Does not the preceding eulogy seem rather far-fetched when applied to existing races as we actually find them? And yet there are enormous sections of humanity that are living on approximately the same level as the Magdalenian bear-hunters. I have only to refer to the rock-paintings and chromographs of the modern Australians and Bushmen to see how nearly they approach the diluvial type. Then again, if we compare the bone-engravings of the Indian and Eskimo with those of his palaeolithic forefathers, we shall find it difficult in some cases to note any difference. Much the same may be said of their other industries and their habits of life. Clearly we are here face to face, either with a direct racial equation, or with a 'mental convergence' of such a nature that the psychology of the past may be safely interpreted by the light of the present, or vice versa. If then the Mammoth- and Reindeer-man solicits our admiration by reason of his prowess, his skill, his inventive and artistic faculty, the same meed of praise should be due to his modern survivor,—always allowing for possible degenerations, owing to want of fixity in the type.¹

—"INTELLIGENCE"—

But it is a far cry from these to our own primitives of the equatorial belt. Here we have nothing but ethnology to go by, as they are believed to be 'pre-glacial', to antedate the age of the earliest fossil remains of man. What then is to be learnt of this interesting people? Are they 'pygmies' in intellect as they are supposed to be in their bodily frames? Far from it. The study of their psychology is, like their discovery, a new acquisition. "Bright, keen, vivacious, adroit, intelligent,—of almost fairy-like deftness",—such are a few of the epithets that have been employed by different travelers in their reports from different and widely separated areas, "Intelligence" is of course an elastic term, and has been employed with a variety of popular meanings, but the sense in which it is used in the present place is at least synonymous with that of adaption of means to ends, and implies therefore a delicate perception of cause and effect,—more than a mere 'instinct'. Far from being crude, or in any sense blunt or puny, it is a faculty which is relatively high, relatively 'perfect'.²

¹ Birkner, *Der diluviale Mensch in Europa*, (Mun. 1912). Obermaier, *op. cit.* 253f.
² Opinions of Skeat, Reed, Meyer, Man, Portman, Stow, Johnston, etc. collected by Schmidt, *Pygmäenvölker*, p. 111-116. See also Johnston, *The Pygmies of the Great Congo Forest*, (SR. 1902, 489). LeRoy, *Les Pygmées*, pp. 95-145.

PSYCHOLOGY,—ABSTRACTIVE POWER

Yet even with these concessions there may be some doubt as to whether these 'low' and culturally backward types are in any sense worthy to figure as the earliest representatives of the race. Does not the sexless character of their language, the absence of generic terms, the paucity of their numerals, argue against any really abstractive knowledge on their part, any adequate perception of immensity, eternity, infinity, etc. as we understand them? To this question a twofold answer may be given.

(1) It is important to distinguish between the *capacity* for intellectual processes and their *facility*. The former may exist in full vigor, while the latter may, through want of training, remain dormant or undeveloped,—confined to 'essential' relations. (Compare the scholastic 'potency' and 'act').¹

(2) On the other hand, their existing psychology has been largely misinterpreted, largely misunderstood. The fact that these races are endowed with speech, (whether native or borrowed), this alone implies a power of abstraction, though the simplicity of their wants begets a simplicity of language, a small vocabulary, a paucity of terms. In all these matters means are proportioned to ends, as in other departments of life. Then again many are gifted with wonderful memories, certainly not a sign of degeneracy.² But the best test is that of the school or mission house, where we meet with statistics that are surprising. Dr. Brander mentions the case of a young boy, who had been educated in an orphan-school, and who, in spite of his tender years, (12), could read English and Urdu fluently, as well as speak and write in both these languages, retaining also a knowledge of his mother tongue. He had besides acquired a fair knowledge of arithmetic. And, Mr. Man is careful to add,—“this is not an exceptional case, for I could instance others, and one lad in particular, who was his superior.”³ That this is not a mere case of infant precocity is shown by the fact that some of them have been known in later years to figure as teachers.⁴ Mgr. LeRoy speaks of polyglot Akkas (O-koas), with “an intelligence at least equal to those of their own age”, and he and many other missionaries have assured us that they show as deep a grasp of the Catholic Faith as any other races with which they have come in contact.⁵ While little is yet known of this subject, it seems to be clear that those theories will have to be revised, that speak so slightly of the 'infant mentality' of early man.⁶

¹ The inherent defect in J. G. Romanes, *Mental Evolution in Man*, (1896). ² Parker, 1. c. p. 11. ³ Man, 1. c. p. 28. ⁴ Man, 1. c. p. 27-28. ⁵ Portman, 1. c. vol. I, p. 117. ⁶ LeRoy, *Les Pygmées*, p. 143-144. Compare, for instance, the reports of the Mission Fathers in British New Guinea, Borneo, and the far East. ⁶ Compare D. Brinton, *Religions of primitive peoples*, (N. Y. 1889) p. 15. (*Am. Indians*).

PSYCHOLOGY,—ABSTRACTIVE POWER

This subject has been well handled by Mr. W. I. Thomas in his new Source-Book, (Chicago, 1912), an exceedingly useful manual. He says:—

“Another serious charge against the intelligence of the lower races is lack of the power of abstraction. They certainly do not deal largely in abstraction, and their languages are poor in abstract terms. But there is a great difference between the habit of thinking in abstract terms and the ability to do so.

The degree to which abstraction is employed in the activities of a group depends on the complexity of the activities and on the complexity of consciousness in the group. When science, philosophy, and logic, and systems of reckoning time, space, and number, are taught in the schools; when the attention is not so much engaged in perceptual as in deliberate acts; and when thought is a profession, then abstract modes of thought are forced on the mind. This does not argue absence of power of abstraction in the lower races, but lack of practice. To one skilled in any line an unpracticed person seems very stupid, and this is apparently the reason why travelers report that the black and yellow races have feeble powers of abstraction. It is generally admitted, however, that the *use of speech involves the power of abstraction*, so that all races have the power in some degree. When we come further to examine the degree in which they possess it, we find that they compare favorably with ourselves in any test which involves a fair comparison.

On the other side of number we have another test of the power of abstraction and while the lower races show lack of practice in this, they show no lack of power. It is true that tribes have been found with no names for numbers beyond two, three, or five; but these are isolated groups, like the Veddas and Bushmen, who have no trade or commerce, and lead a miserable existence, with little or nothing to count. The directions of attention and the simplicity or complexity of mental processes depend on the character of the external situation which the mind has to manipulate. *If the activities are simple, the mind is simple, and if the activities are nil, the mind would be nil.* The mind is nothing but the means of manipulating the outside world. . . . From the standpoint of modern mathematics, Sir Henry Savile and the Bushmen are both woefully backward; and in both cases the backwardness is not a matter of mental incapacity, but of the state of the science”.⁷

⁷ W. I. Thomas, Source-Book for Social Origins, (Chicago, 1912), pp. 160-164.

IV. THE SOCIOLOGY OF PRIMITIVES

—A NORMAL MORALITY—

If we pass from the mentality to the morality of these races, it is chiefly for the reason that mind alone furnishes an incomplete picture of man, that it is worse than useless unless it finds a normal, healthy, and legitimate outlet for its operations. And so, in estimating the general character of these peoples, the social and ethical question is one that we cannot afford to pass over. There must be some guarantee that we are dealing with a type which is fully 'human', which is ethically fit to be the recipient of divine truth. What light have the sciences to shed on this question?

—PAST VERSUS PRESENT—

(1) It cannot be denied that the general tone of ethnology has until recent years been decidedly negative. Under the pressure of extreme evolution theories, the priority of a lower standard of ethics, of promiscuity, group-marriage and free love, has become almost a dogma. We have only to turn to any of the more widely-read works on this subject to see how thoroughly this idea has taken possession of the modern mind. 'Low, degraded, beastly, animalish',—such are the expressions that are commonly heard, whenever this subject is treated, *ex professo*, or otherwise.¹ And yet it was difficult to believe that these races could have fallen below the average of the higher anthropoids,—say of the Orang, which is generally monogamous. Quite recently, however, criticism has taken a new turn, and it has been found necessary to make some important concessions. In the first place, there are two classes of morals, corresponding to two classes of races,—the Negro and the Negrito. While the former is considerably better than he is commonly painted, he cannot compare in this respect to his more primitive prototype. It has already been remarked that the Negrito social system is primitive to a degree. It is made up of simple family units, with little or no coherence. The father of the family is king, priest, judge, ruler, physician,—all in one. Now it is clear that under such a system of direct paternal surveillance, the tendency to violate the moral law will be considerably diminished. And such, in fact, is found to be the case. All reports agree, that, while considerable antenuptial freedom seems to be allowed, "the Negritos as a race are virtuous," and that, "once married, they rarely, if ever, desert their consort".²

¹ See for instance Lubbock, *op. cit.* p. 540-559, (Savage ideas of virtue, absence of religion).

² A general summary of the evidence will be found in Schmidt, *op. c.* 155-168. Also in LeRoy, *op. cit.* 223-224. Johnston, *l. c.* Westermarck, *op. cit.* II. 424, Human Marriage, 436.

MORALITY,—HIGH STANDARDS

Do we require further evidence on this subject? Here are the words of a recent author, who writes from a purely material or "evolutional" point of view:—

"Marriage is indissoluble among the Andamanese, some Papuans of New Guinea, (certain tribes) in Sumatra, among the Igorrotes and Italonones of the Philippines, the Veddas of Ceylon, and in the Romish Church".³

And,—he might have added—, among the aborigines of Malakka, among the Aeta of the Philippines, among the wild Dayaks of Borneo, among the Toalas of Celebes, among many of the American and Australian aborigines, and among the Negrillos of Central Africa. Here is the evidence:—

"This idea of the laxity of the marriage-tie among the negritos may possibly arise from the great ante-nuptial freedom which appears to be allowed, but there is every reason to believe that when once married, the Semang of both sexes are in the highest degree faithful to one another and that cases of unfaithfulness are exceedingly rare. That conjugal infidelity is strongly discountenanced, is shown by the penalty assigned to it,—death." Among the Sakai "divorce, though permitted, was extremely rare", "the punishment for adultery was death", and among the Jakun, "I do not remember a single case in which a Besisi had more than one wife".⁴

"So far from the contract being regarded as a merely temporary arrangement, to be set aside at the will of either party, no incompatibility of temper or other cause is allowed to dissolve the union, and while bigamy polygamy, polyandry, are unknown, conjugal fidelity till death is not the exception, but the rule".⁵

"The Veddas' constancy to their wives is a very remarkable trait in their character. They are strictly monogamous, and infidelity whether in the husband or wife appears to be unknown".⁶

"Divorce is *not* very common among the Negritos of Zambales. There seems to be a sentiment against it. If the offender is caught and is unable to pay the necessary fine, the penalty is death".⁷

"Highly significant as against other Dayak tribes is the *complete fidelity to the marriage-tie* among the Bahau, and the equality of conjugal rights between man and woman, in spite of the numerical superiority of the latter, argues for a degree of continence and sexual self-control that we would hardly expect among a people on such a low level of culture".⁸

³ L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, (London, 1906) Vol. I. p. 150. ⁴ Skeat, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Vol. II. p. 55-56, 65-67, 76ff. ⁵ Man, on the Andaman Islands, p. 67. ⁶ Seligman, 1. c. p. 87-88. ⁷ Reed, 1. c. p. 61ff. ⁸ A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Centraal-Borneo*, Vol. I. p. 100, (Translation from the Dutch).

MORALITY,—HIGH STANDARDS

“The Toalas are strict monogamists. . . Infidelity and desertion are rare”.⁹ In Australia “a wife is bound to be faithful to her husband. For the first offense she is branded with a firestick; for a second offence she is speared in the leg; for further offences she is killed.” It is added, however, that “no penalty attaches to the man”, and that wife-loaning is occasionally practiced. Among the Kurnai bigamy is allowed, but sex-relations are otherwise strict. “Wives were not exchanged under any circumstances, nor were lent to friendly visitors”.¹⁰

For the Congo-region Mgr. LeRoy gives similar testimony:—

“When we visited the different camps, we saw that it was precisely the family which monopolises everything else. The father is ruler, the father is judge, the father is priest, and he unites all these attributes in one quality, that which gives him paternity. His wife is *his*, and his *only*”. The author is careful to add, however, that while monogamy is the rule, polygamy is by no means unknown, the latter being due to economic causes.¹¹

Among the South-American Botokudos, monogamy preponderates and divorce is punished with blows. Less so among the Caingang and Bakairi, for here the family ties are no longer as rigid, and polygamy and desertion are said to be practiced. There seems to be no uniform standard in the Amazonian belt, and exact statistics are difficult to obtain.¹²

The same remarks apply to some extent to the Tasmanians and Bushmen. We are distinctly told that divorce is prohibited under the usual penalties, that stability marks the normal state of the family. But there is considerable evidence to show, that exceptions are too numerous to allow of any universal statement in the matter, and that polygamous unions have undoubtedly occurred. It is more especially among the Bushmen, that we have reasons to suspect a growing invasion of Hottentot influence.¹³

The Fuegians, in like manner, seem to have preserved many ideals of the primitive life. Among the Yahgans the unity and stability of the married state is a very general characteristic, even if the occasional custom of taking two or more wives connects them with the common Patagonian practice.¹⁴

Taken all in all, these testimonies suggest, if they do not always prove the permanency of the marriage-bond, and are in any case a valuable argument for the priority and the preponderance of a high standard of marital ideals.¹⁵

⁹ Sarasin, 1. c. Vol. V (II). p. 126. ¹⁰ Howitt, 1. c. pp. 258, 280. ¹¹ LeRoy, 1. c. pp. 221-224 (Translation from the French). ¹² Ehrenreich, Die Botokudos, 1. c. p. 31. P. Teschauer, S. J. Die Caingang etc. 1. c. p. 22ff. Von den Steinen, 1. c. p. 332ff. ¹³ Ling Roth (Tasm) p. 113. Stow, 1. c. p. 95. ¹⁴ Cooper, 1. c. p. 166. ¹⁵ Cf. Westermarck, Human Marriage (N. Y. 1903) pp. 431-517ff. who supports this thesis with an abundance of data.

MORALITY,—ABSENCE OF GROSSER CRIMES

But have not ugly reports reached us with regard to cannibalism, infanticide, theft, murder, and "head-hunting"? It is certainly a remarkable fact that it is precisely in these particulars that these stock-races offer such a strong contrast, not only to their more powerful congeners, but even to many of the so-called culture-peoples, which in this respect claim to stand so high. The general absence of crime, or at least its extreme rarity, is something that cannot fail to make a powerful impression upon the mind of the unprejudiced student. As to cannibalism, it is one of the latest triumphs of ethnology to have demonstrated its relative absence. Sporadic cases may occur here and there, owing to contact with "higher" races, but it forms no part of primitive practice as such.¹ The same may be said of infanticide, and other forms of violence, whether to person or property. Individual cases are indeed reported, and in some sections degeneracy has undoubtedly set in, but these do not affect the general statement, that the care of offspring, the sanctity of the marriage-tie, the respect for life and liberty, is one of the most noticeable features of these peoples. Moreover, if the opposite practice is reported from this or that particular region, it can nearly always be traced to external causes of pressure and persecution, which, by forcing an alien culture upon them, has destroyed the simplicity of their nomadic life.²

—CULTIVATION OF HIGHER VIRTUES—

(2) But there is also evidence to show, that these people are not without the higher virtues,—truth, mercy, justice, charity, liberality, and self-sacrifice,—virtues that are rarely if ever associated with 'primitive' man. As to honesty and the love of truth, it has come to the notice of more than one traveler how favorably they compare with many of the civilised peoples, say with the Malays, in this regard. "I have never detected an untruth except one arising from errors of judgment," writes Col. Reed,³ and similar reports have reached us from other parts of Oceania and Central Africa.⁴ Respect for women and children, and care for the aged and the infirm, is in many cases equally well attested. Certainly any race that will sacrifice food and clothing, nay even life itself, for the support of the aged and the little ones, can hardly be called a degenerate, but is in this respect an ideal people.⁵

¹ Schmidt, p. 147, LeRoy, p. 193, (general statistics). ² Schmidt, 141f. LeRoy, 227f. ³ Reed, Negritos of Zambales, p. 61. ⁴ Portman, A History, II. p. 872. LeRoy, 212. ⁵ Comp. Man, op. cit. p. 25-26. Howitt, l. c. pp. 594, 766, 777 (for philanthropy). Further evidence on this subject will be found below under each section. For the general morality of the nature-peoples see also Joseph Müller, *Das sexuelle Leben der Naturvölker*, (Leipzig, 1901), 2d. Edit. and H. Vißcher, *Religion u. sociales Leben bei den Naturvölkern*. (Bonn, 1911). 2 vols.

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In illustration of these principles a few testimonies may be worth quoting in greater detail.

(1) *For the Malakkans*:—"Crime among the *Semang* appears to be extremely rare". "Theft and murder among the *Sakai* are so exceedingly rare as to be a *quantité négligeable*". "Child-bearing generally continues up to the age of about forty-two years, though there was one case in which a woman gave birth to a child at fifty. Elsewhere we are informed that the average number of children in a *Sakai* family is four". "When an unmarried *Jakun* girl had recourse to procuring abortion, she entirely lost all position and status in the clan. She was despised by the other women, and scorned as a bride by the men; and finally she exposed herself to the disgrace of being chastised by her parents". "None of the wilder jungle-folk are cannibals, and there is no proof at all that cannibalism has ever, at least in historical times, occurred among them". "The fact is,—and it is but scant justice to acknowledge it,—that, rude and uncultivated as these people are, yet in some respects they are vastly superior to the races by whom they are likely to be absorbed,—more honest, more truthful, less covetous, more free in every way from crime".⁶

(2) *For the Andamanese*:—"That outcome of civilisation,—suicide—, is unknown among them". "Not a trace could be discovered of the existence of cannibalism in their midst, even in far off times". "The unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese". "Every care and consideration are paid by all classes to the very young, the weak, the aged, and the helpless, and these, being made special objects of interest and attention, invariably fare better in regard to the comforts and necessities of life than any of the otherwise more fortunate members of the community".⁷

(3) *For the Veddas*:—"The Hennebeddas have retained their old virtues of truthfulness, chastity, and courtesy". "The only case of suicide of which we heard took place in connection with a breach of the common rule of conjugal fidelity". "In every respect the women seem to be treated as the equals of the men. Indeed, when we gave presents of food, the men seemed usually to give the women and children their share first". "The Veddas are affectionate and indulgent parents, the babies are generally happy, but should they cry, their wishes are immediately gratified by either parent". They have a keen sense of ownership, quarrels are rare, and violent crimes, together with cannibalistic practices, apparently unknown, the eating of the enemy's "liver" being an exceptional and doubtful instance.⁸

⁶ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, I. 497, 501, 524, II. 11-12, 24, 285. ⁷ Man, *Andaman Islands*, 25, 43, 45, 109. (Comp. Portman, *op. cit. sup.*) ⁸ Seligman, *l. c.* 37, 88-90, 106, 207-208.

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(4) *For the Philippine Negritos*:—"Murder is so rare as to be almost unknown. The disposition of the Negrito is peaceable, and seldom leads him into trouble. Parents seem to have great affection for their children, (and *vice versa*). This continues through life, as is shown by the care which the aged receive at the hands of the juniors. I have never detected an untruth except one arising from errors of judgment. I believe that many of the vices of the negrito are due to contact with the Malayan, to whom he is, at least in point of truthfulness, honesty, and temperance, far superior". There is no evidence of cannibalism among the pure Aetas, either at present or in any previous times.⁹

(5) *For the Bornean Dayaks*:—"The Land-Dayaks are amiable, honest, grateful, moral and hospitable. Crimes of violence, other than head-hunting, are unknown. The wild Bakatans, or Forest-Dayaks, are very mild savages, *they are not head-hunters*, do not keep slaves, are generous to one another, are moderately truthful, and probably never do any injury by making a false statement. On first acquaintance they appear melancholy, and certainly shy and timid-looking, but when they have gained confidence, they show themselves in their true colors as a cheerful and bright people, who are very fond of their children, and kind to the women".¹⁰ (Combined testimony of Low, Haddon, Hose, and McDougall). "It must not be imagined that either the Malays or the native Borneans are the bloodthirsty savages they are sometimes made out to be. The Malays generally are courteous, dignified, and hospitable. But monogamy is the rule with the Borneans, and polygamy with the Malays. The aboriginals are active, while, as a class, the Malays are lethargic and luxurious".¹¹

(6) *For the Papuans*:—As a race the Papuans can hardly be described as a peaceful or mild-mannered folk. Nevertheless it is worth noting that neither the Tapiros nor Mafulus are habitual cannibals, the latter confining the practice to the devouring of an enemy. Among the Melanesians, on the other hand, "it may be safely asserted that in the Banks Islands and Santa Cruz there has been no cannibalism, though the natives were not ignorant of the practice of it by others". Slavery and head-hunting are alike unknown in this region, and family life reveals an attractive picture. The same remarks apply in part to the Papuan Mafulu, and doubtless also to the Tapiro above, though information on this subject is as yet too fragmentary to furnish any certain conclusions.¹²

⁹ Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 56, 61, 62, 63. ¹⁰ Haddon, l. c. p. 320, 321, 322. ¹¹ Burbidge, *The Gardens of the Sun*, p. 152, 156. ¹² Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 27ff. p. 343, 345. Comp. Williamson, *The Mafulu*, p. 63, 179ff. Rawling, *The Tapiro*, l. c. p. 275.

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(7) *For the Tasmanian-Australians*:—"I was saved by a native girl, when my sisters were drowned while bathing".¹³ "The three deadly sins were unprovoked murder, lying to the elders of the tribe, or stealing a woman within the prohibited degrees".¹⁴ "The Kurnai men carry their wives about the country, when too old or too sick to walk".¹⁵ "There was no cannibalism in Tasmania".¹⁶

(8) *For the Central Africans*:—"The sentiment of shame is universal among the Negrillos, as elsewhere. Nudity is not obscenity. . . The black, like the white man has invented certain special dances, particular feasts, secret initiations etc. in which it is understood that sexual indulgence has its rights. This is a proof that in the ordinary course of life chastity has its also. As to theft it is strictly prohibited among themselves. As to others, they are looked as strangers and usurpers, and it is lawful to take from them whatever can be filched. Slander and calumny are equally reprovod. I have made frequent inquiries about cannibalism, but the answer was always a negative one except among the Beku who are a mixed race. They have a fellow feeling for one another, assisting each other as the occasion may require".¹⁷

(9) *For the North-American Indians*:—"A maiden guilty of fornication may be punished by her mother or female guardian, but if the crime is flagrant, the matter can be taken up by the council-women of the gens. The punishment for adultery consists of various bodily mutilations . . . for theft twofold restitution must be made . . . maiming is compounded . . . in the case of murder, compensation must be offered to the aggrieved party . . . witchcraft is punished by death, stabbing, tomahawking, or burning".¹⁸ "The common and substantially universal custom of hospitality among the American Indians, at the period of their discovery, must be regarded as evidence of a generous disposition, and as exhibiting a trait of character highly creditable to the race".¹⁹

(10) *For the Amazonian Peoples*:—"We find a striking gradation of morals as we pass from the primitive East to the more advanced West. Among all monogamy preponderates, but among the Botokudos divorce is punished with blows, among the Bakairi it is freely countenanced, and with the Yivaros multiple marriages are no longer uncommon. Cannibalism, infanticide, and head-hunting appear to show a steady increase the nearer we approach the Andean plateaus.²⁰ In most other respects these peoples resemble the North-American Indian."²¹

¹³ Langloh-Parker, 1. c. p. 1. ¹⁴ Idem, p. 78. ¹⁵ Howitt, 1. c. p. 766. ¹⁶ Ling Roth (Tasm), p. 97 (quoting original authorities). ¹⁷ LeRoy, Les Pygmées, pp. 193, 209-217 (short translation). ¹⁸ J. W. Powell, Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Vol. I. pp. 59-69 (condensed statement). ¹⁹ L. H. Morgan, Houses and Home-life of the American Aborigines, pp. 44-62. Contributions to American Ethnology, Vol. IV. Cf. Thomas, Sourcebook (1912), p. 855. ²⁰ Data taken from Ehrenreich, Über die Botokudos, (Zeitschrift, für Ethnologie, 1887), p. 31ff. Von den Steinen, 1. c. p. 332. P. Rivet, Les Indiens Yivaros (Anthropologie, 1907) p. 333f. ²¹ Further information in Westermarck, The Origin and Development of Moral Ideals, (1912), 2. Vols., a masterly digest.

V. SPONTANEITY OR COLLECTIVISM?
THEORY OF CULTURAL UNITS AND 'CIRCLES'
(KULTURKREIS)

There is one more question to be considered before approaching this subject at closer range. It concerns the analysis of religious facts, with a view to determining their origination,—either spontaneously, without regard to time, place, or industry,—or by transmission from definite centers corresponding to different eras of social and cultural development. That this is a problem of vast importance, will be seen immediately, whenever it is a question of analysing a religious complexity, of determining the priority of this or that element in the complexity. Thus if it can be proved that certain forms of belief go hand in hand with certain forms of culture and with them exclusively, it will follow that the occasional overlapping of one culture over the other will entail a corresponding overlapping of ideas and produce a complexity, in which the prior and posterior elements should be clearly recognised. In this way many of the 'primitive' areas have been overflowed by a later culture, and present to us a mythology which cannot be left as it stands, but must be examined and carefully dissected before it can pass muster as a primitive belief. How far is this mythology native, and how far has it been imported from a foreign source? such is the question upon the answer to which much of the value of the succeeding pages will have to depend.

In answering this question ethnologists have been divided into two camps. There are those that believe that similarities in the laws of thought are sufficient to produce similarities of development, that identities are mere coincidences; while others are as firmly convinced that the accumulation of these identities is so striking that some genetic connexion must be postulated, that there must be some equation between different 'cultures' and different 'phases' of belief. The former is represented by the school of Bastian,¹ Andree,² Ehrenreich,³ etc, while the latter is the position taken up by Ratzel,⁴ Frobenius,⁵ Graebner,⁶ Thomas,⁷ Foy,⁸ Schmidt,⁹ Anker-mann,¹⁰ and many others.¹¹

¹ A. Bastian *Der "Völkergedanke,"* etc. (Berlin, 1881). ² R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche,* (Leipzig, 1889). ³ P. Ehrenreich, *Die allgemeine Mythologie und ihre ethnologischen Grundlagen,* (Berlin, 1910). ⁴ Fr. Ratzel, *Völkerkunde,* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1895). ⁵ L. Frobenius, *Völkerkunde,* (Hannover, 1902), *Idem, Geographische Kulturkunde,* (Leipzig, 1904). ⁶ F. Graebner, *Kulturkreise u. Kulturschichten in Oceanien,* (ZE. 1905, p. 28f). *Idem, Die melanesische Bogenkultur,* (Anthr. 1909, 73Of). ⁷ N. W. Thomas, *Kulturkreise in Australien,* (ZE. 7905, 759f). ⁸ W. Foy, *Führer durch das Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum,* (Cologne), 1910. ⁹ W. Schmidt, *Mythologie der austronesischen Völker,* (Vienna, 1910). ¹⁰ Anker-mann, *Kulturkreise in Afrika,* (ZE. 1905, p. 54-84). ¹¹ General exposition by W. Schmidt in *Anthropos*, VI. (1911), pp. 1010-1036, and F. Graebner, *Methode der Ethnologie,* (Heidelberg, 1911).

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Now with regard to this whole subject it may be said in a general way that there is no reason to take an extreme or exclusive view, either for or against the system of "unified progress" or otherwise. There can be no doubt that the "elemental" concept has come to stay, that it embodies an important truth, the fact, namely, that the psychology of man is very much the same all the world over, that with similar conditions of climate, soil and productive material, similar developments are apt to follow, that when they change, these change, though not always with the same physiographic persistency. It was this general law, verified in numerous instances, that led Buckle of old to exclaim:—"Give me the latitude and longitude of a nation, and I will give you its religion,"—an observation which, however distorted, contains some germs of truth when applied to religious expression. But more than this. The wholesale application of the transmission theory, (understanding by this a literal migration not only of culture but also of culture-bearers),—has been the occasion of great abuses and led many to abandon the whole system as an artificial construction. We have only to recall the heroic attempts of Winkler¹² and Jeremias¹³ to reduce the whole of the astral mythology to Pan-Babylonian waves of culture to see how easy it is to make our conclusions overlap our premises; though here the mistake was caused by deficiency of material and has no bearings on the general truth of the culture-notion as such. For indeed that notion, in the sense of cultural 'eras' (with or without racial contact), is something that must be clearly postulated in any system that would account for the development of the human race in all its fulness and complexity. The fact that different cultures correspond to different ages, and these again to different climates, races, and so on,—this thought was at the bottom of the elemental theory and has become the mainstay of the tradition-argument, only with this difference, that the number of identities is felt to be so striking, (even down to the smallest details) that the idea of transmission, in one sense or another, has become almost irresistible. Thus while the old theory of spontaneous development still holds its own, the newer idea of organic and cultural units encircling the earth in successive waves of social and mental advancement is one that is steadily gaining ground and is now coming more and more to the front.¹⁴

¹² H. Winkler, *Himmels-und Weltenbild der Babylonier*, (Leipzig, 1903). 2d. Ed. ¹³ A. Jeremias, *Die Panbabylonisten*, (Leipzig, 1907). Comp. also E. Stücklen, *Astralmythen*, (Leipzig, 1907). ¹⁴ See the "Semaine d'Ethnologie religieuse" of Louvain, (Paris, 1913), pp. 35-56. ("L'Etude, d'Ethnologie," by W. Schmidt) (Bibliography), *Idem*, *Solar and Lunar Mythology, Totemism*, (*ibid.* pp. 99, 255ff). Hestermann, *Kulturkreis*, (*ibid.* p. 117ff.).

CULTURE-CYCLES FOR THREE EPOCHS

What then are the facts upon which the new system is founded? Broadly they may be stated as follows:—

Let us take two typical cultures,—the lowest known culture, that of our own “primitives”, and a decidedly higher culture,—that of the North-American Indians. Comparing these two cultures, we are struck by two features,—a certain uniformity within each culture, and a certain radical diversity between the cultures. The points to be noted are briefly these:

(1) In the “primitive” culture there are certain similarities between the negro peoples and their allies which extend, as we have seen, into the social sphere. Now if these similarities are found to extend still further, if they are found to embrace such details as the leaf-apron, the wind-screen, the fire-plow, the simplest of bows and arrows, the bamboo knife, the bone- or shell-scraper, the stone hammer, the wooden clapper, the tubeviol, the quinary numeration, the pentatonic scale, the tree-float, the balsaraft, the patriarchal system, the local exogamy, the paternal descent, the earth or tent-funeral, etc. etc.—we begin to suspect more and more that they form a complete cultural unit, that as there is uniformity in nearly every aspect of life, there is probably a uniformity in religion also. And such in fact is found to be the case. This region is characterised by extreme simplicity, both of thought and practice. The father of the family combines in his own person the office of king, priest, and medicine-man, there are no classes, professions, or vocations in life, other than those dictated by the natural requirements of sex. Moreover it is especially to be noted that there is a minimum of astral mythology in this region, as well as a general absence of that complex system of relationship between a man and a natural (generally a living) object, that goes by the name of totemism, and that forbids the killing or eating of the totem, or the intermarrying of those that belong to the same totemic clan.¹

(2) Now let us take the North-American Indian on the broad prairies. He was formerly wrapt in heavy blankets of buffalo-skin, was covered with quills and feather-ornament, and was often painted or tattooed. He lived in tent, wigwam, or round houses of earth or grass, he produced fire by rapidly twirling a stick; he used a heavy spear, a broad shield, and a stone-headed club, as well as a massive bow, which was often spliced, tipped, or doubly-reflected.

¹ All the sources agree on this point. (See pp. V-XIV above for the combined data.) “There is no trace of totemism among the Semang” writes Skeat, (1. c. II. 260). There is only the Soul- or Conception-bird (the dove), which is *eaten* by the mother during parturition. (Ibid. II. 3-5.) The so-called “taboo” or “yat-tub” of the Adamanese has no relation to marriage, but is designed to prevent indigestion! (Man, 1. c. 134). The Sex-bird reappears in S. E. Australia among the Kurnai who are otherwise non-totemic, though the idea of relationship is more pronounced. (Howitt, 1. c. 148, 168). For Central Africa, see LeRoy, 1. c. p. 195ff.

CULTURE-CYCLES FOR THREE EPOCHS

He knew how to sharpen, sometimes also to polish stone, and he was an expert carver in horn, bone, and wood. He was a painter in polychrome, whether on skin, wood, or rock, and had acquired the art of making pottery and of weaving his own garments, though the latter are still in the hand-made stage of development. Music he expresses chiefly by means of the bone-flute, drum, and the rattle, and his songs extend over three octaves. He counts by the vigesimal or the decimal system, and plies the rivers in well-shaped canoes, "dug-outs", "bull-boats", or balsas. He governs the tribe or nation by means of a single chieftaincy, which is often hereditary, the dignity passing from father to son in a regular line. Before he arrives at manhood, he is initiated, either by a strenuous fast, or by some other form of bodily penance which admits him to a full knowledge of the secrets or mysteries of the tribe. These ordeals are managed by professional "medicine-men", who have the power to expel bad spirits, and to treat the patient by means of dances, manipulations, incantations, and the like. Matrimonial rites are complicated. A man is forbidden to marry any woman of his own clan-totem, and in addition to this he is often obliged to marry into another class or "phratry", which makes the sub-totem divide with the group-totem the power of regulating the tie. When a man dies, he is often given a platform- or tree-burial, and the corpse is either embalmed and mummified, or sometimes cremated. But, more important than all, there is a wonderful similarity of beliefs throughout this region. Apart from the question of a supreme divinity, there is a strong solar element running through the mythology, and the whole of nature is looked upon as *genetically related* to man, as in some sense his direct ancestor. That this is not putting the case too strongly, may be proved by any one who will examine this mythology in its native setting. All the plainsmen "dance" to the sun, they "come" from the sun, the bear, and the buffalo, to which at death they return, while the Kwakiutl of the far North-West claim to be descended from the sun, the sea, and the thunder-bird, and they have an elaborate ghost-dance, in which the "mask of the sun" and the fire-wheel are leading features. In the words of Dr. Boas, "all nature is animated, and the spirit of any being can become the spirit of a man, who thus acquires supernatural power."²

² Cultural items will be found in F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, (Washington, 1907), each under its respective heading. For North-American totemism and matrimonial rites, consult Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 4 vols. (London, 1910), Vol. III, pp. 213, 237, 275, 325, 389, 423, 502, 533. For the mythologies, J. O. Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 3d. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, 1884), p. 347ff. Idem, *A Study of Siouan Cults*, 11th. Report, p. 395; G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893) pp. 191-193. Dr. Franz Boas, *The social organisation and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians*, Rep. of U. S. National Museum for 1895 (Washington, 1897), pp. 374-375ff. Also 5th. Report of B. A. E. p. 52. Comp. J. A. Jacobsen, "Geheimbünde der Küstenbewohner NordWest-Amerikas", in *Zeitschr. Ethnol.* XXIII, pp. (383)-(385).

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But these ideas are not confined to the North-American continent. This system of metamorphic evolution and transmigration of souls finds a close parallel in far-off India, Africa, and Australasia. Nay more, it goes hand in hand with a very similar culture, whether we look at it from the industrial, social, or religious point of view. As to India, there are wild tribes living in the Dekkan, generally known as Dravidians, who, (in so far as they are not hindooised), exhibit such a striking resemblance to the North-American Indian in their social and matrimonial life, that some resemblance in their religious ideas is only to be expected. Apart from the fact that the clans and "gotras" show an identical organisation, we find the same practice of the "sororate" (or marriage with deceased wife's sister), the same taboos on food, the same fear of devouring an ancestor concealed in this or that plant or animal totem, the same permission to eat the said totem as a sacred or "sacramental" rite, and above all the same kind of astral mythology, which associates all natural objects, animate or inanimate, with the great central orb of heaven,—the Dravidian "Sin Bonga".¹ This is hardly a Brahminical importation. "The (aboriginal) Mallas", writes Professor Oppert, "like their ancestors, still worship the Sun, which is the presiding deity of Multan, a circumstance that intimates a Scythian(?) or non-Aryan origin."² "Like other primitive races of Turanian or Scythian origin(?), the Todas revere the great luminaries of the sky, the Sun and the Moon, besides the Fire."³ With the latter the buffalo is sacred, and cannot be killed or eaten, except on sacrificial occasions.⁴ Practically all the Dravidian races believe in their descent from the totems,—sun, moon, plants or animals, and with these and the Khasis of Assam transmigration of souls into the totems is clearly taught.⁵ It is true that modern India has been largely "overcoated" by a higher culture, so that many of the minor elements of the totemistic complex are difficult to trace,—implements, initiations, burial-rites.⁶ But in its main outlines this picture is almost a reproduction of the conditions that exist in the Missouri and St. Lawrence basins, and it calls for some explanation, whether from the mental or the cultural point of view.

¹ S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their country*, (Calcutta, 1912), pp. 400-412, App. XXff. Criticism in *Anthrop.* VIII (1913) pp. 272-274. (W. Schmidt, on solar mythology, &c.) ² G. Oppert, *The original inhabitants of India*, (London, 1893), p. 78. ³ *Ib.* p. 188. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 186-188. Here the totemic relation is not clearly recognised. Comp:— ⁵ Frazer, *op. cit.* vol. II. pp. 218-335, for Indian totemism in general. *Ib.* p. 321, (note 4), for totemism and metempsychosis in Assam. ⁶ Comp. however the rudimentary bow, the buffalo-hunt, the use of palaeoliths in the wild state, the existence of circumcision, the platform or pyre-funeral, the painting or embalming of the corpse,—all attested in numerous instances. See Roy, *l. c.* p. 354-466. E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, (Madras, 1908), pp. 140-145-150 (funeral), 388ff. (circumcision, shell-trumpet), 466 (Fire-drill), 624 (Bark-belt), 556 (Boomerang, etc).

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But if we pass over to Eastern Africa and Australasia, and find the identical combination of points, even down to many minor details,—the argument for a cultural connexion,—even if by oceanic highways,—begins to assume serious proportions. Not one or two elements only, but whole complexities of culture are here at stake. To take but one instance,—Australasia. Here we have the same totemic system as in India and North America. We have the Sun-god in Indonesia, and the Moon-god in Melanesia, clans or “septs” in the former, class-“phratries” in the latter, round-houses in the one, gabled houses in the other, communal life in one case, mask-dances and secret societies in the other,—both of these areas overlapping each other in many parts. All the minor elements of the culture,—from the fire-drill down to the pointed flint, the solid canoe, and the shell-trumpet, together with circumcision, platform-burial, mummification, sand- or rock-painting, bone- or wood-carving, animal hunting by means of bevelled bows, flint-headed spears, and bone-constructed harpoons,—all these elements are vividly represented in this region and are partly fused on the Australian continent.⁷ Here we have in the “Alcheringa” that same idea of transmigration and re-incarnation of totemic spirits in the womb of the mother that has been mentioned above.⁸ Now can all these facts be fortuitous? Can all these identities be explained by a merely accidental, mental “convergence”? Perhaps. But in the meantime they form a cultural unit, as distinct from the “archaic” or “neolithic” types, as the middle ages differ from classic times and from the twentieth century. Says Frazer: “What communication was possible between . . . Southern India and N. E. America . . . between Dravidians and Iroquois . . . between N. S. Wales and S. Africa . . . between the Kamilaroi (E. Australia) and the Herero, (W. Africa)?” And he suggests the “action of similar minds”, by reason of impassable(?) oceans.⁹ And yet he draws a menacing parallelism between Dravidian and Australian totemism, and in comparing them with the Iroquois of North-Eastern America, he says: “Their agreement in the principles and most of the details of a complex family system has been justly described by its discoverer, L. H. Morgan, as ‘one of the most extraordinary applications of the natural logic of the human mind to the facts of the social system preserved in the experience of mankind’ ”,—and this without any reference to the remaining ethnological data.¹⁰

⁷ H. L. Roth, *The Natives of Saravak and British North Borneo*, (London, 1896). C. G. Seligman, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, (Cambridge, 1910). R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, (Oxford, 1891) 32, 69, 348. Comp. Frazer, *op. cit.* V. II. pp. 185-217 (Indonesia), 25-150 (New Guinea and Melanesia). Graebner in *Anthrop.* IV (1909) pp. 998f. Foy, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 74-75, 226. ⁸ Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of C. Australia*, pp. 145, 174. ⁹ IV. 15. ¹⁰ II. 228, 331.

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Now the point that the "cycle"-theory wishes to bring forward is this:— It affirms that the similarities throughout this area are altogether too striking to be dismissed as mere coincidences. Apart from the question of *how* the culture was propagated,—whether by land-bridge or ocean-passage, (both are possible),—it requires us to assume an intimate cultural interdependence of humanity at a certain definite stage of its development. This stage is known as the "Totem-culture", of which the following facts are believed to be provable:—

(1) That it is later than the "archaic" culture, (No. 1).

This would appear to be self-evident. The whole complexity is in every way more advanced. Compare any of the items in the above summary, and the statistics given on pp. V-XIV.

(2) That it is earlier than the neolithic and *a fortiori* to the metallic (or bronze) ages. (Recent culture).

This does not imply the absence of all neolithic or "metallic" elements. There is hardly a section of humanity that has not felt the influence of the polished flint or the bronze sword. But it does imply that there is a strong under-current of pre-neolithic or "palaeolithic" elements precisely in those sections of the area that have preserved the totemistic culture in its greatest purity,—Central Australia, Central India (in parts), South-Central Africa, and North-Central North America.¹ Moreover from what is known of Neolithic peoples in the strict sense,—European Lake-dwellers, Oceanic Polynesians, North-African Mauretians, North-American Cliff-dwellers, &c. etc.—it appears to be more and more evident that though they have some analogies to the totem-culture,—worship of sun, moon, stars, plants, animals etc.—the idea of a personal descent from these objects, with prohibition of marriage to those of the same totem, is conspicuous by its absence.² Not until far later, Hindoo or Brahminical, times do we find the idea of metempsychosis at all strongly developed, but without any relation to marriage or the classificatory system.³ Finally there is a striking parallelism between palaeolithic man (as known to us) and the social and industrial condition of these peoples, a parallelism which extends to solar symbols, animal paintings, hand-silhouettes, and masked dances.⁴

¹ Comp. W. Foy, op. cit. pp. 51-62 (Australia), 225-227, (India), 181-186 (Africa) 149-154, 167-171 (North America),—showing parallelism with Oceania and strong palaeolithic survivals. ² For analogies and contrasts between totem-culture and European Neolithic, see Graebner, *Die Melanesische Bogenkultur* (supra), pp. 1025-1030. Implying a palaeolithic totemism, ib. &p. 1031 note. Also Frazer, op. cit. IV. 12-14 (pre-Caucasic) 30-38 (pre-polytheistic). ³ Frazer, IV. 13. For alleged Egyptian totemism, see J. Capart in "Semaine d'Ethnologie religieuse" (supra) pp. 274-278. ⁴ Obermaier, op. cit. 253-258, 413-430.

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This is illustrated by a comparison of the totem-culture with the last great prehistoric era that we know of, the age of polished and hafted flint, and of the more advanced social and mental phenomena that accompany it.

(3) To begin again with the North-American region, it is more especially among the plateau-Indians of Arizona, Colorado, and New Mexico, generally described as Pueblos, that we meet with a far higher culture than is to be found in most of the other sections of the continent. Instead of the miserable skins or blankets, formerly so common in the plain-states, the Zuni Indian and the Navajo is a comparatively well-dressed man, his loom-woven shirts, trousers, and moccasins, presenting an almost modern appearance. These have since spread over nearly the entire continent, but they are of finer quality among the highland tribes, and are particularly elaborate in the Alaskan region. In place of the simple wigwam, we here meet with the castellated dwelling or cliff-house, which is often constructed of large and solid blocks of masonry, the sign of a settled non-nomadic civilisation. Fire is made by the flint and pyrites method as well as by drilling, and the compound double-reflected bow, made of several strips of buffalo-horn, is clearly a new invention. Superfine axes, chisels, and boring-tools testify to a more finished industry, while as potters and weavers the Pueblos are unexcelled, the elaborately painted vessels and the famous "Navajo-loom" being an addition to any museum. Blow-horns and polyphonic flutes accompany a richly melodic chant, and on the Pacific coast we find the built-up plank-boat, with all the modern accessories. We have entered in short a new world of culture, and with this a new world of ideas.⁵

Among these the institution of hereditary Priest-Kingship must be pronounced as one of the most distinctive. The Pueblo "Sun-Priests" originally controlled not only the weather, but the entire gens or nation. But, what is of particular interest to us, they are the center of an *astronomical ritual*, in which sun, moon, and stars are not so much the genetic causes of things as the exponents of the divine will, the abode of numerous spirit-beings, themselves immaterial,—*ra-wa*. This is evident from the fact that marriage is no longer dependent on cosmic or animal ancestry,—the totems are mere symbols—, and at death man is delivered from nature, he becomes a spirit, migrating from star to star. In other words, man has become independent of nature and his spirits are personal "gods" who manifest their will by the relative position of the heavenly bodies,—Sun, Moon, and Venus.⁶

⁵ Cultural Items in Hodge, op. cit. supra. ⁶ For mythology and sociology see F. H. Cushing, *Outlines of Zuni Creation-myths*, 13th. Ann. Rep. B. A. E. (Washington, 1891), p. 247ff. M. C. Stevenson, *The Zufii Indians*, 23d. Rep. do. (1904) passim.

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But if these data be justly regarded as inconclusive, they may be supplemented by a vast material from the Old World, which shows that our main contention is a correct one, though the evidence can here only be given in brief.

From what can be known of the mound-builders of neolithic Europe, it appears that they stood on a very similar stage of culture, their large stone monuments being frequently inscribed with very similar hieroglyphs,—the star, the cross, and later, the swastika. These and the stone “circles” may or may not be taken as solar symbols,—on this opinions are divided—, but the practice of tomb-burial and of supplying the deceased with a large part of his personal and household effects, including food and drink “for the journey”, shows without a question that the life beyond is conceived as essentially the same as the present,—there is no return to the buffalos. Moreover the occasional trepanning of the skull reveals a strong belief in spiritism, in the escape of the soul (or demon) from its material environment.⁷

Further and more definite evidence is obtained from the buried remains of Egypt and Mesopotamia. There is an abundance of material to prove,—as we shall presently see—, that the earliest symbols for divinity were distinctly astral, the eight-rayed star being the foundation of Babylonian religion. This is not a sun-cult in the purely material sense, but an astrotheological system, in which the heavenly bodies are looked upon as so many *distinct persons*, the solar orb being invariably the “father” of all the gods and himself apparently transcendent. The same ideas are re-echoed in the later Graeco-Roman, the Polynesian, and the contemporary Chinese theology. In every case we have a “heavenly one” or a “shining father”, whose vice-regent is the “son of heaven” or the national high-priest, who decides the fate of kingdoms and the conduct of private life largely by what he sees in the skies, in the twelve signs of the zodiac, or in the entrails of certain animals. Religion has become largely astrological and animistic, the sexagesimal system finally triumphant. Architecture, sculpture, painting, music, navigation, and so on, all show a far more developed state than anything to be found among the totemic peoples, and with this has come a different aspect of life and existence. Man is no longer descended from plants or animals, he is “created” by god or demi-god, and as such he is free to marry within certain degrees of descent, he becomes in fact more and more aristocratic, more and more endogamous. As to his soul, it does not re-enter the brutes, but passes to a land of shades or to a life of glory, it has become “divine”.⁸

⁷ For the European Neolithic consult Obermaier, *op. cit.* pp. 465-524. Dechelette *Manuel d'Archeologie* (Paris, 1908) pp. 347-630. ⁸ S. P. Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology* (N. Y. 1912). Also Jastrow, Sayce, Meyer, Schmidt, etc. *op. cit. infra.* for Babylonian, Egyptian, Indo-European, and Polynesian data.

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From all this material it may be inferred with some certainty that there are at least three epochs in the pre-history of man, corresponding to three mental or social stages in the evolution of the race. These are:—

(1) The “primitive” or “archaic” stage, which is believed to be pre-palaeolithic, and which is characterised by an extreme simplicity of thought and practice, by the absence of cosmic or animal “pedigrees”, and by the general superiority of man over nature, which makes him a unique, a supra-mundane being.¹

(2) The “mediaeval” or “totemic” stage, which belongs roughly speaking to the palaeolithic, and whose dominant note is the identity of a man with a natural object, his descent from that object, and his possible return into that object by palingenesis or re-birth. This object may be anything, from the sun or moon down to a blade of grass; it affects food and matrimony very vitally, but leaves the transcendent Cause of nature otherwise untouched.²

(3) The more “modern” or “recent” stage, which is contemporary with the neolithic, and in which the astral elements have become real divinities, though they are generally subordinate to chief divinity and have no genetic relation to man. (Henotheism).³

But besides these general complexities,—which seem to be well proven,—modern ethnologists have carried the culture-notion to such an extent as to subdivide these areas into smaller units, and to require transitional stages from one culture to the other. Thus between the “Archaic”- and the “Totem”- they insert the “Boomerang”-culture, (with a supposed lunar mythology), and between the Totem- and Recent- they introduce a “Two-class” or “Mask”-culture with similar tendencies. Then again the Totem-culture may be divided into three sections,—Aurignacian, Solutrean, Magdalenian,—and the Neolithic age similarly into three stages, known as the “Bow”, “Polynesian” and “Arctic” culture. But whether all these “transitions” etc. will stand the test of verification, remains to be seen, as also the supposed equations between any given age and its accompanying industry (down to the smallest details). In the following table, (p. LVI-LVII), are given the main results of this system as applied to five principal periods. This table is compiled from original sources,⁴—and this, I believe, for the first time,—but it makes no pretence to being final or exhaustive and is subject to indefinite modification with the advance of the times.

¹ This would seem to follow from its non-totemic character. Man is not ‘classified’ with nature, though he ‘belongs’ to it. Cp. Schmidt, l. c. pp. 183-187, 241f. ² Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. IV. pp. 4-6. Spencer and Gillen, loc. cit. sup. ³ Comp. Leopold von Schroeder, *Altarische Religion*, (Munich, 1918), (in the press). Also O. Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Alterthumskunde*, pp. 824ff. Recent opinions on Totemism, Animism, Solar and Lunar Mythology, will be found in the *Compte-Rendu* of the “*Semaine d’Ethnologie*” (Louvain, 1912) p. 93, 99, 225ff. ⁴ Graebner, Foy, Schmidt, Ankermann, opera citata supra.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE FIVE-PERIOD SYSTEM ADVANCED

It has been seen that a threefold stratification of culture is fairly well evidenced by nearly all the data from taken from three extreme and widely separated periods of humanity. Does it not seem on the face of it probable that the gap between the lower and the far higher culture is bridged over by some intervening stage of development, some transition from the one to the other? Such transitions have been verified over and over again in the domain of palaeontology, and would seem to suggest that the kindred fields of ethnology and comparative mythology run on parallel lines, show a parallel course of development, corresponding to some extent with the industrial change. Let us see to what extent this argument is borne out by the facts.

SOME INTERVENING PERIODS NECESSARY

It seems incredible that the rise from the crude primitive to the complicated totemic culture could have taken place without leaving some vestiges of a transitional period. Such vestiges are revealed in the palaeontological data, which require the Chellean-Mousterian as a stepping-stone to the perfected Aurignacian-Magdalenian industry. Man could hardly become such a fine artist,—painter, engraver, carver, boat-builder—, in a day. The evolution of perfected tools requires time, and such time is clearly marked in the annals of archaeology. Similarly the rise from the Magdalenian to the full Neolithic reveals a hiatus which has only recently filled out. The existence of a transitional Azylian-Tardenoisian stage, with microlithic industry, perfected bone-needles, stringed instruments, and masked dances, may now be regarded as certain, whether from the archaeological or the ethnological point of view. Let us consider these two transitions one by one.

FIRST TRANSITIONAL STAGE,—“BOOMERANG”-CULTURE

Between the Oceanic Primitives on the one hand and the advanced Indo-Asiatic and totemic peoples on the other, an intermediate type of humanity is revealed in the proto-Malayan family, which has left vestiges of its presence in Indo-Africa, Indo-Australia, and possibly in Indo-South-America, (Bororo-Group?). Its architecture rarely exceeds that of the bee-hive hut, or tunnel-house, and its typical weapon is the Boomerang, which can be traced from Southern India, through Egypt to the Sudan, through Malaysia to Australia, and through North America to Peru and Central Brazil. Its “Bundle-Canoe” is found in regions as far apart as the Coromandel-Coast and Tasmania, the upper Nile and the lower Amazon (Shingu Region).

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This reveals a considerable advance upon primitive conditions, in that the making of palaeoliths, however crude, the more complex dwellings, however unsubstantial, the manufacture of plaited belts and basket-work, of bundle-canoes and of a highly finished throwing-instrument, is a clear indication that the bearers of this culture have learnt more of the arts and sciences than their immediate predecessors, even though it falls equally short of that of their immediate successors. It is not pretended that all the items of this culture can be verified throughout the above vast area,—far from it—, but the elements common to Indo-Africa and Australia are sufficiently striking to merit the further consideration of ethnologists, and the South-American data seem to reflect many of its distinctive features.

As to social organisation and higher beliefs, the material is as yet far too fragmentary to admit of any generalisations,—that is, for the combined area. The wild Malays of the East, the Tamils of Southern India, the Nigerians of the Sudan, the Tasmanioids of Australia, and the Bororos of Central Brazil,—all these exhibit such striking variations, both in climate, physique and adopted culture, that anything like a uniformity, either in beliefs and practices, is hardly to be expected. But upon one aspect of this development emphasis can, I think, be laid with a fair degree of security. From what is so far known of the mythology of these peoples, it appears that in large sections of the Oceanic and South American regions, the association of religious ideas with the waxing and waning moon, and the practice of more or less occult magic by means of the whirring-disk or "bull-roarer", is too significant to be dismissed offhand as a mere side-issue. We shall find very shortly that the idea of the "Spider-Moon", and the association of divinity with some mysterious and apparently sagacious animal—the spider, the lizard—, extends with slight variations from the Malay Peninsula, through Central Borneo and Melanesia, to South-East Australia on the one hand, and to the farthest Amazonian regions on the other. Considering that these territories are already linked together by many of the cultural elements above referred to, a presumption is formed that they are linked together in their beliefs as well, and this opinion has recently been defended with considerable force by several experts in ethnology and comparative mythology.¹

¹ F. Graebner, *Kulturkreise in Ozeanien*, (ZE. 1905, p. 28ff). Idem. *Methode*, (1911), p. 149. W. Foy, *Führer*, pp. 60, 72, 149, 155, 182, 225ff (Data for five continents). W. Schmidt, *Mythologie der austronesischen Völker*, (1910), p. 25. (Lunar Myths). Ehrenreich, *Allgemeine Mythologie*, (1910), p. 115, 262-272. Idem. *Die Mythen und Legenden der süd-amerikanischen Urvölker*, (1905), pp. 34-36, 42-44, 66-102 (Migrations of solar and lunar myths,—the "Spider-Moon," etc.).

ARGUMENTS FOR THE FIVE-PERIOD SYSTEM

SECOND TRANSITIONAL STAGE,—TWO-CLASS OR "MASK"-CULTURE

Until recently no separation has been made between the pure totem-culture and the classificatory-system. Both appeared to be so closely intertwined, so inextricably woven together, as to form almost a unit. Yet even Frazer soon began to recognise that the two ideas are by no means synonymous, that it is possible to have the class-system without totemism and *vice versa*, even though in practice they are nearly always found together.²

It has been shown that the break between the full Magdalenian and the early Neolithic culture is no longer as abrupt as was once supposed. The palaeontological evidence has brought to light an intervening stratum, known as the Azylian-Tardenoisian period, which was famous for the production of superfine flints and bone-needles, for the manufacture of higher musical instruments, and for the performance of costume- or masked-dances. If we look to the existing races of mankind as its possible representative, we shall find that in no single case has this culture been preserved with anything like purity, but that strong undercurrents of the culture may be discerned among the Turanian-Asiatic, the West-African-Bantu, the East-Indian-Melanesian, and the more advanced North and South-American peoples. Here we shall discover that the above elements are accompanied by the painted mask, the gable-roofed clubhouse, the built-up canoe or plank-boat, the bamboo-fiddle and pan-pipe, the men's secret society, the female "matriarchate", the skull-trophy with associated head-hunting, and above all the Ghost-Dance, which is the most distinctive of all the external features of this culture, and which can be traced from Nigeria to Melanesia, and from Alaska to Brazil.³ While many of the intervening links have disappeared, it is being felt that these complexities are too strong to be accidental, that a parallelism over such widely separated areas points to some genetic relation in the past, or at least to some unified or collective development. In nearly every case, the social and industrial stage of this period may be marked off from the full neolithic on the one hand and from the preceding "glacial" stage on the other, though the growing contact with higher cultures and the general fusion of cultures will probably account for the apparent want of continuity in its geographical distribution.

² Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, (1910), Vol. IV. pp. 71-136, on the origin of exogamy and the class-system, and their geographical distribution, esp. p. 136. ³ Items will be found in F. Graebner, *Die Melanesische Bogenkultur*, (*Anthropos*, 1909), p. 998ff. (with a valuable map). Also in Foy, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 75, 150, 156, 170, 183, 225ff. showing distribution over five continents, if European Palaeolithic (Azylian stage) be included. Comp. Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit* (1912) pp. 213-222, 424-430, 434-435, for late-palaeolithic parallels. Also J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, (Paris, 1908), p. 318ff.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE FIVE-PERIOD SYSTEM

The quality of belief which is characteristic for this period is intimated, partly by the numerous buried remains, partly by the existing races as we actually find them. The combined data furnish sufficient evidence for inferring that a pronounced spirit-cult with a developed ancestor-worship forms as it were the background, upon which the skull-cult, the ghost-dance, the fire-walk, and other secret orgies, have been in part engrafted. We have only to refer to the decapitated skeletons of Ofnet and Mas d'Azyl, to the phantastic figures with masked heads that adorn so many of the French and Spanish caverns of this period, not to speak of the spiral designs, the "eye" patterns, the hand-silhouettes, the amputated fingers, the painted pebbles, and other symbolic devices, to see how faithfully many if not most of these features are represented among the surviving peoples above enumerated.⁴ If they have so many elements in common with late-glacial man, including their industry, does it not seem highly probable that they mirror to some extent their religious beliefs, that where a spirit-cult is demonstrable in the one case, it is to say the least strongly suggested in the other?

But as to the nature of the existing beliefs, there is throughout a strongly developed ghost-worship, which without attaining to the full maturity of a universal animism, has brought the tribal ancestor into bold relief, who now occupies the principal position in the cult, the converging-point in the ritual. The numerous "ghost-societies", distributed over such vast regions,—from Melanesia to Brazil—, are alone sufficient to prove this, however vague and mysterious may be their inner symbolism. The fact that most of these dancing-escapades take place by moonlight has transferred the central object of the mythology from the sun to the moon, it is the lunar phases which again arouse the interest of man, the bright and dark moon being often symbolical of the twofold division of society into the class-phratries, which division is commonly expressed in Oceania by the "Eagle-Hawk and Crow",—the two typical birds of the class-system.⁵ But whatever be exact relation of the social and mythological data,—and much obscurity still surrounds this subject—, the case for an intervening culture, characterised by the above features, and illustrated in part by the above peoples, is becoming increasingly strong with every fresh discovery.

⁴ Obermaier, *loc. cit. supra.* giving the latest discoveries of the Abbé Breuil (Paris, 1910), with existing survivals among nature-peoples, (pp. 253-258). ⁵ J. Mathew, *Eagle-Hawk and Crow*, (London and Melbourne, 1899), pp. 93-148. R. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, (Oxford, 1891), pp. 20-68 (social features), pp. 69-115, (secret societies and mysteries), p. 345ff. (skull-trophies, etc.). Also Graebner, Foy, *l. c. sup.* and W. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, (1910), pp. 128ff. Ursprung, p. 302ff. Ehrenreich, *Südamerikanische Mythologie*, p. 34ff.

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Thus the combined evidence,—palaeontological, ethnological, mythological—, establishes a fairly strong presumption in favor of at least two intermediate stages, which are marked off with sufficient clearness to be for the most part recognisable. However deficient many of the existing links may prove to be,—and such deficiencies are only to be expected by analogy with geological “breaks”—, the convergence is in most cases too striking not to rivet the attention of the inquiring student. Such transitions are not only *a priori* probable, but for certain periods plainly demonstrable, and have been long since recognised in the field of archaeology, the discovery of the ethnological parallels being comparatively recent. Thus in the Neolithic, the lacustrine is sharply divided from the later megalithic and pyramid-building-stage, the huge monuments of Western-Eurasia, Northern India, Polynesia, and Peru, being characterised by so many similarities, both in structure and design, as to call for some period of common development during which massiveness in architecture became, as it were, the craze. Advanced navigation in finely constructed galleys, with typical three-cornered (Polynesian) sails and elegantly constructed rudders, was then the order of the day, the ocean became the common highway of commerce, bereft of many of its old-time terrors. At a still later period, the sub-arctic peoples of the far North gave birth to the most recent of all developments of prehistoric industry, that of stitched moccasin foot-wear and European trousers,—the so-called “Pantalooculture”. It is not always realised that the standard male attire of modern times is the distant descendant of the Eskimo snow-costume, and that, far from being ancient, or in any full sense primitive, the existing sub-arctic populations are in reality the bearers of a very late, almost contemporary phase of civilisation,—for which reason they are of little or no value as the exponents of an early tradition. It will thus be seen that in the analysis of any known culture—

Periods may be multiplied indefinitely,

nearly every supposed break has brought to light an intervening bridge, from which the transition from a lower to a higher civilisation may as a rule be vaguely recognised. In view, however, of the greater primitiveness of the non-metal ages, the above five periods may be deemed sufficient, they embody five of the earliest stages in the upward ascent of man.⁶

⁶ Further details in Obermaier, *op. cit.* pp. Part II. pp. 439ff. K. Weule, *Die Urgesellschaft und ihre Lebensfürsorge*, (Stuttgart, 1912), pp. 63-110. *Idem*, *Leitfaden*, (1912) pp. 103-136, and with great clearness by the writers of the Cologne-school, esp. W. Foy, *op. cit.* pp. 76, 271ff.

THE PREHISTORIC DEVELOPMENT OF MAN

	(A) ARCHAIC (PRE-PALAEOLITHIC)	(B) BOOMERANG (EARLY-PALAEOLITHIC)
TIME-TABLE:		
RACE-TYPE: (survivals)	Oceanic Primitive (East Ind.) African Primitive (Congo Belt) Australian Primitive (Tasman) Amazonian Primitive (Brazil) ?*	Indo-Asian-Malaysian (Tamil) C. African Nigerian (Sudanese) Indo-Asian-Australian (Sub-zone) Indo-Asian-Amazonian (Bororo) ?*
CLIMATE:	Tropical (with Pluviation)	Tropical to Mild. Glaciation.
FOOD: (Veg.) (Staple Animal) (Narcotics)	Banana, Plantain, Palm-fruit. Wild Boar. (Tiger, Eleph. and Rhinoceros in Indo-Africa). Narcotics originally wanting.	Banana, Palm-fruit, Pine-apple. Wild Boar. (Tiger, Eleph. and Hippopotamus in Indo-Africa). Narcot, originally wanting.
CLOTHING:	Leaf-Belt and Skin-Mantle	Loin-strap and Fur-jacket.
ORNAMENT:	Generally wanting. (Combs & Shell-necklace in Malaysia. Body-painting in parts).	Plaited Belts and Head-bands. Nose, Lip, and Ear-ornament. Painting and Scarification.
HABITATION:	Cave, Tent, or Windshelter.	Bee-hive Hut and Tunnel-house.
FIRE-MAKING:	Fire-Strap and Fire-Plow	Fire-Plow and Fire-Drill.
WEAPONS:	Staff-Bow, with fibre-string & reed arrow. Blowpipe in parts. Also clubs & simple spears.	Boomerang dominates, with spear, club, and fencing-shield. Bow and arrow survive.
IMPLEMENTS:	Bamboo-Knife & Stone Hammer. Flint-chips, flakes, bone and shell-scrapers (untouched).	Chipped Flint and Stone Axe. (Chellean-Mousterian Industry) Bone implements survive.
ARTS AND INDUSTRIES:	The Bamboo Vessel & Charm-tube. Simple tracery. Crude Pottery. Zig-zag patterns. Network.	The Magic Wand or Bull-roarer. Bamboo vessels and basket-work. Cord & Hair-string technique.
MUSIC:	The Monochord, or "Pangolo"?	Sounding-stick and Bull-roarer.
NAVIGATION:	Tree-Float or "Balsa"-Raft.	Balsa-Raft and Bundle-Canoe.
GOVERNMENT:	Patriarchal Family-system, with "natural" Headmanship.	Presidential Clan-system, with elective Headmanship(?).
INITIATION:	Fasting and lustration.	Fasting and tooth-pulling.
SACRIFICE:	First-fruits and animals.	First-fruits and animals.
MARRIAGE:	Paternal,—local exogamy.	Maternal,—clan-exogamy(?).
BURIAL:	Simple earth or tent-grave.	Niche or Tree-grave. Cremation.
BELIEFS:	Supposed Monotheistic Belt. Mythology appears in simple anthropomorphic dress.	Region of Lunar Mythology. Divinity as waxing and waning moon, "spider"-moon. (Magic).

*NOTE: The whole of the New-World culture must be looked upon as

THE FIVE PERIODS—CULTURE SCHEDULE

(C) TOTEM (ADV. PALAEOLITHIC)	(D) TWO-CLASS (LATE PALAEOLITHIC)	(E) RECENT (NEOLITHIC)
Indo-Asian-Dravidian (Kolar)	Indoasian-Eurasian (Turan)	Eurasian-Caucasian (Ligur).
West-African Bantuan	West-African Bantuan	N. African-Mauretanian.
East-Papuan-Australian	East-Papuan-Australian	Oceanic-Polynesian.
West-Indian N. American?*	West-Indian N. American?*	Melanesian-Pan-American.*
Extreme. Glaciation full.	Mild. Glaciation recedes.	Normal. Alluvium begins.
Corn, Rice, and Pine-apple.	Corn, Rice, and Pine-apple.	Corn, Wheat, & Barley-Cult.
Buffalo, Reindeer, Kangaroo.	Great Elk & Forest-Stag.	Dog, Horse, Sheep, Pig, etc.
Elephant, Rhinoceros, etc.)	Tropics retain fauna.	Tropics retain fauna.
Narcotics imported.	Narcotics imported.	Hemp, Tobacco, Betel-nut.
Bark-cincture & Fur-jacket.	Bark-cincture & Fur-jacket.	Flax-garments, (weaved).
Diadem & Flower-ornament.	The Painted Mask in all its varieties.	The Diadem. Spiral Cincture.
Emblemic Crests & Head-gear.	Ghost-garb.	Boar-tooth necklace.
Branding & Scarification.	Painting & Scarification.	Branding and Tattooing.
Club-House or Wigwam.	Gable-roofed Club-House.	Pile-, Stone-, or Cliff-House.
Fire-Drill (perfected).	Fire-Drill and Fire-Saw.	Fire-Flint, Fire-Pump, etc.
Bevelled Bow (oval section).	Bevelled Bow w. Broad Shield.	Flat Bow w. Round Shield.
Flinted Spear. Throwing-knife.	Flinted Spear & Morning-star Bludgeon.	Flinted Spear. Sling-Bow, Double-reflected Arctic Bow.
Flinted Flint (perfected)	Small Flint, Bone Needle.	Ground or polished Flint.
Magdalenian-Magdalenian)	(Azylian-Tardenoisian)	(Flenusian-Robenhausen)
Stone implements (perfected)	Digging-stick or shovel.	Knee-adze, Spindle-whirl.
Carved Figurine. Carved	The Painted Mask. Painted	Pottery & Loom-weaving.
Tools. Painting & Engraving.	Pebbles. Phonetic Alphab.	Hammock and Rope-bridge.
Circle & Spiral Pattern.	Circle & Spiral Pattern.	Star and Swastika.
Shell-Flute & Shell-Trumpet.	Fiddle, Gong, Panpipe, etc.	Horn, Drum, Piano, Organ.
Bark-canoe and Dug-out.	Bark-canoe & Plank-boat.	Sail-boat, w. outriggers &c.
Patriarchal Sept-system, with hereditary chief.	Presidential Tribe-System with electing classes.	Patriarchal-National. Kingship and Aristocracy.
Branding & Circumcision.	Ghost-dance. Fire-walk.	Branding and Tattooing.
Corn, Buffalo, Reindeer.	Cannibalism and Human.	Corn, Horse, Sheep, Human.
Paternal, Totemic Exogamy.	Maternal, Class Exogamy.	Paternal, Local Exogamy.
Tomb-burial, Mummification.	Skull-Trophy, Cremation.	Tomb-burial. Cremation.
Advanced Solar Mythology.	Advanced Lunar Mythology.	Advanced Solar Mythology.
Divinity as Genetic Power	Ghost-dance & Skeleton-cult point to Spiritism.	Divinity as "World-Soul" or "Mana". (Animism).
nature. (Totemism).		

After importation from Asia. America forms a separate province

DOES THE EVIDENCE CARRY CONVICTION?

As a broad generalisation, then, it would seem some such groups of social and industrial development are revealed with considerable certainty by all the data that are so far accessible to us. Is it sufficiently strong to establish a corresponding mental development, to prove that in a given age the thoughts and mythologies of a people will assume a definite color and tendency, pointing to some leading motif or guiding-theme as being uppermost for the time? This from the above evidence may be regarded as a fairly safe induction. The points enumerated are not too few, the analysis not too brief, to warrant a decisive verdict on the subject *for at least three cultural epochs*. But it does not lay claim to such convincing power as to render a detailed investigation superfluous.

THE CULTURE-SCHEDULE IS A WELL-PROPOUNDED WORKING-SCHEME

Like other movements in the inductive sciences it has to pass through the stage of extended verification before it can attain to the dignity of a fully demonstrated system. It is by means of more or less plausible theories that the greatest triumphs of modern science have been attained. The discoverer uses an artificial scheme as a "working-hypothesis", finds it satisfactory, and by repeated applications in numerous individual instances, comes to the conclusion that he has discovered a "law", that nature has yielded one more of her secrets. In like manner—

THE PARALLELISM BETWEEN MENTAL AND SOCIAL EVOLUTION IS A THESIS WHICH REQUIRES EXTENSIVE AND INDIVIDUAL PROOF.

Such a proof has been broadly intimated in the preceding analysis, but it is summary and suggestive rather than final and exhaustive. It points the finger to those regions where such a parallelism may be expected, and where it is in part demonstrated, it makes no pretense to establishing a rigid equation between the ethnological and the mythological data.

The data will be tested and verified in the ensuing study; it is only through a detailed examination of each area that anything like a cumulative argument can be propounded with any hope of success.

The mythologies must be carefully dissected, whereby some such stratification in beliefs and practices may be established with greater or less certainty or probability, as the case may be.

The proof will then be brought nearer, that for three (or possibly five) broad eras of humanity, the material, mental, and social data reveal such an astounding similarity and distinctive coloring, that some genetic unity in the past will seem to be postulated.

APPLICATION OF THE FORM-CRITERION

In estimating the value of this system, the following points deserve to be noted, in so far as they concern its purely material aspect:—

(1) The equations between time, race, industry, etc. are only approximations. They do not pretend to be rigidly fixed, but admit of much overlapping.

(2) The migration of culture does not imply a migration of culture-bearers."

(3) The cultural items for any single region have no reference to their origination but rather to their dissemination. They simply mean that in this or that period this or that form of culture obtained the *ascendancy*.

With these provisos we will now reconsider the scheme. What have the leading specialists to say on the subject?

It is to be noted in the first place that none of the "convergence" school of writers excludes the idea of cultural "units", and even the idea of wholesale borrowing in this or that particular instance.¹ But more than this, the general tone of criticism, though often reserved, is on the whole decidedly in favor of transmission-possibilities, exception being taken only to smaller details, which in the first effort to master such an enormous area, are naturally difficult to verify in all their complexity.

Roland B. Dixon, in a monograph, "The Independence of the Culture of the American Indian,"² handles the Asiatic theory somewhat roughly as "in no sense demonstrated". At the same time he gives Dr. Graebner the credit of having called attention to some striking parallelisms between American and Oceanic culture, viz:—"the true plank-canoe, the use of a masticatory with lime, head-hunting and associated skull-cults, the blow-gun, the throwing-stick, the hammock and perhaps the institution of the men's house and certain peculiar masked dances and forms of masks in use in Papuan Melanesia and in America only in parts of Brazil." (But what about the Ghost-Dance in the far North-West?) Elsewhere he puts the "historical" on the same level with the "evolutionary" school:—"We have, it is hoped, left behind us the period of vague and futile theorising, without facts or with too few facts, but there are still many who believe that evolution is the master-key which will unlock all doors, and that by the amassing of more or less heterogeneous and unrelated facts from all over the world a continuous development through *definite stages of culture* may everywhere be shown. The partisans of independent development

¹ Comp. Anthropos, VI. (1912) pp. 1010-1036. Also K. Weule, Kultur der Kulturlosen, (supra) pp. 11-30, ('Ethnographische Parallelen') esp. p. 16, where the author, following Andrée, admits a cultural borrowing "within the enclosed province", though he is otherwise non-committal, and leaves the question an open one. ² In "Science", vol. XXXV. (1912) pp. 46-55. Professor Dixon is on the whole the most cautious writer on this subject, and is open to conviction.

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based on the theory of the psychological unity of the human mind, are set over against those who believe in the "complexity" of cultures, and the possibility that by analysis and comparison their historic relationships may be determined, and who would explain similarities in culture between widely separated peoples *on this basis* or *on that of convergent evolution*." Dixon therefore clearly recognises "definite stages of culture", with or without "historical relationships".³

R. H. Lowie, in an article "On the Principle of Convergence in Ethnology",⁴ draws a valuable distinction between the morphology and the teleology of a culture. To prove identity of culture there must be not only identity of form but identity of purpose in the details of the culture. He argues that many of the identities are mere "analogies" and have different meanings under different conditions of origination. But he seems to overlook the principle that many of these analogies may become identities by serving exactly the same purpose, as for instance the different kinds of throwing-sticks, loin-cinctures, platform-graves, etc. and that where the form-criterion is weak, the teleological criterion is by comparison strong, so strong in fact as to produce a "unity" of culture. Lowie's ideas, though suggestive, are too rigid and one-sided to be likely to triumph. His analysis has revealed a strong parallelism and has failed to disprove an historical connexion.⁵

As against the hesitating attitude of American writers, the bold stand taken by Prof. Nordenskjöld,—one of the greatest Americanists of the day,—comes as a welcome surprise. He says: "Without accepting the classification of Mr. Graebner, I believe that it is impossible to deny that we have, especially in South America, different elements of civilisation, which *without any doubt have come from Asia and Melanesia*. We have, for instance, the 'Sling-Bow' whose singular Asiatic-American distribution is well known. Is it possible that such a complicated instrument could have been invented independently in Asia and America? I hardly think so. We have also the Blow-pipe, the big Alarm-drum, the Pan-flute (or Mouth-organ), the star-headed Bludgeon or 'Morning-star' Club, the 'Ikattic' Tattooing-process, the Rope- or Suspension-Bridge, etc.—all of which we may find in Asia, Melanesia, and America."⁶

It is interesting to note in this connexion that Prof. W. H. Holmes, of the U. S. National Museum, has recently given utterance to a similar possibility:—

³ Criticism in *Anthropos*, VII. (1912), pp. 505-506. ⁴ In the *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. XXV (1912) pp. 24-42. ⁵ Criticism in *Anthropos* VII. (1912), pp. 1061-1062. ⁶ Erland Nordenskjöld, *Une Contribution à la Connaissance de l'Anthropogéographie de l'Amérique*, in *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, (Paris, 1912), Tome IX, pp. 24f. See also *Anthrop.* VI. (1911), pp. 1018ff. for opinions of Franz Boas and W. H. Rivers on the same subject.

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Prof. Holmes takes the following suppositional case:—"The student examining certain collections of primitive antiquities discovers that a particular form of chipped flint knife-blade occurs in America and also in the Old World, and explains the occurrence by the oft-observed fact that with a given state of culture, given needs, and given materials, men of all races reach kindred results. When, however, he observes that the blade of the knife in each case is hooked at the end, keen and highly specialised, he wonders how such correspondence could occur. Pressing his investigation further, he discovers on the two continents other knife-blades of chipped flint with curved and keen point and identical specialisation to facilitate hafting, and a further identical elaboration for purposes of embellishment, and he begins to inquire whether the people concerned in the making of these two groups of artifacts are not related or have not in some way come in close contact. His interest is intensified when he observes that the groups of closely identical blades occur in two transoceanic areas at points of nearest approach, and also not in any case in more remote localities on the respective continents, and he is astonished to discover further that the two areas involved are connected by oceanic currents and trade winds by means of which sea-going craft could make the ocean voyage from continent to continent with comparative ease. Later he finds that other objects of handicraft belonging to these adjacent areas have similar correspondences, and his previous impressions are decidedly strengthened. When going more deeply into the investigation, he learns that similar phenomena occur elsewhere, that in numerous localities on the shores of the one continent the culture traces have close similarities to those of the adjacent transoceanic areas, and no such resemblances elsewhere, and he concludes without hesitation, and concludes safely, that *contact of peoples* and *transfer of transoceanic cultures* have taken place, not only at one but at many points".⁷ This is only an ideal case, but Prof. Holmes then mentions the peculiar forms of axes, adzes, gouges, bannerstones, ceramics, pyramid-temples, etc. which he compares with Old-World models, and though he does not handle the question of stratified culture, he does not exclude a possible migration of "members of the White, the Polynesian, and perhaps even the Black races",—a strong admission, though it falls short of culture-cycles as such.⁸

These quotations will be sufficient to show that "transmission" is beginning to be talked about, that it is attracting the attention of high authorities.

⁷ W. H. Holmes, in the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XIV, No. 1. (Jan-March, 1912). Reprint, p. 33-34. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 36. For Pleistocene connexions, see articles by Dall, Gidley, Clark; for Neolithic connexions those by Hough, Hagar, et al. in the same number.

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This is brought out with unhesitating force in a very recent publication of Prof. Gudmund Hatt, the Danish expert of Copenhagen. In his analysis of the distribution of various types of arctic footwear, etc. he finds it difficult to believe that this can be explained without transmission.

"Some ethnologists like to imagine local and independent origins for cultural phenomena. Others have a natural dislike for independent origins and prefer to search for cultural centers and the ways and roads of cultural transmission. *The present writer belongs to the latter class.* This may perhaps to some extent be a matter of personal taste. Cultural phenomena of striking similarity may develop independently in different areas. But when we find a certain cultural element distributed over a continuous area, we have a right and the obligation to search for a center of origin. It is and always has been much easier to borrow an idea from one's neighbors than to originate a new idea, and *transmission of cultural elements, which in all ages has taken place in a great many different ways, is and has been one of the greatest promoters of cultural development*"⁹

Applying this to the Asiatic-American province, he says:—

"My study of arctic clothing, the results of which have been published in my book *Arktiske Skinddragter*, has strengthened the opinion that Northern Asia has been the scene of a great development of clothing types."

1. Clothing developed from the poncho type.
2. Clothing developed from the loose mantle (originally a simple deerskin).
3. Trousers developed from leggings (with triangular genital cloth).
4. Trousers developed from breechcloth (passing between the legs).
5. Boots and shoes developed from stocking and sandal ("sandal-boots").
6. Moccasins and boots developed from moccasins ("moccasin-boots").

The author then distinguishes *two large cultural waves*, which in prehistoric times swept over the northern regions. The first he calls the "Coast"- or "Eskimo-culture", which was without snow-shoes, the second the "Inland"- or "Tungusic-culture", extending from Lapland to Labrador, and which brought with it that most valuable possession of arctic races. The conical lodge and the birch-bark canoe are also mentioned in this connexion as well as the reindeer nomadism, but these are evidently far more ancient than the writer would seem to imply, though they may have reached northern Asia at a comparatively late epoch. In any case, it is noteworthy that one of our greatest authorities on prehistoric footwear should be tracing our highest arctic culture to two independent waves originating in Asia.

⁹ Gudmund Hatt, Moccasins and their relation to arctic footwear, *Memoirs of the Am. Anthropol. Assoc.* Vol. III, No. 3 (July-Sept. 1916) p. 246ff.

PARALLELISM WITH THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

Among English writers the idea of a mental parallelism is for the first time prominently defended by Dr. W. H. Rivers, who in a lecture delivered before the British Association for the Advancement of Science calls attention to "The Ethnological Analysis of Culture" as a new field of research.¹⁰ He says "It was through the combined study of social forms and of language that I was led to see that the change I had traced (between different systems of blood-relation) was not a spontaneous evolution, but one which had taken place under the influence of a blending of peoples. The combined morphological and linguistic study of systems of relationship has led me to recognise that a definite course of social development had taken place in an aboriginal society under the influence of an immigrant people". . . . "Further study made it clear that those I have called the immigrant people, though possessing these features in common, (totemism, class-system), had reached Melanesia at different times and with decided differences of culture".¹¹

"In recent speculation the idea of *mana* is coming to be regarded as having been the basis of religious ideas and practice, preceding animism as the earliest form of religion. . . . If I am right in my analysis of Oceanic culture, the Melanesian concept of *mana* is not a suitable basis for these speculations. It is certain that the word *mana* belongs to the culture of the immigrants into Melanesia, and not to that of the aborigines.¹² . . . The evidence certainly does not support the view that the concept of *mana* is more primitive than animism, for the immigrants were already in a very advanced stage of animistic religion, a cult of the dead being certainly one of the most definite of their religious institutions".¹³ *Mana* and animism are therefore looked upon as concomitant and later developments in religious history.

"I have tried to indicate that evolutionary speculation can have no firm basis unless there has been a previous analysis of cultures and civilisations now spread over the earth's surface. *Without such an analysis it is impossible to say whether an institution or belief possessed by a people who seem simple and primitive may not really be the product of a relatively advanced culture forming but one element of a complexity which at first sight seems simple and homogeneous*".¹⁴

This is the first estimate as far as I know (in English) of the religious value of the Kulturkreis, totemism and animism being regarded as distinctly later phenomena, and this purely from the ethnological or cultural data.¹⁵

¹⁰ W. H. Rivers, *The Ethnological Analysis of Culture*, in "Science" Vol. XXXIV, (1911) pp. 385-397. ¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 389. ¹² *Ibid.* p. 390. ¹³ *Ibid.* p. 390. ¹⁴ *Ib.* p. 392. ¹⁵ Comp. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of Man*, (Smiths. Rep. 1912-13, p. 553-554), Rev. John M. Cooper, DD., *The Higher Culture of Early Man* (Eccles. Review, Sept. 1914,) pp. 259-283 (an able article).

PARALLELISM WITH THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

Still more clear is the voice of Dr. F. Boas, admittedly one of the greatest authorities on North-American folk-lore and comparative mythology:—

“Our considerations make it probable that the wide differences between the manifestations of the human mind in various stages of culture may be due almost entirely to the form of individual experience, which is determined by the *geographical and social environment of the individual*. It would seem that, in different races, the organisation of the mind is on the whole alike, and that the varieties of mind in different races do not exceed, perhaps not even reach, the amount of normal individual variation in each race. It has been indicated that, notwithstanding this similarity in the form of individual mental processes, the expression of mental activity of a community tends to show a characteristic historic development. *From a comparative study of these changes among the races of man is derived our theory of the general development of human culture*. But the development of *culture* must not be confounded with the development of *mind*. Culture is an expression of the achievements of the mind, and shows the cumulative effects of the activities of many minds. But it is not an expression of the organisation of the minds constituting the community, which may in no way differ from the minds of a community occupying a much more advanced stage of culture”.¹⁶ Boas thus emphasises the psychological unity of the human race, while he admits that culture is an index of its collective manifestation; implying a collective progress, a “unified” development.

Speaking of its expression in terms of a dominant mythology, he says:—

“Perhaps the objection may be raised to my argument, that the similarities of mythologies are not only due to borrowing, but also to the fact that under similar conditions which prevail in a limited area, the human mind creates similar products. While there is a certain truth in this argument so far as elementary forms of human thought are concerned, it seems quite incredible that the same complex theory should originate twice in a limited territory. The very complexity of the tales and their gradual dwindling down to which I have referred above, *cannot possibly be explained by any other method than that of dissemination*. Wherever geographical continuity of the area of distribution of a complex ethnic phenomenon is found, the laws of probability exclude the theory that in this continuous area the complex phenomenon has arisen independently in various places, but compels us to assume that in its present complex form its distribution is due to dissemination, while its composing elements may have arisen here or there”.¹⁷

¹⁶ Journal of American Folk-lore, Vol. XIV p. 11. ¹⁷ Ibidem. Vol. IX. p. 1-11.

PARALLELISM WITH THE MENTAL DEVELOPMENT

Coming to the native North American mythology and its relation to the Old World groups, the same author makes the following characteristic summary:—

“These considerations lead me to the following conclusions, upon which I desire to lay stress. The analysis of one definite mythology of North America shows that in it are embodied elements from all over the continent, the greater number belonging to neighboring districts, while many others belong to distant areas, or, in other words, that *dissemination of tales has taken place all over the continent*. In most cases we can discover the channels through which the tale flowed, and we recognise that in each and every mythology of North America we must expect to find numerous *foreign* elements. And this leads to the conclusion that similarities of culture on our continent are always more likely due to diffusion than to independent development. When we turn to the Old World, we know that there also diffusion has taken place through the whole area, *from Western Europe to the islands of Japan, and from Indonesia to Siberia, and to Northern and Eastern Africa*. In the light of the similarities of inventions and myths, we must even extend this area along the *Northern Pacific coast of America* as far south as Columbia River. These are facts that cannot be disputed”.¹⁸ (The italics are ours).

From the greatest specialist on South-American mythology we are now assured that these similarities do not stop here, but extend far into the Cordilleran region, the southern continent being by no means isolated.

“It may be looked upon as a certain proposition”, says Paul Ehrenreich, “that the legends of both halves of the New World are organically interrelated. A whole number of South-American myths, legends, and fairy-tales are to be looked upon as the relics of a *very ancient* layer of tradition *covering the whole of the New World*. On the other hand, a *younger* peregrination and infiltration of mythical elements and motives, a corresponding uniformity of combinations, and even a complete set of well-rounded hero-stories, are demonstrably of northern, probably of *pacific coast, origin*, and can be traced at least in part into the *Eastern Hemisphere*. Old-World mythology,—this may be affirmed with certainty,—is much more copiously represented in America than has been heretofore supposed. This is not confined to the north-western region, which forms almost a mythological province with certain portions of Eastern Asia, but stretches with its numerous offshoots far into the South-American region”.¹⁹

¹⁸ Journal of American Folk-lore, Vol. IX, p. 1-11. Ibidem, p. 10. These quotations may also be found in W. I. Thomas, Source-Book, (Chicago, 1912), pp. 155, 308, 313. ¹⁹ P. Ehrenreich, Südamerikanische Mythologie (1905), p. 97-98. Comp. idem, p. 100, for ural-altaic and East-Indian connexions.

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Still more recently Prof. G. Elliot Smith, of Manchester University, England, has expressed his opinion in such clear and forcible language that we cannot help feeling there must be something back of the scheme.

In a current article in "Science" he voices his conviction that "those whose minds are still sufficiently alert to be no longer blinded by the outworn dogmas of Bastian and Tylor will be led to accept the views which I have sketched as the only possible interpretation of the facts"—"The writings of Graebner, Frobenius, Ankermann, Foy, Schmidt, and Montadon, were quite unknown to me when my conclusions were first formulated; their views and mine have nothing in common except that *both repudiate the speculations and the antiquated psychology which for far too long have been permitted to hide the truth*". Here are some of his "facts":—

"We are now sufficiently acquainted with the earliest literatures of Egypt, Babylonia, and India, to know that the association of the eagle or hawk with all these varied phenomena was not due to the reasons Mr. Brinton gives,—(natural instinct). The mingling of eagle-people with sun-people and the association of the latter with serpent-people and with the worshippers of Osiris (the controller of water) was the beginning of the *complex blending of the symbol of the sun, the serpent, the eagle, and the water*. In the Babylonian thunder-bird further attributes were added, and others again in India, the far East, and America". "*The American thunder-bird and the winged snake with deer's antlers certainly came from the Old World*". "We can trace the association of the deer with control of the waters from Babylonia along the whole Asiatic littoral, watching the symbolism gradually increase in richness and complexity as, in its passage from west to east, it blends with a variety of other elements, until eventually it emerges in the Chinese dragon, which it supplies with antlers". "In the light of the complex history and the scores of wholly chance circumstances that contributed to the making up of this Asiatic wonder-beast, is it at all credible that the Algonkin and Iroquois serpent with wings and deer's horns is an independent invention?"

He concludes by citing Prof. Hopkins as having "proved up to the hilt" the Asiatic, and more especially the Indian, derivation of many of the religious ideas of the American Iroquois, and believes that "*in the light of our present knowledge it is now possible to refer to its original source the germ of a very large number of elements in the pre-Columbian civilisation of America*".²⁰

²⁰ G. Elliot Smith, *The Origin of the Pre-Columbian Civilisation in America*, (Science, Vol. XV. March, 1917), p. 241ff.

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As all these writers are dealing with comparatively advanced, stone- or bronze-age peoples,—whether in Asia, Melanesia, or America—, it will stand to reason that if a convergence of material and mental phenomena be admitted for the earliest ages of man, as is strikingly illustrated by the earliest phenomena of negrito culture, such a convergence, if not a genetic interdependence, must, in view of the above testimonies, be also admitted for the higher peoples, and thus the idea of broad units of culture, extending in almost unbroken continuity from the earliest times is, to say the least, *powerfully suggested*,—admitted even by the supposed advocates of spontaneous development.

Combined evidence for a “stratified” development.

We are now in position to appreciate this subject in its proper perspective. It is true that the above extracts are only broad statements, showing the general homogeneity and interdependence of cultural or mythological phenomena over certain wide areas. They do not of themselves demonstrate the further claim that this development has taken place in certain well-defined and progressive periods. If now we turn to the detailed evidence as given in the preceding summary, we shall find I think that *the combined material is sufficiently weighty and sufficiently well-tested to merit the serious consideration of a scientific mind*. What there shown to be solidly evidenced,—whether from the archaeological, ethnological, or mythological point of view—, is now seen to be endorsed in its main outlines by the voice of authorities, who are not as yet identified with any definite “scheme” of development, but who see in its general tendencies a movement in the right direction, and whose more specific utterances appear to lend it a powerful corroboration. If Boas and Norden-skjöld make out such a strong case for a mythological or cultural “province” in their respective departments, if Ehrenreich is prepared to stake his reputation on certain successive waves of Asiatic and Pan-American traditions binding together whole continents in a common inheritance of folk-lore, it is surely time to turn to the period-scheme with renewed zest, and to see how beautifully these conclusions accord with what culture-specialists by profession have discovered by more detailed examination.

These opinions strongly corroborate the Period-system, of this there can be no doubt, and its further confirmation must, as I have said, be sought in the continual application of the schedule to definite and detailed instances, from which its importance and its truth may be the more completely tested.

PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

As to my own position in the matter, I wish to say once and for all, that I do not regard the above evidence as sufficiently exhaustive *in all its parts* to be able to serve as the *only* foundation upon which the stately structure of a religious system is to be reared. Even if it be allowed, as indeed it must, that most of the ethnological data are substantially accurate, their higher interpretation in terms of a corresponding mythology is not always beyond criticism, and we cannot always be sure that a given instrument, such as the 'bull-roarer', has always served the same magical purpose and no other, (Compare the modern 'whirly-gig' or 'buzzing'-toy). Then again it is risky in the present state of our knowledge to speak of all culture as having been derived from Asia, even if we include Eurasia and Australasia. Though the evidence points strongly in this direction, the time has not yet come to speak with certainty of 'Austro-Asiatic waves of influence' as excluding all native or autochthonous developments. The Arctic (and Antarctic) problem is one that is still to be worked out in many of its details, and may yet modify a universal theory of transmission. These and other uncertainties have made me hesitate to give full sanction to a theory which is still dividing the attention of the learned world, but which will require many years of patient labor and investigation to be verified in all its details, that is, as a rigid transmission-system.

On the other hand, it would be foolish not to recognise the important services that the system may render to the religious student in all those matters which seem to be well-established. These are:—

(1) The extreme simplicity of the primaeval area (a) in the nomadic manner of life, (b) in the rudimentary arts and industries, (c) in the primitive social state (d) in the general absence of totemism and of "nature-affinity" theories (e) in the personal and anthropomorphic mythology which makes man (and God?) the first and most direct object of apprehension, (see above pp. V-XV. p. XLIII).

(2) The intrusion of a later and far more complicated culture in which all these elements have become dominated by a totemic, cosmic, or astral mythology,—though the fundamental features of (1) are still to be traced.

(3) The existence of a still later and strongly animistic belt, in which the primitive elements re-appear as deities, but without the totemic relation.

As a broad system, therefore, the above schedule may be safely followed, (even down to the transitional stages), but its complete endorsement can only be attained by a detailed examination of each individual area.²¹

²¹ Further opinions on this subject in "Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien" Vol. 42 (1912) pp. (102-125) Discussion by leading experts.

APPLICATION

From these conclusions it is evident that the culture-notion admits of valuable applications. Where in former times people saw nothing but the casual and the haphazard, there now reigns the dominion of law, an orderly succession of different social and mental complexities which correspond to different "ages" or "stages" of belief. To take but one illustration,—the Australian Continent. Until recently there has been no distinction made between North, South, East, or West, except on the *a priori* grounds that this or that social system *must* have been the more primitive one. The whole continent was looked upon as a homogeneous unit, without any differentiations either as to physique, language, weapons, implements, industries, and other details. With the help of a more powerful method, it is now possible to separate at least five different layers or epochs of culture with nearly the same precision as that with which the geologist discovers layers or stratifications in the earth's crust. Thus, for instance:—

(1) There is a *Tasmanian* under-current, which is 'archaic' or nearly so. This forms the basis of a large portion of the South-Eastern maritime belt.

(2) There is a '*Boomerang*'-layer, which has been pushed into the far South-East and in which magic and a lunar mythology become prominent.

(3) There is the *Totem*-culture, which, advancing from the North-West, has taken possession of the center, and given a solar turn to the preceding.

(4) The Two-Class or '*Phratraic*' culture has invaded the continent from the North-East, advanced to the center, and driven the former into the background;

(5) and finally there is a *Neolithic* wave, which, originating (vaguely) in Eurasia has travelled via India and Indonesia into Oceania, but has affected the continent chiefly on the Northern and Eastern border, though its influence can be felt in other sections (Mana, strong Animism).

Now the value of these generalisations is apparent. With their help it is possible to dissect any given mythology into its component parts, and to determine the earlier and the later elements of the mythology with some degree of accuracy. It is true, of course, that these elements are sometimes confused and difficult to disentangle, but when we have ninety-nine per cent of totemism in one area to only one per cent in the other, it will stand to reason that the elements that make up the totemistic complex,—such as sun, moon, stars, plants, animals, in their *vital* relation to man,—must be first removed in order to reveal the pre-totemic mythology in all its purity. In this way many of the Australian areas can be successfully "expurgated."

In the following study it is therefore taken for granted that the culture-scheme above indicated is now appreciated at its proper value. This does not mean that the question of cultural origins or mythological propagation is thereby settled. Quite the contrary. It simply affirms that there is good evidence to show that the items enumerated under each section are sufficiently well-tested to serve, broadly speaking, as the basis for a classification, in which the elements of time, race, industry, and higher beliefs form as it were a "unity", whether by convergence or by actual physical transmission. That this is really the case can of course only be brought to a positive proof by a far wider analysis than the one we have just attempted. It is only through repeated applications and verifications in individual cases that a proposed "system" passes over into a demonstrated fact. This was the method by which astronomers discovered the "Ring" of 256(?) asteroids, where before they suspected nothing but an accidental display of meteoric phenomena. It is time alone that can bring forth complete certainties, whether in the field of cosmology or of sociology.

The treatment is as follows:—The material is arranged according to theological headings,—God, Creation, Paradise, etc.—and is handled under a double aspect,—(1) *Direct Analysis*:—Here are given the statistics for each area, with the chief points of criticism and their suggested solutions, (very briefly). Then (2) *Combined or Comparative Analysis*:—(a) of Antiquity, (of the areas examined), (b) of Sources, (native or imported), (c) of Interpretation, (by combination of sources),—followed by criticism and counter-criticism of recent authors, and conclusion. It has been found more serviceable to separate the direct from the comparative analysis for the simple reason that it is quite impossible to estimate this problem in its true proportions without a clear understanding (1) of the precise "state of the question" for each area, (2) of the identities, similarities, and interdependencies of religious ideas, which can *only* be discovered by a detailed comparison and collation of *all* the sources and their location in a definite "system" of primitive belief. In this manner it is hoped that the treatment will gain in clearness and focus the attention of the student upon the main point at issue;—the accumulation of evidence for the social and religious solidarity of man during the earliest epoch of his evolution that is at present known to us. The other alternative,—that of bringing the entire religious system before the reader in a single glance, offers too much material to be easily digested. The individual picture will be given first, the universal picture will be reserved for our concluding chapter.

SUMMARY

The main results of this introductory survey are therefore as follows:

(1) Primitive man belongs to the torrid zone, and more especially to the Oceanic regions of the Old World. Isolated survivals may exist elsewhere.

(2) The combined evidence of the biological, ethnological, and sociological data establishes a strong presumption, that the *proto-melanoids* of the far East are in many respects the nearest approach to the primitive type.

(3) This means that the real primitive was probably a composite,—an “*ideal*” form—, from which the three main divisions of humanity have issued, leaving the existing sub-forms (*negrito, vedda, proto-malay*) as its germinal vestiges.

(4) We are therefore justified in looking to the latter as the earliest existing representatives of the race;—as the “protomorphic” group.

(5) On no account can the primitive type be derived from any existing anthropoids, as the morphological traits of these peoples show a striking divergence from any of the simian types, as well as an equally strong convergence into an unknown type, which cannot now be reconstructed. The combined evidence, however, points to a *relatively symmetrical, high-brow form*.

(6) The *mentality* of primitives is far higher than was formerly suspected. There is no essential difference between man recent, glacial, or pre-glacial, nor is there a shred of evidence for the “*homo alalus*” or speechless man. In every case we have a “*homo sapiens*” endowed with different degrees of mental facility, depending upon the complexity of his needs and environment. In this respect the above races compare favorably with the higher peoples.

(7) The *morality* of primitives has recently been placed in a far more favorable light. There is considerable evidence to prove that the institution of *monogamy* is very generally recognised by the lowest races of man that are known to us. Among the East-Indian primitives this is especially the case. Furthermore, there is a very general absence, or at least a rarity, of gross crime, whether as theft, murder, infanticide, cannibalism, or human sacrifice. On the contrary, the lessons of honesty, charity, kindness and generosity are strongly inculcated from the tenderest years, and social and domestic relations reveal a simple, but attractive picture.

(8) *These statistics are sufficient to show that the supposed incapacity of primitive man to be the recipient or the bearer of a relatively high order of theological truth is ipso facto an untenable proposition.* It is further contradicted by the reports from the missionary field, which show that the despised primitive is as receptive of supernatural doctrines and as retentive of them, as any of his more favored or “civilised” brethren.

SUMMARY

(9) In the analysis of any given mythology, however, it is necessary to distinguish the original from the imported elements.

(10) This can only be accomplished by an ethnological and mythological analysis of culture, from which it may be shown that certain groups of ideas go hand in hand with certain definite stages of culture, and are characteristic of certain definite periods of human development.

(11) A preliminary analysis of *three* wide epochs of humanity has revealed the fact that the institution known as totemism is confined to a certain group of races, which are higher than any of the above primitives, and lower than the full neolithic and civilised races of antiquity.

(12) A further investigation has disclosed with some probability the existence of two intermediate layers, in which magic and spiritism respectively claim an important element in the religious belief.

(13) *If therefore magic and totemism, spiritism and animism, can be proved to be absent from the earliest belt, it will stand to reason that they are all later developments in religious history, and by a similar process of exclusion it may be proved that they follow one another in the order indicated, or at least are characteristic of their respective cultures.*

(14) Such a proof has been roughly outlined in the above analysis, but it presents the *results* of professional research, rather than the research itself. It is a broad summary of what has already been discovered.

(15) Detailed proof will be found in the following study, in which each of the above statements will be made good by a rigid examination of the cultural and mythological data for each successive or typical region.

(16) But without a preliminary schedule it is quite impossible to understand the bearings of this subject on the religious problem as such.

(17) In its broader tendencies the system is receiving the support of many notable experts, and is attracting the attention of all scholars.

(18) Independently of all theories, however, the facts will be able to speak for themselves, and should therefore merit our primary attention.

I have thought it useful to summarise once more the main points of our present contention, in order that the exact position of the *status quaestionis* may the more easily be recognised. We will now proceed to the examination of the religious material as such,—beginning with the lowest aborigines of Oceania, and concluding with the highest culture-peoples of North and South America.

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

CHAPTER THE FIRST

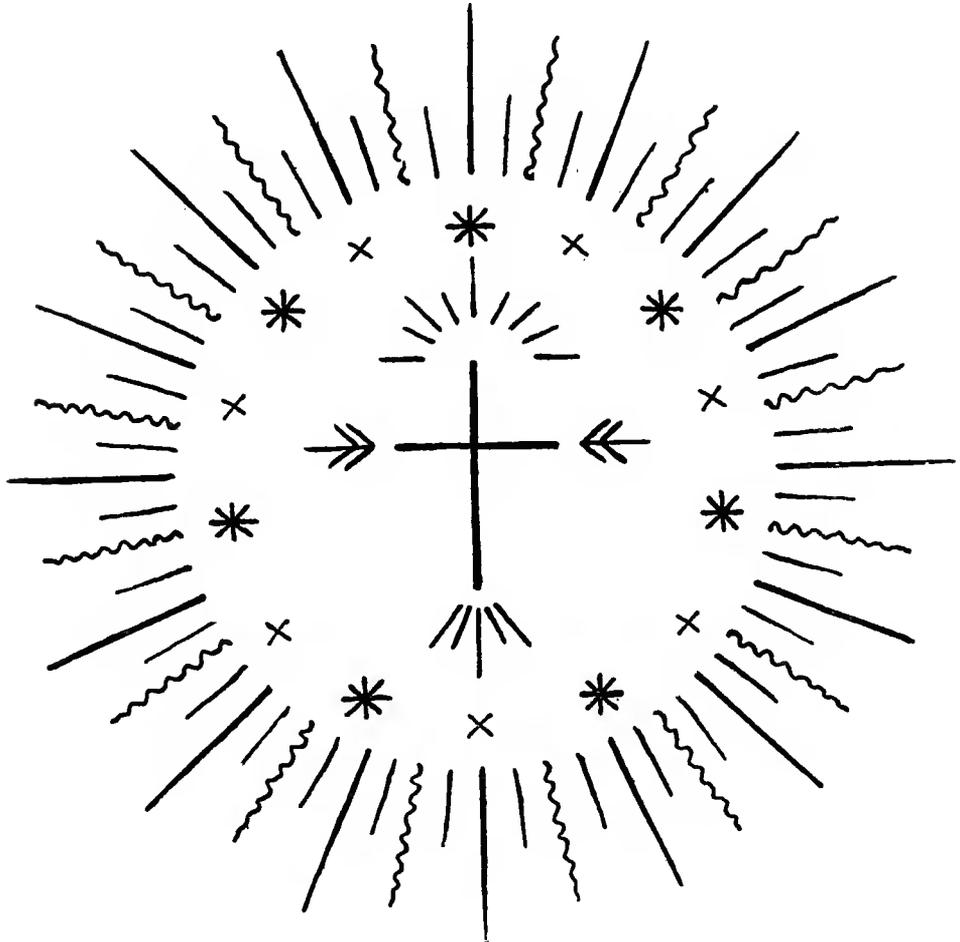
DE DEO UNO

The Savage idea of a Supreme Being
in its origin and development

—Direct Analysis—

THE OLDEST SYMBOL OF THE HUMAN RACE THE ALL-FATHER SIGN

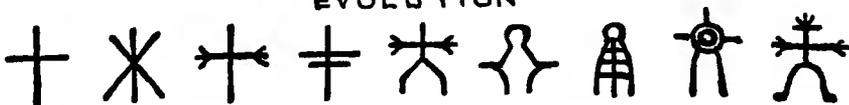
AS RECONSTRUCTED FROM THE EARLIEST EXISTING PICTOGRAPHS AND COMBINED
WITH ATTESTED LIGHT- AND SPIRIT-SYMBOLS AND WITH THE CREATION- OR BENE-
DICTION-SIGNS.



MATERIALS, SOURCES AND PICTOGRAPHIC INTERPRETATIONS IN THE FOLLOWING
PLATES, AND COMPARE

TH. DANZEL, DIE ANFANGE DER SCHRIFT (LEIPZIG, 1910) PL. I-XII. J. ASHTON, THE
HISTORY OF THE CROSS (LONDON, 1892). T. WILSON, THE SWASTIKA (WASHINGTON,
1884). W. HOFFMAN, THE BEGINNINGS OF WRITING (NEW YORK, 1896) P. 146 FF.

EVOLUTION



(HOFFMAN)

OCEANIC PRIMITIVE FORM

(A, 1) KARI—PENINSULAR REGION, MALAKKA. SEMANG NEGRITO, PROV. OF PERAK

There is a deity worshipped by the aborigines of Malakka who seems to possess the qualities of a supreme Being. His name is *Kari*, (Thunder), and is described by the natives in the following terms:—¹

He is of supernatural size and of fiery breath, but is now invisible. He has always existed, even before the creation. He knows all things, at least all things that concern man. He can do all things, His will is irresistible. He has made all things, excepting the earth and the body of man. These were made by *Ple*, a subordinate being or demiurge. He is angered by the commission of sin, but shows pity for man, and is moved by the pleadings of *Ple* on man's behalf. He is the supreme Judge of souls and the Master of life and death. He requires at times a sacrifice of blood, with a definite ritual,—human blood-aspersion—, accompanied by the burning of incense, (benzoine), and the formula,—“*Blood! I throw you up to Heaven!*”

Three questions suggest themselves with regard to these data:—

(1) Are the Semang the real aborigines of the land? (2) Can the testimony of the reporters be trusted? Is not the wording rather advanced and somewhat suggestive of foreign influence? (3) May not the supreme figure be a glorified hero, a mythological ancestor?

Let us consider these points one by one.

(1) The racial antiquity of the negritos in general has already been vindicated in the preceding pages. In the present instance there are special reasons for believing that the Semang are among the earliest inhabitants of Malakka. In the first place, they inhabit the interior of the country, and are surrounded by taller and more powerful races,—Malayan, Indonesian, etc.—which shows that they were not the invaders but the invaded, the true aborigines of the land. Then again the three peninsular races form three gradations of culture, in which the Semang occupy the lowest rung of the ladder. None of these peoples make celts, but are living in an age of wood, bone, and bamboo.² All their industries and habits of life are on the same primitive level of crudeness, and their language cannot be identified with any known dialect, but is rather a decrepid survival of the aboriginal Ocean-tongue, spoken long before the Malayans and other races had invaded the archipelago.³ All this shows that we are dealing with an aboriginal people.

¹ Points taken from W. W. Skeat, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, (London, 1906), Vol. II. pp. 177-178, 199-205, founded partly on H. Vaughan-Stevens, *Materialien zur Kenntniss der wilden Stämme auf der Halbinsel Malakka*, (Berlin, 1894), Vol. III. pp. 107-109, 117, 132ff. Cf. R. Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malaischen Halbinsel*, (Jena, 1905) pp. 932-987. W. Schmidt, *Pygmäenvölker* (Stuttgart, 1910), p. 219ff. ² Skeat, I, c. I. 53-54, 242-254, 494-496. ³ Skeat, II. p. 379ff.

OCEANIC PRIMITIVE FORM

(2) With regard to the sources, the testimony of Vaughan-Stevens is now generally accepted. The fact that most of his details have been verified,—blood-charms, burial-bamboos, wind-spirits, and much mythological matter,—“establishes”, in the words of Skeat, “a presumption in favor of his general accuracy”.⁴ This is further strengthened by the fact that in the neighboring Andaman Islands a very similar deity has been independently verified by Man and Portman, and the picture of a “Thunder-God” “of fiery breath, surrounded by Wind- or Sky-spirits is rather too specific, with all its details, to have been arbitrarily invented. It is a forcible reminder of the Thunder-Gods of South-East Australia and other primitive regions, where we have abundant evidence for its authenticity. It may therefore be presumed in default of evidence to the contrary, that the sources are trustworthy.

As to the native origin of the belief, we must remember that a striking similarity of belief among widely-separated aborigines points to a common internal, indigenous source. But apart from this, an imported religion can hardly be admitted in the present instance for the following reasons:—

First:—There are no traces of Hindoo or Western-Asiatic influences. Brahminism, with its strong metempsychosis-doctrine, finds little support among these simple people, much less the pantheism that accompanies it. The supreme Being is simply the Sky-Lord, who hurls His shafts in the thunder-storm, and to whom the soul returns at the hour of death.⁵ His Wind-spirits are the executioners of His will, not the high and mighty divinities of Western Asia, ever contending for supremacy, challenging His authority.

Second:—There are no traces of Christian or Islamic influences. Needless to say, the absence of Christological notions excludes the former, while the worship of Allah, with its distinctive rites and ceremonies, has little in common with the simple invocation of *Kari* for protection from lightning. Could the Moslems have introduced this faith without introducing some at least of the Moslem practices, more especially the general custom of circumcision? There is nothing exactly analogous to the human Blood-throwing of the Negritos among any of the civilised races of the Peninsula.⁶

Finally:—The name *Kari* cannot be derived from any known Malayan or Austroasiatic tongue, which shows that the name at least could not have been borrowed. The secrecy of the cult is also heavily against importation.⁷

If then *Kari* is both pre-Islamic and pre-Brahministic in concept, and pre-Austro-asiatic in name, it is not too much to say that He is a native divinity.

⁴ Skeat, II. 211, ⁵ Ibid. II. 209, ⁶ Ibid. II. 204, ⁷ Schmidt, I. c. 228-229.

OCEANIC PRIMITIVE FORM

(3) With regard to interpretation, the theory of a "glorified hero" is difficult to maintain, for there is positively no ancestor-worship or cult of the dead. Moreover the qualities assigned to Him can hardly be applied to spirits or saints. "He knows all things, He has made all things, He can do all things." It is true that we have a possible ancestor, but more likely a Mediator, in *Ple*. He helps to create, and is appeased by sacrifice.* There are also numerous Wind—, or Sky-spirits,—*Sentiu, Chini, Tappern, Minang*, etc. These, however, play a very subordinate role, they are all the "servants" of *Kari*, and to none, as far as we know, is a regular sacrifice offered.† But as to magic and animism, spirit and ancestor-worship, the following points should be considered in greater detail:—

The magical combs and mystical bamboos serve as protections against disease. As such they might be interpreted as charms or amulets. But the important point is, that although they serve the purpose of apparent "safeguards," they are brought into close relation with *Kari* and *Ple*, from whom in fact they derive all their efficacy. It is through the divinity that the "charm" is worked.¹⁰ This is more especially the case with the so-called "Blood-Charm" in which human blood is drawn from the shin-bone, mixed with a little water, and thrown in a bamboo-cylinder up to Heaven,—with the exclamation:—"Blood! I throw you up to Heaven! I draw blood, I draw curdled blood! Blood! I throw you up to the sun!", or words to that effect, the invocation being repeated each time that the liquid is thrown up, until all is finished.¹¹ The purpose of this strange rite is to avert the thunderbolts of the Almighty, not merely to placate the "angry skies," as some have suggested. This is proved by the fact, that *Kari*, the Thunder-God, has Himself instituted the rite, that He is its direct object. "The practice of throwing blood up to the skies", says Skeat, "is a Semang sacrifice addressed to *Kari*",¹² and the moral and personal nature of this sacrifice is also attested by Vaughan-Stevens: "*Kari* Himself makes no use of the blood thus sacrificed, but is pacified by this sign of His children's repentance and ceases to hurl His thunderbolts, and continue His complaints of their misdeeds to their creator-demiurge, *Ple*, at least until they again give Him occasion to do so".¹³ Thus the supposed "thunder-charm" is in reality an atonement-sacrifice to the supreme divinity, a beautiful ceremony, and suggestive of some symbolic meaning. It shows that Heaven can only be regained by the shedding of blood, by a human "life"-sacrifice, though the ceremony is of course only mystical, strictly symbolic. This and the analogous practices connected with the "magic flower" are in fact among the earliest forms of the *Sadaka* at present known to us,—the offering of the most precious substances, solid or liquid, to the Creator.

* Skeat, *op. cit.* II. p. 211-214. † *Ibid.* II. 180, 212, 214, 217. ¹⁰ See the Bamboo-patterns described by Skeat, I. 420ff. 436ff. where the interpretations are given, esp. Myth-bamboo, No. 1. (*Kari*). ¹¹ Skeat, II. 205. ¹² *Ib.* II. 199. ¹³ *Ib.* II. 205.

OCEANIC PRIMITIVE FORM

In like manner the Birth- and Burial-bamboos are better described as "sacramentals" than as wonder-working charms. The former sanctifies the marriage-bond very much as a wedding-ring does among ourselves,¹⁴ while the latter conducts the dying soul directly to the judgment-seat of *Kari*.¹⁵ This judgment-seat is vividly depicted in the famous Myth-Bamboo, No. 1. which, however crude in execution, brings out the supreme position of the Thunder-God in a manner that is quite unmistakable.¹⁶ It shows that all these bamboos have an inner moral relation to a personal deity.

If then the objection be raised that the alleged "divinity" is shrouded in magic, that there little personal worship connected with this belief, the answer is that the conclusion is altogether too premature, that it is not founded on a careful analysis of facts. If but few formal prayers have so far been authenticated, it is owing to our meagre knowledge as yet of the interior lives of these people, to their extreme reticence with regard to things sacred, and to the fact that they express their feelings and yearnings for the divine in actions rather than words, though informal cries for help and protection are attested in this or that instance. The above practices show clearly that *Kari* is worshipped, both by word and action, and this proves that He is a Person, not a mere force or nature-power.

But if magic is practically nil, spirit- and ancestor-worship is still less in evidence. The medicine-man is still identified with the tribal chief, an early custom,¹⁷ and he casts out not "demons" of disease, but the disease itself, which shows that the idea of demoniacal possession is not yet fully present to the mind of these savages.¹⁸ Then again the practice of spirit-feeding is quite unknown,—there is no fear of any occult ancestor returning to life in the shape of a ghost, of requiring propitiation. Authorities are strong on this point. "The Semang religion shows remarkably few traces demon-worship, very little fear of ghosts, and still less of any sort of animistic beliefs".¹⁹ Vaughan-Stevens declares in fact that they do not believe in ancestor-spirits at all, an opinion which is at least worth quoting.²⁰

From these data it may be concluded that *Kari* is a transcendent Personality, that "He possesses all the essential attributes of a Supreme Being".²¹ There is here a minimum of crime, no human life-sacrifice, and no cannibalism. Conjugal fidelity is strict, and the natives are in many respects "vastly superior to the races by whom they are likely to be absorbed". Though this is doubtless an exaggerated estimate, it will probably be admitted that in some of its more fundamental features the moral condition of the natives is not overdrawn.²²

¹⁴ Skeat, 1. c. I. 458-459. ¹⁵ Ibid. I. 460. ¹⁶ Ibid. I. 448-454. ¹⁷ Ibid. II. 196. ¹⁸ Ibid. II. 200, 229. ¹⁹ Ibid. II. 181. ²⁰ Ibid. II. 181. ²¹ Schmidt, 1. c. p. 225, ²² Skeat, 1. c. I. 524, and compare the extracts given above, p. XXXVIII.

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If further evidence be desired on this subject, we might call attention to a few points in the mythology and legends of the Malakkan Negritos which throw an interesting sidelight on the nature of these beliefs.

The statement that *Kari* made all things is in itself a vague proposition unless some details are given as to *how* He made them, to what extent this action was a personal and direct process. Now, not only is *Ple* clearly a subordinate being, but *Kari* produces the entire universe by His word, as it is distinctly stated that He "commanded" *Ple* to complete the work.²³ This takes place in successive periods, during which Sky and Wind-spirits, Heaven, Earth, and Underworld, are all pictured as the result of a divine action, symbolised by the powerful metaphor,—“His Breath”.²⁴ Moreover He has prepared a Paradise for man, known as the “Island of Fruits” or the “Rising Land” where He stations the first human couple, *Ayer* and *Tanah*, meaning “Water” and “Earth”, a suggestive nomenclature.²⁵ Though *Ple* produces the body of man,—*Kari* inspires the soul of man directly,—“*Kari* Himself gave them souls”.²⁶ These grow on the Paradise-Tree, and are sent out by Him to the womb of the expectant mother in the form of the “Soul-Bird,”—here the Argus-Pheasant—, which bird is then religiously eaten by the mother as a sacred obligation.²⁷ There are also distinct echoes of a state of primitive innocence and immortality, during which man offered up the first-fruits of the earth to His Creator, which we may regard as the earliest form of the *Paradisaic Sacrifice*,—the command to abstain from certain fruits,—the Palm, the Banana (?),—during certain seasons, and this under penalty of death. The common Malakkan tradition has it that originally men were destined to live forever,—“there was no pain or sickness there”—, but that through the growing wickedness and disobedience of man,—evidently connected in some way with the breach of a divine command,—*Kari* decreed their death, and it was only through the intercession of *Ple*, the “mediator”, that the entire race was not extinguished.²⁸ “*Let men die like the Banana, and leave their offspring behind*”, runs the Mantra legend, and stories of a great Deluge are also in circulation.²⁹ Nevertheless there is still hope. At death each soul is brought before the judgment-seat of *Kari*, and, according to its merits, is either condemned to a boiling lake, or admitted to the joys of *Kari*'s Fruit-Paradise.³⁰

These items make it more clear than ever that what we have here is not a loose bundle of nature-myths, but a pure theology, with a personal God in the center. It is the story of a heavenly Father, of an exacting Judge, even if the phantastic forms under which He appears are equally good evidence that we are here in presence of a simple-minded and strongly anthropomorphic mythology.

²³ Skeat, II. 211. ²⁴ Idem, II. 207, 212. ²⁵ Idem, II. 207, 336. ²⁶ Idem, II. 211. ²⁷ Idem, II. 215ff. ²⁸ Idem, II. 211, 292. ²⁹ Idem, II. 336ff. ³⁰ Idem, II. 209.

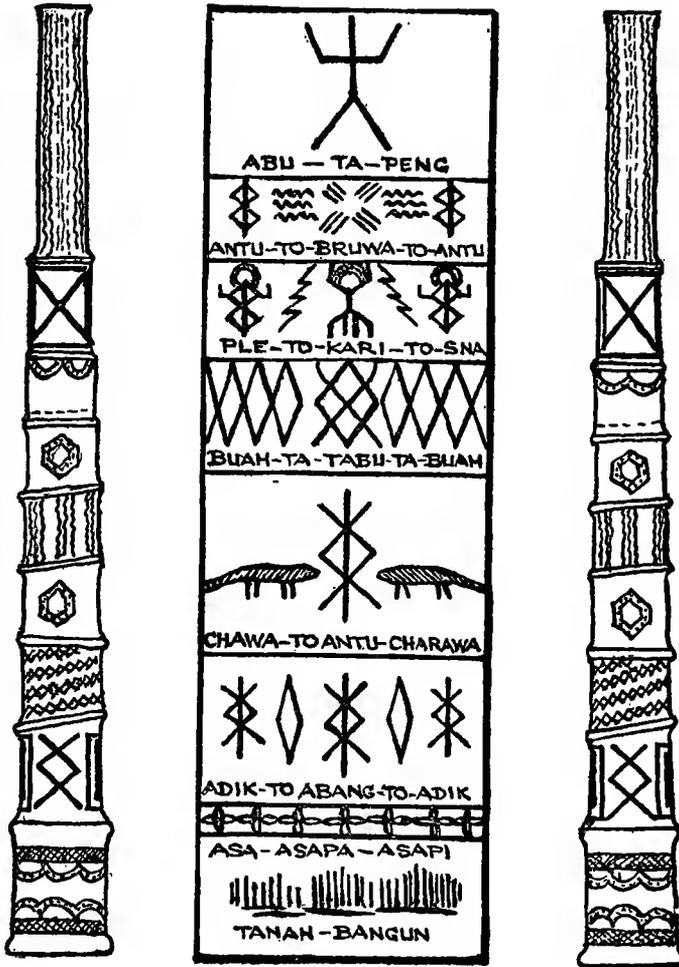
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As this is one of the earliest and possibly purest regions of Negrito culture,—being paralleled only by certain sections of Central Africa and possibly Tasmania,—it may not be amiss to call attention to the main points of this controversy in so far as they affect the question of Negrito beliefs in general, and of which this is a good average specimen.

It will be seen that the main objection to the authenticity of these beliefs is that the races in question are not primitive, that their ideas are probably borrowed, and that, even if native, they fall short of being theistic, they are too much mixed up with magical and other obscure practices to be of any theological value. As to the first point,—enough evidence has surely been given to show that of all the known peoples these are the lowest and least developed exemplars of the human family and in this case they are unquestionably the aborigines of the land. As to a borrowing from outside sources, anything like a recent borrowing from high cultures is very generally ruled out,—there are no traces of any such influence,—though in some few cases the cast and color of the mythology, with a slightly higher grade of industry, may demand some contact with a more advanced wave of civilisation, but this only in extremely remote times. Such influences may conceivably affect the form and even the content of the legends, they may even obscure and obliterate the original picture,—but of this in the present instance there is hardly a sign. *The Malakkan Negritos are among the least contaminated, and their mythology can be left to stand as it is.* It shows no traces of importation from any source other than that of the common Oceanic tradition, which we have every reason to believe embodies the most ancient and unadulterated tradition of the human race,—speaking of course relatively, as far as our present sources of knowledge can carry us. Finally, the picture presented by the supreme Divinity is anthropomorphic and undeniably childlike, but this is all in favor of His personal character and His remote antiquity. Nay more, the supposed “magical” practices resolve themselves into the use of certain articles, (bamboos, etc.), which are believed to be sacred, and to protect the wearer from harm, not by their own hidden virtue, but by the fact that the Divinity has ordained them, that He alone operates through them. They are in a certain sense “sacramentals”. Thus magic in the absolute sense can hardly be said to exist, and the absence of any animistic or spiritistic beliefs, makes the picture of a “Supreme Person,” tower head and shoulders above all wind-spirits and demiurges, however sacred,—a transcendent Being. With this the social and ethical data are in striking accord.

THE AGE OF BAMBOOS AND OF STRAIGHT-LINE PATTERNS FAC-SIMILE OF A "CHARM-TUBE"

AS USED BY THE ABORIGINES OF MALAKKA AND FOUND IN SIMILAR FORM OVER LARGE SECTIONS OF THE EQUATORIAL BELT, WHERE + OR X IS FUNDAMENTAL FOR MAN OR SUPER-MAN (GOD).



SUPPOSED INTERPRETATION

"THE FATHER ON HIGH—WITH HIS SKY- AND WIND-SPIRITS—JUDGES MANKIND WITH THUNDER AND LIGHTNING—IN THE GARDEN OF FRUITS—FILLED WITH WILD ANIMALS—PROTECTED BY GUARDIAN SPIRITS—AND RISING IN SPLENDOR OUT OF THE EASTERN SEA." SEE MYTH-BAMBOO NO. 1. SKEAT-BLAGDEN, PAGAN RACES OF THE MALAY PENINSULA, (LONDON, 1906), VOL. I. P. 448-484, AND COMPARE THE DESIGNS AND PATTERNS ON THE FOLLOWING PLATES AND THE CONTEXT OF THE MYTHOLOGY.

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(A, 2) PENG—THE SENOI-SAKAI TRIBES OF MALAKKA. PROV. OF PERAK AND SELANGOR.

Adjoining these wild jungle-folk, and in some cases amalgamating with them, we find an equally crude people, the Sakai or Senoi, among whom the deity *Peng*, (Father, Master), occupies a very similar position, to wit—

He is of supernatural size and invisible. He is immortal. He seems to be omniscient, as He invariably knows when men do wrong. Though not definitely mentioned as Creator, He presides over the existing universe, having the power of life and death over the human race and the spiritual world alike. He appears as the champion of man against both demons and wild beasts. He is angered by the commission of certain acts, but may also show mercy. He is the supreme and final Judge of souls, which are cleansed and prepared for Him by a mother-mediator,—*Lanyut*—, who washes their souls in a purifying water. His punishments are inflicted by means of His agents, the demons, but man is described as appealing to Him for help in difficulties. He requires a sacrifice of blood, fruits, and incense, which, though apparently directed to "spirits", are indirectly offered to Him as a prophylactic sacrifice,—"*Accept this bowl of blood we offer!*"¹

With regard to the ethnic position of the Sakai and the authenticity of this belief, the following points should be noted:—

(1) These people share with the negritos the honor of belonging to the earliest groups of mankind that we know of. Though of taller stature, they are characterised by a social and industrial culture almost equally low. With them they form the background of the pre-Malayan population of the peninsula, and as such are entitled to be called the joint-aborigines of Central Malakka. But though Semang and Sakai are intimately inter-related, this relation is more striking on the cultural than on the physical side. For although their wild life and crude industry is almost equally undeveloped, there are reasons for believing that the long wavy hair of the Sakai-Toala-Vedda group is nearer to the supposed foetus-type of the real primitive than the short beady curls of the negrito, even though their stature be slightly higher. This makes the study of the above races a most interesting one. In looking into the face of a Senoi, we feel irresistibly that the traditional picture of the father of humanity has been brought perceptibly nearer, that we are in presence of something noble, something comparatively dignified.

¹ Points taken from Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II. pp. 179, 234ff. Comp. Vaughan-Stevens, *op. cit.* II. 131ff. Martin, *op. cit.* p. 984-985. Dr. Paul Sarasin, "Über religiöse Vorstellungen bei den niedrigsten Menschenformen", II. International Congress of Religions (Basle, 1904) pp. 124-140, emphasising high morality but "obscure" (?) religious beliefs, (cult of the dead).

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(2) According to Skeat "an analysis of the character of the Sakai 'God', (*Tuhan, Pirman, Peng*), shows that he occupies very much the same place in the Sakai cosmogony as is occupied by *Kari* and *Ple* in that of the Semang", and "that the real difficulty in treating Semang and Sakai religion will be to discover their points of difference".² If this is correct,—and the main traits of the mythology seem to bear it out,—the above remarks on the native origin of the Semang beliefs apply with equal force to the Sakai, they embody in substance the pre-Malayic and pre-Brahministic belief, and the student is therefore referred to chief points above enumerated, with a discussion of the sources. Like *Kari*, *Peng* is a supreme Sky-Lord, he is surrounded by a multitude of sky, wind, or earth-spirits, he is certainly the ruler if not the creator of man, and good and bad alike return to him as their judge, the office of *Lanyut* being paralleled to some extent by that of *Ple*, the supposed mediator. This together with the existence of very similar if not identical practices, the use of "bamboos" with cryptic allegorical inscriptions, the consecration of birth, life, and death, by equally distinctive ceremonies, the general absence of totemism, and still more of any strongly Islamic or Hindoo rites, among which circumcision, polygamy, organised asceticism, elaborate pilgrimages and the like, form an important if not an essential constituent,—all this shows that the religion of the aborigines could hardly have been borrowed from the latter *in globo*, even if some few features might have filtered through in this or that particular instance.

We are therefore justified in treating the main body of this tradition as substantially indigenous, a consideration which gathers additional strength when we consider that the linguistic evidence tends to support it. For it is precisely in the all-important matter of the name of the divinity that an outside borrowing becomes difficult to maintain. For if *Tuhan* is suspiciously Malayan, and *Pirman* is evidently the Arabic *Firman*, the designation of *Peng* as the "High Father" of the Sakai seems to be peculiar to this lower stratum of the population and to re-echo the earliest designations for fatherhood that we know of,—*Pa, Papa, Papang, Pang, Peng*, etc.,—an inversion or reduplication of the still more primitive *Ap (Ab), Apa (Aba), Apu (Abu)*, which is the universal root for "father" in all ages. This and the general coherence of the mythology, revealing many non-Malayan as well as non-negrito expressions, points to a parallel, independent, prehistoric tradition. It will gain additional force when we consider that the identical expression, *Peng, (Pen-ya-long)*, is found also in Borneo and other portions of the Indian archipelago.³

² Skeat, *op. cit.* pp. 178, 195. ³ The term "Peng" is old-Malayan for "father" and may be recognised in the expressions *penghulu, penglim, penyalong*, etc. for "Chief". See Blagden, *apud* Skeat, Vol. II. p. 557 (for *peng*), p. 598 (for *pa, abu, &c.*).

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(3) This will become increasingly clear the moment the beliefs and practices of these people are studied in their native dress.

Thus *Peng* is said to live in the high heavens, where he is served by the wind-spirits and by the female giantess, Granny *Lanyut*, the "Mother-Long-breasts", whose office of purifier has been mentioned above. That these are dependent beings created by Him alone may be certainly inferred from the fact that "*Peng* is able to annihilate them, and can also increase their numbers, but nobody else can kill them",—an evident proof of omnipotence. These beings are partly helpful, partly malignant, but no demon, not even the tiger-spirit, is allowed to afflict them *without His permission*,—an important point, more especially as these visitations are looked upon as a punishment for wrong-doing, for rebellion against His laws.⁴ That these laws may be distantly connected with a first-fruit taboo is suggested by the paradise-legend and the modern custom of still reserving certain fruits on certain occasions. There is in fact an "Island of Fruits" prepared by *Peng* for the first couple, *Ba-lut* and *Wa-lut*, where "man and beast lived on fruits alone, and every tree and plant bore sweet and wholesome fruit", but in the sequel the power of the apes and demons proved too strong, half the trees were turned sour, and *Peng* ordered them to slay the wild beasts for food and taught them the art of hunting and the use of the so-called "bamboos".⁵

Now these "Charm-Bamboos", whether for birth, marriage, or burial, are here distinctly traced to *Peng* as their originating source; it is the "Father-God" that has instituted the sacred rites, the famous "Seven-Bamboo" actually containing the marks of his celestial hands, imprinted or incised on the surface.⁶ Their function is to avert disease, to dispel the harmful demons, to procure supernatural favors at least negatively, by warding off contrary evils. "*Accept this bowl of blood we offer!*"—such is the oblation formula among the Blandas or mixed-blood Sakai,⁷ and the throwing-up of the blood (or water), the burning of incense (in a coconut-shell), the numerous lustrations, petitions, and votive-ordeals that frequently accompany this rite reveal a strong sense of religious dependence, and are none the less theistic because their primary object seems to be to expel the demons. For it is only by the power of *Peng* that the demons exist; he has willed their expulsion, and their suppression means his glorification, an indirect act of worship. If, then, the sacrifice is seemingly transferred to the "devil," we have good reasons for believing that it is precisely this mixture of blood with the more advanced peninsular tribes which is directly responsible for this largely negative cult.⁸

⁴ Skeat, op. cit. II. pp. 239, 242. ⁵ Idem, II. p. 234, Vaughan-Stevens, III. 128ff. ⁶ Skeat, I. 475. II. 235 (Bamboo markings). ⁷ Skeat, II. 297. ⁸ Idem, II. 241-289.

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Again, it is the sugar-palm and the cocoa-nut, and the areca-palm that figure as the most important "life-giving" trees, their fruits and juices possess the power of healing all diseases, and it is through the application of their leaves to the sick and dying that the most important cures are worked, the areca-leaf being regarded as specially efficacious.⁹ These and the celebrated love-plant, the *chinduai*, whose delicate blossom is crushed in water and oil and then consumed by the patient, are remotely connected in the popular belief with the days of man's innocence, their efficacy depending in each case on the will of the Almighty, for "if *Peng* intends a man to be injured, there is no remedy against it".¹⁰ It is the "World Eagle" that protects the secret of life, the big Dragon that overwhelms the earth with a deluge of water, and at death the soul is washed by Mother *Lanyut* in the purgatorial waters and conducted over the Paradise-bridge, where if irredeemable it will fall into a boiling lake, if righteous and repentant, it will pass over to the "Island of Fruit-Trees". Here they wait till *Peng* sends them a friend of the same sex, to show them the way to the "Husks of the Clouds".¹¹

Throughout the analogy with the Semang-system is apparent, the wording and sequence of events is very similar, though a few names and items seem to postulate an independent tradition. But if magic and demonism appear to be more pronounced, we must remember that Malayan shamanism is rampant throughout the peninsula, that it must have affected these tribes in particular instances, but that the wording and content of the mythology and most of the native customs are as underivable from Malayan as from supposed Christian(!) sources. Where is the evidence of any such influence?

Finally, the moral nature of this divinity may be inferred from the character of the natives as we actually find them. "They are a most peaceful race, affectionate and faithful both to their family and friends, and never make war on each other or go in for any sort of inter-tribal fighting" (Skeat). "They are most kind and simple-hearted, always anxious to assist any white man that happened to be in want of assistance. In their natural state they are given neither to lying nor cheating" (Hale). "Thanks to their honesty, they can do without police" (De Morgan). "Murder is exceedingly rare, theft equally rare" (Idem). "Divorce, though permitted, was extremely rare" (Lias). "The punishment for adultery was death" (Maxwell). "None of these races are cannibals, and there is no proof at all of past cannibalism".¹²

⁹ Skeat, op. cit. II. 257ff. ¹⁰ Idem, II. 261, 256. ¹¹ Idem, II. 235-240. ¹² Idem, I. pp. 527-529, giving the combined evidence, also I. 501. II. 285.

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(A, 3) TUHAN—THE MANTRA-JAKUNS OF MALAKKA—, PROV. OF SELANGOR

As the last of the pagan peninsular races the "savage Malays" of southern Malakka deserve at least a passing notice. Of their native divinity,—*Tuhan di Bawah*—, a few important facts may be gathered:—

This being is a "Lord of the Underworld" and a creator of the earth and man. He seems to be omniscient and all-powerful, as he knows the actions of man and is capable of destroying him. He is guardian of human destiny and to some extent a divine judge. He has a son or demiurge, *To Entah*, to whom he has entrusted the care of the race. He has appointed certain sacrificial observances, chiefly against demons, among which the blood-throwing ceremony is still practiced among a section of the aborigines.

A few remarks on the nature of these beliefs will be sufficient.

(1) The Jakuns are the earliest sleek-haired brachicephalic race that we know of. Together with the Semang-Sakai they belong to the lowest group of pygmoids in existence, and are undoubtedly the fore-runners of the historic Malayan family. Their arts and industries, though considerably above the negrito average, are yet sufficiently undeveloped to merit the title of "pre-lithic", and their distinctive weapon is the bamboo-gun or "blowpipe", which they have distributed over large portions of the Indian archipelago. Thus they form the third member of the aboriginal group, and should be judged accordingly.¹

This makes a borrowing of religious ideas on the face of it unlikely, and is out of harmony with the tone of the mythology, which shows many more analogies with the preceding than with the civilised Islamic system. "*Tuhan di Bawah* has made the earth, and lives beneath it (sic). He dwells beneath the land of *Nayek* and by his power supports all above him. He is the Father of *Ayer* and *Tanah*, the parents of the race, who came from a place called 'Rising Land' in the sky, which sky was 'originally very near low and near to the earth'. Here there was no death but an abundance of fruits, and *Tuhan*, seeing that mankind multiplied too rapidly (through eating the fruit), turned half of them into trees. The pleadings of *Tu Entah* "The Lord knows who" are of no avail,—“Let men die like the banana”—is *Tuhan's* verdict. In the sequel *To Entah* arranges the climate, fixes the divisions of time, makes the earth habitable, and saves the race from the deluge. At death the soul is judged by *Tuhan*, and the good are carried to *Tuhan's* Fruit-Island.²

¹ Skeat, *op. cit.* I. 66, 304ff. ² *Idem*, II. 290-376, esp. 319-348 (on the Mantra), founded partly on D. F. Hervey, *The Mantra Traditions*, J. R. A. S. No. 10, p. 189ff. & H. Borie, *Notice sur les Mantras*, transl. by P. Bourien, in *Transactions of Ethnological Society of London*, vol. III. p. 72ff.

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In the parallel tradition of the Benua, it is *Pirman* (Master), who made the world and everything that is visible. He dwells in the sky and is himself invisible, and can only be approached through the mediumship of *Jewa-Jewa*. All spirits derive their power from Him.³ Among the Besisi, again, it is *Tuhan* to whom they pray to release their moon-ancestors from Island of Fruits, and Gaffer "*Engkoh*" (or Jongkoh) who is the guardian of Paradise. Here again we have the *Chinduai*, or Love-Plant, as well as the "Yearning Bamboo", the sacred Cocopalm, and other distinctively native touches.⁴ Throughout the wording of the creation-legends, with their apes and tortoises, their solar and stellar-myths, their rising-lands and fruit-palaces, their numerous guardians, and above all their almost universal mediators or "saviors", makes a derivation from Mussulman sources impossible to maintain, even if individual expressions,—Tuhan, Pirman, etc., may be linguistically traced to outside influences. In every case the "Lord-Master" is intimately interwoven with the rest of the folklore; they form an indivisible unit. "The Mantra", says Skeat, "have not to any great extent acquired any of the Malayan ideas respecting the form of the earth, the motion of the sun, etc." "The Malays" (like Mr. Logan) "were not aware, either that the Benua believed in God, or that the magician's power was considered to be derived from Him and entirely dependent on His pleasure".⁵

On the contrary, it is far more likely that the natives have borrowed many of their superstitious practices (as well as their less-pleasing morals) from the Malays, their Poyangism, their sacrificial "trays", their developed magic, finding its duplicate in the Islamic shamanism of the day, while the theistic part of the belief, with a savior-demiurge, grows more and more pronounced the more we penetrate into the more isolated sections of this region,—the "thunder-fruit" and the "father-mother"-god being most conspicuous among the orang-utan or "wild men of the woods", as we have seen. On the other hand, the expression "Lord of the Underworld" marks a decided degeneration, and reveals with some force the contact with demonism, with the ghost-god,—only to be expected. This is further illustrated by the ethical data. For although "crimes are very rare", "theft unknown", "cannibalism unheard of", polygamy and divorce have eaten their way into the social fabric, though even here "I do not remember a single case in which a Besisi had more than one wife". The general decency of these people, even if occasionally marred by contrary examples, is an argument in favor of their simple if crude religious beliefs.⁶

³ J. R. Logan, *The Orang-Benua of Johor*, Journ. Ind. Archipel. Vol. I. p. 283ff. Cp. Skeat, II. 349. ⁴ G. C. Bellamy etc. apud Skeat, II. 298-319. ⁵ Skeat, II. 319, 353. ⁶ Idem, I. 512. II. 76, 285.

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(B) PULUGA—ANDAMAN ISLANDS MINCOJI NEGRITO, (SOUTH ANDAMAN)

Adjacent to the coast of Malakka, in the Andaman Islands, there is a deity worshipped who is described in very similar terms. His name is *Puluga*, (Thunder). Of Him it is said:—¹

Though His appearance is like fire, He is now-a-days invisible. He was never born and is immortal. By Him the world and all objects, animate and inanimate were created, excepting only the powers of evil. He is regarded as omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of men's hearts. He is angered by the commission of certain sins,—falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, wax-burning,—while to those in pain or distress He is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief. He is the Judge from whom each soul receives sentence after death, and is said to affect their course of action in life. He has instituted a sacrifice,—the offering-up of the first-fruits of the season,—which is implied by the command not to partake of the said fruits during a portion of the rainy season. The penalty for this in remote times was said to be death,—the deluge.

The following difficulties might suggest themselves with regard to this subject. (1) The antiquity of this region is not incontestable, the industries are somewhat advanced. (2) The sources are scanty and Indo-Malayan influences not impossible. (3) The picture is tarnished by two defects which seem to be serious, to wit:—There is strong anthropomorphism; *Puluga* eats and drinks, has wife and family, knows things "while it is day", gives way to anger, etc. There is also an incipient dualism; The spirits of evil are apparently self-created, and *Puluga* is powerless to control them,—they seem eternal. (4) *Puluga* is in no sense divine, but rather a female spider or possibly a lizard, without cult and without sacrifice.

These difficulties are more apparent than real, but as they seem to be of considerable weight, the following considerations may not be out of place:—(1) The Andamanese belong to the Archaic belt, of purely Negrito stock (p. VI). As such they are real primitives, even if some of their industries are slightly above the Negrito level,—painting, pottery, canoe-building. These exist only in rudimentary form and are believed to be for the most part indigenous. The natives cannot work stone, but employ chips and flakes in the natural state.² The supposed palaeoliths found in the kitchen-middens are really quartz-eoliths, and the "celts of tertiary sandstone" the rudest of scrapers.³

¹ Points taken from E. H. Man. The original inhabitants of the Andaman Islands (London, 1883), pp. 85, 89ff. Cp. M. V. Portman, A History of our Relations with the Andamanese, (Calcutta, 1899) Vol. I. p. 44-45. Schmidt, l. c. p. 193-219. ² Man, l. c. p. 160ff. ³ Man, p. 161. Stoliczka, Notes on the Kjökken-Möddings of the And. Islids.

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(2) The convergence between the testimony of Man and Portman, a testimony paralleled by Skeat and Vaughan-Stevens in Malaysia, is a strong argument for its authenticity. A "Thunder-God", "of fiery breath", and surrounded by Wind- or Sky-spirits, agrees too closely with what has been found in other Negrito areas to have been invented or borrowed. We cannot of course exclude all outside influences. But that these influences must have been extremely remote, is evident from the fact that there are not the smallest vestiges of any such influence as having proceeded from any of the higher cultures, whether of historic or pre-historic times. Thus *Puluga* is pre-Islamic, because there has never been the shadow of Mussulman influence in the islands and the entire mythology and practice of the Andamanese excludes it. He is pre-Christian, because it is inconceivable that any missionaries could have landed among the people without leaving some impress of a Christian soteriology on their minds or in their language,—and this is here notoriously absent. He is pre-Brahministic, because pantheism and metempsychosis agrees very ill with the simple personal position of *Puluga* and His direct lordship over His creatures, who return directly to Him as their Judge. He is pre-Shaministic because there are not the least traces of spirit- or ancestor-worship in any part of the islands, and the figure of *Puluga* is supreme, singular, and unique, not sharing His authority with any other gods or demigods of Asiatic or Indian fame, even though the wicked spirits are eternally opposed to Him. Thus it is next to certain that the idea of divinity could not have been borrowed from any of the Central or Western-Asiatic religions. Both Man and Portman bear witness to this. "It is extremely improbable that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries" says Man,⁴ and he calls attention to the want of any tradition, to the absence of any traces, and to the existence of parallel cases elsewhere. Similarly Portman;—"The anthropological professors are very anxious to prove that the Andamanese must have derived their word for, and their idea of, a Deity from some of the more civilised nations, etc., but I cannot agree with it,"⁵ and he points to the immense antiquity of the race, to their seclusion and innate conservatism, and the absence of any vestiges, cultural, linguistic, or otherwise. As the greatest authority on Andamanese history, these words are significant. They show that people of unprejudiced minds and of considerable erudition have openly acknowledged the existence of native divinities independently of "civilised" sources, even though their physical and moral attributes may seem astoundingly high.

⁴ Man, 1. c. p. 88-89. ⁵ Portman, A History, Vol. I. p. 45.

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(3) But while the remote antiquity of this cult seems unquestionable, it is not impossible, and indeed quite probable, that some outside influences in the early dawn of humanity may have invaded the islands in a slightly later period of development. This is suggested by the fact that some of the Andamanese industries are rather above the average of Negrito culture, and that *Puluga* Himself has been mixed up with a lunar mythology which, we have every reason to believe, is a later accretion derived from continental sources, as witness its entire absence in other Negrito regions,—Malakka, Tasmania, Central Africa. This mythology affects the form rather than the content of the legends, but it has modified to some extent the primitive picture of divinity by introducing unworthy conceptions of the divine.

Thus while the “eating and drinking” of *Puluga* may be described as a harmless metaphor, and His “anger” is generally an ethical anger at the sins of men, *Puluga’s* “wife and family”, and the expression “to know things while it is day” reveals the inroads of an undoubtedly later circle of ideas, as nearly all the Negrito divinities are unmarried figures and are generally said to “know *all* things” without qualification; they have no connexion with day and night themes; with the revolution of the heavens. Moreover the description of *Puluga’s* wife and family as the “mother eel, with black daughters and white sons” is believed to be a lunar complex, (bright and dark moon),⁶ and the association of *Puluga* with the spider in certain sections of these islands, shows without a question, as we shall presently see, that He has come in contact with the typical theme of the Boomerang culture, the “Spider-Moon”.

Be this as it may, the intrusion of later notions, with or without the moon-motif, is clearly revealed by the ethnological data, and this no doubt will account for the fact that the evil spirits have become independent of *Puluga*, the first and only case of dualism among the entire Negrito cycle. But even if the report be left to stand as it does, the spirits of evil, though self-created, are powerless to create, they have no theistic attributes, and, though greatly feared, they are neither obeyed nor in any sense worshipped or appeased. *Puluga* is in this respect a unique Being.

If then a later wave of culture has made some inroads, it cannot be said that magic itself is at all strongly developed. “No charms except the *Chauga-ta*, or Bone-necklace, are employed in the hope of averting or curing illness. After recovery no ceremonies of purification take place”.⁷ The “dreamers” are not a fixed cast, but must earn their reputation”.⁸

⁶ Comp. Man, op. cit. p. 90. Also Schmidt, Pygmäenvölker, p. 211-212. ⁷ Man, 1. c. p. 95.
⁸ Man, 1. c. p. 29.

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As to animism and spirit-worship, no organised worship of ancestors or of the forces of nature can be said to exist. "There is no trace to be found of the worship of trees, stones, or other objects, and it is a mistake to suppose that they adore or invoke the celestial bodies".⁹ Altogether, it seems more natural to suppose that *Puluga* is a primeval Heaven-God, whose voice is the thunder, and whose shafts the lightning, but whose image has been obscured in parts by the intrusion of a somewhat later phase of belief.

(4) This phase can be traced throughout the secondary, more advanced Oceanic region, and down into the heart of South-America,—Central Brazil. It consists in bringing the supreme figure into connexion with the waxing and waning moon, and identifying Him in some way with the spider, the lizard, or some other mysterious animal. Thus *Amaka*, *Quat-Marawa*, *Daramulun*, and *Kamushini* are all spinning spiders surrounded by a strong lunar mythology, (q. v.), and they one and all belong to a slightly higher stage of culture, compared with the Malakkan, Tasmanian, and Central-African divinities, where this theme is conspicuous by its absence. This is a clear proof that they are a later development, that the original Heaven-God has no connection with animal or astral symbols. Now this is precisely the case in the Andaman Islands. *Puluga*, the personal Heaven-God, rules supreme in South-Andaman, even if His picture is slightly tarnished by sexual and unworthy themes. But in the neighboring North and Little Andamans we find *Biliku*, the female spider, and *Oluga*, the female lizard, both usurping the position of the Thunder-God. Now these are precisely the areas that are more advanced, where we have reasons to suspect an outside influence. (Bark-cincture, Round-house, Communal-dwelling, Platform-couches, Out-rigged Canoes, &c). This has robbed the North and Little Andamanese of the clear notion of a Creator, but has left *Puluga* in exclusive possession of the center,—a supreme, personal Being, worshipped in the best sense, by the sacrifice of obedience and of the first-fruits of the earth.

Such is the true picture of *Puluga*, which has forced Mr. Man to exclaim: "It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs approximate so closely to the true Faith concerning the Deity that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of 'God' with an initial capital". This agrees with the ethical data. The marriage-tie is strict, and there is a notable absence of gross crime, infanticide, cannibalism, or human sacrifice.

⁹ Man, 1. c. p. 95. ¹⁰ Compare A. R. Brown, in "Folk-Lore" (Sept. 1909), pp. 257-271.
¹¹ See Man, pp. XXIV, 30. Portman, 1. c. I. 13, 40, 45-46. II. 721-726, 825-826. Also B. Kloss, In the Andamans and Nicobars, (New York, 1903), pp. 28-43. Schmidt, 1. c. pp. 204-210, (lexical analysis). ¹² Man, p. 90, note. Cp. Portman, I. 44.

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Yet even with these concessions it may still be objected that the absence of any distinct cult of the alleged divinity, of any personal invocations of his name, of any cries for help, protection, and the like, makes it increasingly doubtful whether he can be regarded as in any sense a living, personal divinity. This is a plausible objection, but I have already called attention to the fact that observations of this nature are extremely difficult to make by reason of the shyness and timidity of the natives and their reserve on all matters of a private and religious nature. It is even remarkable that enough should have leaked out of their beliefs to supply two white men with the skeleton at least of a religious creed. That this is the sum-total of all their beliefs and practices seems hardly credible, even though formal prayers in our modern sense are largely at a discount, nor should we expect to find them. But apart from our ignorance of the interior side of the religion, the numerous legends and some of the practices of the Andamanese leave no room for doubt that *Puluga* is a real force and power in their lives.

Thus the Creation-legends speak of *Puluga's* Sky-Palace where he reigns with his numerous family, with the *Morovin* or Sky-spirits, and with his only son, *Pichor*, a kind of mediator or archangel. As in Malakka, he is the Creator of heaven and earth, of the seas and the underworld, and even the bad spirits are forced to acknowledge his sway. Here also he has prepared a Paradise for man at *Wotaemi*, a locality in South Andaman Island. Into this Garden of Pleasure he places the first man and woman, *Tomo* and *Chana*, and here he instructs them in the arts and industries of life, and supplies them with the power of speech. But what is more important, he shows them all the different fruit-trees of the jungle, and in doing this he commands them not to partake of certain fruits during the rainy season. Here we have the *Paradisaic Sacrifice* in clear outline,—the idea of abstention from an otherwise legitimate gratification, the offering up of the first fruits of the garden. Furthermore, it is distinctly stated that death and misery came upon man through disobeying the divine command, through eating the forbidden fruit. Men became more and more violent, they grew more and more remiss in observing the laws of *Puluga*, until finally he sends a great Flood and destroys them all, except a favored few who repeople the earth from *Wotaemi*. That is why the First-fruit sacrifice is offered up to this day. In the meantime those who have kept his commandments pass over the Paradise-bridge to live forever with *Puluga* in his Sky-Palace.¹³

¹³ Details and items will be found in Man, op. cit. pp. 90-106:

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If then it is still insisted that we have no means of proving a personal worship, we answer that the mythology of the Andamanese clearly implies such a worship, that the best proof for the cult of a divine Being is afforded partly by the position He occupies in the popular mind, partly by the degree in which His laws are obeyed and are a controlling force in the customs and habits of the people. Now the above legends show with considerable force that *Puluga* is not a mere myth, nor is he an ancestor or a glorified hero, however exalted, but that he is looked upon as a Creator, a Ruler, a Judge, a Lawgiver, with whom his people have been and are still in close communion,—he is still ruling over them, he is their Father. This consciousness of a supernatural being need not express itself in words so much as in acts,—the best form of worship, even if the word, of which we know so little, helps to make it more personal, more direct.

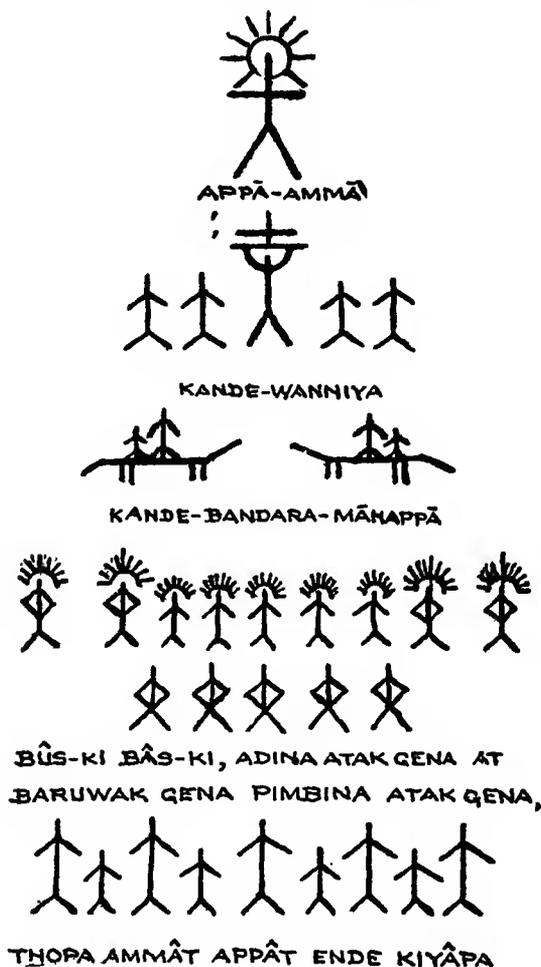
How then is this worship expressed in practice, what form does it take? It shows itself among other things in the high tone of morality that is here apparently in vogue, in the general security of human life, in the unity and stability of the married tie, in the absence of all the more brutal and unnatural practices that so often disfigure the lives of many of the nature-peoples, and finally in the delicate care that is taken of the old, the sick, and the afflicted, who invariably fair better than their more fortunate brethren. In so far as these practices can be proved to be in force, they argue for a high grade of belief, or, at least, they prove that such a belief brings forth good fruits, that it is practical, that the divinity is commensurate to produce the result. But if these phenomena be put down as mere “nature-religion”, common-sense philosophy, and the like, so much better for the common-sense philosophy, especially as it leads to a Creator of all, or seems at least to accompany Him. A simple theism is here reflected in the simple lives of a simple people.¹⁴

But if a complete act of religion demands some external manifestation, some visible acknowledgment of the Creator’s dominion over His creatures, surely the first-fruit sacrifice is such an act. By fasting and abstinence man offers to the Giver of all that which he prizes most dearly, his means of subsistence. He then consumes the very object he has sacrificed as a token of union,—as a pledge that he and his Father are one, are reconciled. Surely this is a “worship”, and one of the highest kind. It need not be clothed in words, it speaks for itself.

¹⁴ Further particulars on this subject in Man, op. cit. pp. 24, 43, 45, 67ff. Also Portman, op. cit. I. p. 42ff.

THE AGE OF BAMBOOS AND OF STRAIGHT-LINE PATTERNS THE GREAT MASTER

OUTLINE-DRAWINGS MADE BY THE VEDDAS ON ROCKS, AND DOUBTLESS ORIGINALLY ON BAMBOOS, TO EXPRESS THE IDEA OF HEADSHIP, MALE OR FEMALE, AND THENCE APPLIED ALSO TO THE SUPREME SKY-BEING.



"FATHER-MOTHER" (SUPER-MAN OR WOMAN). "GREAT MASTER", "MIGHTY HUNTER".
"BUSH-KI, BASH-KI! GO AND BRING THE BOW, THE AXE, AND THE FIRESTICK, AND TELL
YOUR MOTHER AND FATHER TO COME" (GENERAL FORMULA FOR THE HUNTING PARTY).
CONSULT C. G. SELIGMAN, THE VEDDAS, (CAMBRIDGE, 1911), PL. LVI-LX (FOR DESIGNS),
AND PP. 279, 284, 385 FF. (FOR LEXICOLOGY), 132 FF. (FOR BELIEFS).

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(B, 2) KANDE-YAKA—THE VEDDAS,—SOUTHERN INDIA, CEYLON

Among the Forest-Veddas of the interior of Ceylon there is a cult of a personal being known as *Kande-Yaka* or "Great Spirit", who seems to stand very high in the minds of the natives, even if his creative-power is not clearly provable.

He is pictured as an "ideal hunter",—a helpful and benevolent being, who was once upon earth and taught them all they know. Apparently He was without beginning and is certainly without end, as He still hears the petitions of his children, and is in some sense omniscient. All things are subject to Him, and nothing in heaven and earth happens without his permission, all spirits acknowledging Him as the "Lord of the Dead". He requires a sacrifice of first-fruits and animals, accompanied by the burning of incense, during which He is invoked as *Kande-Wanniya*, or "Great Master", and is petitioned for temporal and spiritual favors.¹

On this subject a few concise statements will be sufficient.

The Veddas are the last vestiges of a pre-palaeolithic race in India.² Though generally free from foreign influence, they were at an early period invaded by settlers from the Ganges valley, who intermarried with them and became the Sinhalese of the present day, with a later infusion of Tamil blood. This explains the fact that many of the Veddas are decidedly advanced,—with kingship and nobility—, and this must be taken into account in every attempt to reconstruct their early religion. Among the Forest Veddas or Hennebeddas, however, we meet with very primitive traits, which leads us to expect that here at least the old Vedda beliefs should appear in their purest form.

That there are such beliefs is now unquestionable, but as to their nature, there is still great obscurity. Dr. Seligman confirms the reports of the two Sarasins that there is a pronounced worship of ancestors and cult of the dead. Nay more, he speaks of a "Lord of the Dead", *Kande Yaka*, who may be no more than a great *yaka*, or departed spirit or tribal chief, but whose rather unique position as the "Lord" of the lesser spirits and the object of invocation at the *Yaka*-sacrifice for protection from evil and success in hunting seems to reflect many of the negrito practices in this regard. I would like to state briefly why I regard this being as originally more than a tribal hunter, a mere weather-doctor. It is true that the absence of any creation-legends makes this "mighty hunter" of the Veddas a rather weak figure. But when we consider the intimate relation between religious belief and public and private morals, we are inclined to suspend a hasty verdict on this subject and to look upon him as the relic of a better and purer state of religious consciousness, and this for the following reasons:—

¹ Points taken from C. G. Seligman, *The Veddas*, (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 30, 132ff. Comp. Sarasin, *Religiöse Vorstellungen bei den niedrigsten Menschenformen*, l. c. supra, p. 124ff.

² Seligman, op. cit. p. 20 (quartz-eoliths), pp. 81 (family-life), p. 318ff. (arts and industries).

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(1) He is not described as having any human ancestors, and He is unmarried.

(2) He is immortal, He is above all spirits, and He has supreme command.

(3) He listens to prayer for favors that are beyond finite power to bestow.

(4) He controls rain, wind, and seasons, implying some notion of transcendence.

(5) He is the guardian of the moral conscience, which is here conspicuously high, forbidding any needless aggression, violence, adultery, etc.

In illustration, take the following invocations at the *Kirikoraha* ceremonies, in which the sacred cocoanut is offered to *Kande Yaka*:—

*"King of the hills, who continues to go from hill to hill, cause rain!" "It is the Great Master, (Kande Wanniya), whose place is on the crest of this hill, who continues to go unto this hill. The Great Master of the highest place of the hill, who continues to cause this rain of great drops, drops from a dense cloud, makes out footprint by footprint of excellent sambar deer!" "Long life! Long life! To the Great Master, to the great God of the chief place of the hill, who has become the Chief of the group of the sixty-seven of the hill!" "Today, grant your divine favor to the beautiful cooked food of this offering which I give! May it seem good to you to arrange it at the point of the arrow, etc. Long life! Long life!"*³

The sixty-seven here referred to are nearly all *bandaras* or deified chiefs, and the fact that none of these *nae yakas* or departed spirits are addressed in precisely the same strain as the foregoing, that none are described as the causes of natural phenomena or as having anything like the same prominence,—this in my opinion should make us hesitate in putting down *Kande-Yaka* as a mere ghost-god. Without doubt the ancestor-cult is strongly developed in this region, spirit-feeding is only too common,—both doubtless inherited from the hybrid Sinhalese—, for it is precisely among the Hennebeddas and their more primitive kin that the simple picture of an all-bestowing *Mahappa* or Great Father looms up in clearer perspective, comparatively free from the polytheistic superstructure. Finally, the fact that "no reverence is paid to heavenly bodies",⁴ that there is "no worship of sun or moon", together with the high morality of the natives and their strictly monogamous life,⁵ renders the theory of a purely ancestral god more and more difficult to maintain. The Veddas are a beautiful, peace-loving, gentle-mannered, and highly moral race, and it seems difficult to account for all the above facts without assuming some consciousness, however bedimmed in parts, of a quasi-supernatural Power.

³ Seligman, op. cit. pp. 284-286 (Texts and Translations by H. Parker, slightly amended in parts). ⁴ Seligman, l. c. p. 144. ⁵ Seligman, l. c. p. 81ff.

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(C, 1) ANITO—PHILLIPINE NEGRITOS, NORTH AND SOUTH LUZON

The material on the Philippine religion is unfortunately rather scattered. There is however a great supernatural Being who is generally described as *Anito* in South Luzon, though He goes by the name of "Maker" or "Creator" in other parts, and of whom the following information may be gathered from different sources:—¹

He appears to dwell in a huge rock, but is otherwise invisible, a spirit. He knows all things, at least all things that concern man, He sees their actions at all times. He can do all things, He is above all other spirits, and is greatly feared. He has evidently created all things, and as such He is the Lord of all spirits, though in what relation we are not informed. He punishes the wrongdoing of man by sending diseases, and is therefore in some sense the guardian of the moral order, and probably the supreme Judge of mankind as a consequence. He is invoked on certain occasions, as at weddings, when He is prayed to in low tones: "*Praise to the Supreme Being, our Maker!*" He has instituted a sacrifice,—deer-sacrifice, banana-sacrifice,—which, though sometimes offered to the minor spirits, is at least in one instance offered only to the supreme Spirit, to Him directly, with the invocation:—"This for Thee!"—a thanksgiving after the chase.

Against the authenticity of this belief it might be urged:—

(1) Neither the antiquity of the regions nor the genuineness of the sources are beyond challenge. (2) The feeding of the spirits of the dead is a common practice, and the medicine-man plies a large and lucrative traffic. There are elaborate exorcism-rites with dances and manipulations. Such practices seem to point to an advanced spirit-worship, or demonism.

A brief consideration of these points will be sufficient.

(1) The Philippine Negritos are pure only in South Luzon, (Zambales, Bataan) and in portions of the islands of Alabat, Panay, Negros, and Mindanao. These are generally known as Aetas, and are on the lowest level of culture.² In all other regions, and more especially in North Luzon, they are strongly saturated with Malayan blood, and have adopted a higher type of civilisation, together with many evil practices of a later age,—cannibalism and head-hunting. It is therefore all-important to note that the regions examined are with one exception the most primitive in the islands, and that all ethnologists look upon the Aetas as the aborigines of the land.

¹ W. A. Reed, *The Negritos of Zambales*, (Manila, 1904) p. 65. F. Blumentritt, *Negritos of North Luzon*, in *Globus*, XLV, (1884), p. 75, quoting Fr. Villaverde, OP. Steen A. Bille, *Reise der Corvette Galathea*, (Copenhagen, 1852) Vol. I. p. 452, quoting Father Estevan Mena. (Alabat Aetas). ² Reed, 1. c. p. 17-23.

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As to the sources, there can hardly be any doubt as to their genuineness, but there may be some complaint of their content, of the fact that so little has been reported. The testimony of three independent witnesses,—two of them Catholic priests,—and these from three different areas, must surely carry some weight, though the poverty of the material reported is somewhat disappointing. We must remember, however, that this task is a very difficult one, and although the reports have come to us only in fragments, they are nevertheless precious, indispensable fragments.

(2) This means that for two very primitive areas,—Zambales and Alabat,—we find the distinct outlines of a divinity, who, however mysterious His nature, is recognised as an Over-Lord, a supreme Spirit, nay, even as a Creator. This idea extends also into the third area,—North Luzon,—though here the reports are equally fragmentary. It shows, however, that the idea is continuous, not confined to any one section of the island group. On the other hand, it must also be admitted, that as nearly all these populations have come in contact with a later Indonesian wave of culture, as many of them have advanced to ranch-life, substantial houses, use of higher musical instruments, &c., the existence of spiritism in some form or another is a correspondingly prominent feature. We know that cast-priesthoods and professional medicine-men are admittedly later elements, the Shamanism of Western Asia finding practically no response among the Negritos in their purest state, as witness its general absence in Malakka, the Andaman Islands, Central Africa, and probably Tasmania. Votive-offerings and spirit-feeding are quite unknown in these sections, or exist only as sporadic phenomena. But even in the Philippines there are signs that the Shamanistic wave has but little affected the purest and least advanced section of the aborigines, for it is precisely from Alabat and South Luzon,—areas of least contamination,—that the reports of a supreme personal Divinity come to us in their strongest if simplest form.

It may therefore be concluded, that although spirit-worship has invaded these populations in parts, it has not succeeded in dethroning a personal Creator in the oldest region, a Being worshipped by prayer and sacrifice. The very simplicity of this nomadic cult, without temple, hierarchy, or circumcision-rite, is a guarantee of its non-Malayan origin, of its remote antiquity. Here also the moral statistics are comparatively high. For although degeneracy has set in among the half-breeds of North-Luzon, the pure Aetas are a peaceable race, and lead simple, upright and virtuous lives.*

* Reed, 1. c. p. 61ff. Comp. A. B. Meyer, *Die Philippinen*, (Dresden, 1899), Vol. III. p. 33ff. J. Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines*, (Paris, 1898), p. 71. Schmidt, 1. c. 142ff.

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But if the direct reports of a supreme divinity in this region are disappointingly brief, there are several points connected with the social and religious practices of these people that deserve to be considered in greater detail, as they may help to shed some valuable light on nature of the belief and the power it has to enforce the moral law by sanctions more or less rigorous.

(C, 2) THE NEGRITOS OF ZAMBALES

In the Zambales region, which is best known to us, and where the natives are still living the half-naked life of the deer-hunter which is content with the frail and collapsible windshelter, there are interesting customs at the end of the chase which deserve to be noticed. Col. Reed has described the ceremony in a few forcible words. "A bed of green rushes or cane is made on which the animal is placed and skinned. This done, the head man of the party, or the most important man present, takes a small part of the entrails or heart, cuts it into fine bits and scatters the pieces in all directions, at the same time chanting in a monotone a few words which mean '*Spirits, we thank you for this successful hunt! Here is your share of the spoils!*' This is done to feed and appease the spirits which the Negritos believe inhabit all places, and the ceremony is never neglected".⁴ It is a pity that this reporter has not supplied us with more information as to the nature of these spirits, whether good or evil, helpful or malevolent. He says indeed that "all adverse circumstances, sickness, failure of crops, unsuccessful hunts, are attributed to them, and that so long as things go well, the spirits are not much considered".⁵ But even good spirits, and the supreme Being himself, are not always heeded in such cases, and it appears that these spirits are not demons, but dead ancestors, which, with the hunting formula mentioned above, is an important point in favor of their benevolence. Be this as it may, the author goes on to say that "there is a huge black boulder, which the Negritos believe to be the home of *One powerful Spirit*, and that the spirits of all who die enter this one Spirit, called *Anito*, who has his abiding place in this rock. No Negrito ever passes this rock without leaving a banana, or some other article of food. If they do, bad luck or accident is sure to attend the trip".⁶ This has the suspicious ring of the "Creator" of the Alabats, and is in any case an interesting find. But more than all, this Banana-sacrifice to *Anito* is a forcible reminder of the *Paradisaic* or First-fruit sacrifice of the Andamanese, and the exclamation "*This for Thee!*" might well be applied in this place.⁷

⁴ Reed, Negritos of Zambales, p. 48. ⁵ Reed, 1. c. p. 65. ⁶ Reed, 1. c. p. 65. ⁷ Taken from Fr. Villaverde's report of the Negritos of North Luzon (above).

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In connection with this ceremony, Col. Reed tells us that the present governor of Zambales, Senor Lesaca, once passed this rock, and for amusement, and greatly to the horror of the Negritos with him—, spurned it by kicking it with his foot and eating part of a banana and throwing the rest in the opposite direction. The Negritos were much concerned and said that something would happen to him, and, sure enough, before he had gone far, he got an arrow through both legs from savage Negritos along the trail who could have known nothing of the occurrence. Of course this only strengthened the belief.⁸

This incident is given for what it is worth, but it shows that there was something peculiarly sacred to these people in the mysterious rock, in which the Great *Anito* was believed to be present, and where, as upon a gigantic altar, they placed the sacred Banana with the evident hope of securing some favor, of imploring His mercy. For *Anito* has a direct control of human life, He is the Master of human destiny. "Disease is considered the punishment for wrong-doing, the more serious diseases coming from the supreme *Anito*, the lesser ones from the lesser *anitos*. If smallpox visits a rancheria, it is because someone has cut down a tree or killed an animal belonging to a spirit which has *invoked the aid of the supreme Spirit* in inflicting a more severe punishment than it can do alone".⁹ This also implies that *Anito* listens to prayer, that He is invoked by His needy ones, for if the dead can obtain favors, so surely can the living. Moreover it is distinctly stated that the dead return to *Anito*, they do not pass into lower animals, which is one more proof that we are dealing with a strong personality, with a direct Judge.

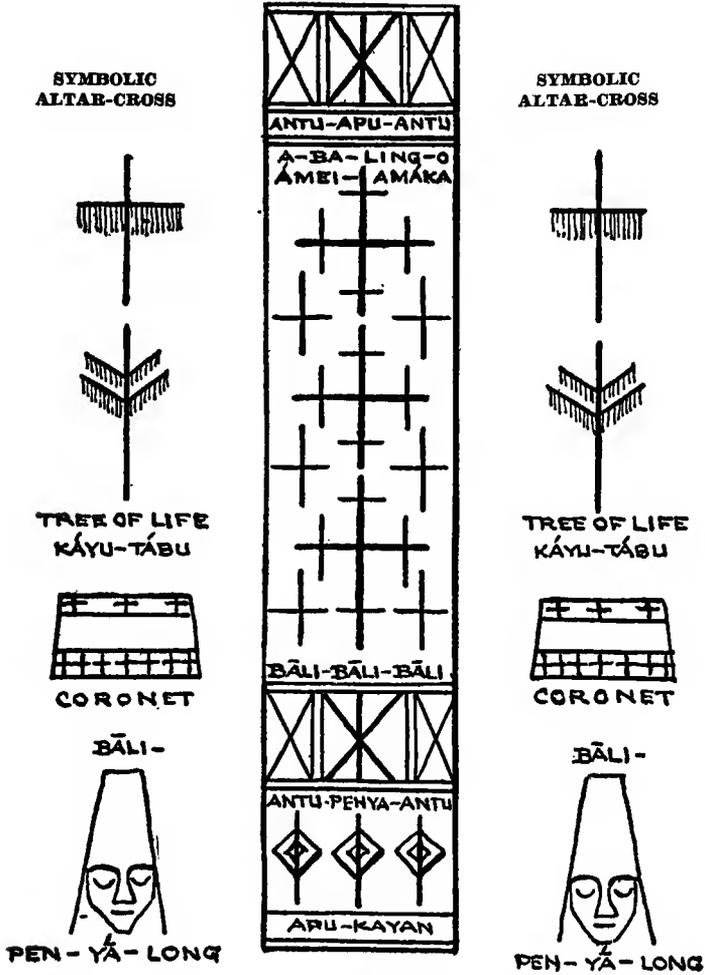
It is also worth noting that here too the so-called "Magic Comb" is in use, together with other "charm-tubes" of the variety that we have already certified for Malakka. In so far as these articles are brought into connexion with the divinity, they obtain a "sacred" character analogous to the Malakkan tubes (q. v.). But in the absence of any clear proof to this effect and the far greater development of spiritism, we have reasons to suspect that most of these objects are mere "good-luck" amulets, harmless enough in their way, but of no definite religious import.¹⁰

Such in brief is the picture of *Anito*,—a being who is evidently transcendent, but of whose inner nature we are still left in the dark. It is here in the Philippines that the pure, "unshaved" Negrito is seen at his best.¹¹

⁸ Reed, 1. c. p. 65. ⁹ Reed, *ibidem*. ¹⁰ Reed, 1. c. pp. 37-38. ¹¹ See Reed's photographs, where the original pompadour-type may be clearly distinguished.

THE AGE OF BAMBOOS AND OF STRAIGHT-LINE PATTERNS THE SPIRIT FATHER IN HEAVEN

AS SYMBOLICALLY DEPICTED IN BLOWPIPE-PATTERNS, ALTAR-POSTS, BAMBOO DIADEMS
AND SO-CALLED "TOTEM-POLES", AMONG THE ORANG-UKIT AND ORANG-KENYA, THE
ABORIGINAL DAYAKS OF BORNEO



PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

"FATHER OF SPIRITS ABOVE—HOLY, HOLY,—GUARDIAN SPIRIT OF THE TREE OF LIFE."

THE NUMEROUS CROSSES AND TREE PATTERNS CAN ONLY BE EXPLAINED AS A DISTANT SYMBOLISM THE FRUIT—AND FATHER-GOD-THEME OF THE ABORIGINES. SEE H. LINGROTH, THE NATIVES OF SARAWAK AND BRITISH NORTH BORNEO, II. 59, 185. HOSE-McDOUGALL, THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO, (LONDON, 1912), PL. 146, 157.

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(D, 1) AMAKA—THE FOREST DAYAKS OF CENTRAL BORNEO

Among the wild inhabitants of the interior of Borneo there is a belief in a mysterious being, variously known as *Amei*, *Balingo*, or *Bali Penyalong*, of whom the following information may be gathered:—¹

He is the supreme Governor of the world and the Master of human destiny. He sees and knows all things, at least in so far as they concern the human race. He is a good being, both helpful and benevolent, and is evidently their Judge, as He has supreme control over human life. He is a Thunder-God and a "Father in Heaven", to whom they have access in all their needs. He has a female partner, *Doh Penyalong*, who is a special patroness of women, a "Mother-Mediator". He has instituted their sacred rites and observances, among which the throwing up of blood and the offering up of the sacred blossom of the betel-palm are the most distinctive, with the simple invocation:—*Ama-ka!*—*Bali-Penya-long!*—"Our Father in Heaven!"

A few preliminary remarks on this subject will be necessary.

The wild "Punans", or "Bakatans", are grouped in small communities and inhabit the dense jungle at the head-waters of the principal rivers of Borneo. They are a slender race, of moderate height, and paler in color than most tribes. They do not cultivate the soil, but live on whatever they can find in the jungle. Leaf-hut, firestick, scarcity of clothing, absence of a higher stone or metallic industry, all these are aboriginal symptoms which, together with their bamboo implements and blowpipes, connect them with the central Malakkan and also with the Philippine region. They may therefore be classed as "primitives" in the best sense, and are moreover a genial and attractive race, which makes their study a doubly interesting one.

Unfortunately there are only two white men that have supplied us with any exact details of their religious beliefs, and even these are confined to the barest essentials, though they furnish a sufficient basis for drawing conclusions of considerable value when coupled with the remaining data, the discoveries of Dr. Nieuwenhuis being very important.

And first,—as to the name of the divinity. There is here an apparent discrepancy, which can only be remedied by collating all the designations for divinity both here and among the neighboring Kenyahs, Kayans, and Kalamantans. From this it will appear that *Aba* (*Ama*), *Abali* (*Amaka*), *Bali*, *Balingo* (*Tamei*, *Tamaka*), are fundamental for this region, the form *Amaka* extending, as we shall see, far into the Molukkas, to the Spice Islands.

¹ H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North-Borneo*, (London, 1896). Vol. I. p. 16ff. A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, black, white, and brown*, (London, 1901), p. 320ff. (for general ethnology). Charles Hose and W. McDougall, *The Relation between men and animals in Sarawak*, (J. A. I. London, 1901, Vol. XXXI. pp. 173-213). Idem, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, (London, 1912), Vol. II. pp. 1-19, 185-186. (For ethnology and religious beliefs). For the work of Dr. Nieuwenhuis, see below, p. 27.

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Thus the name reported by Hose and McDougall as *Bali-lutong* can easily be dissected into more primitive elements, in which the roots *ab-baling-long-lung* reappear in many of the above word-combinations, signifying Father, Master, Heaven, High, Clouds, etc. In this manner *Aba-lingo* is probably the original of *Balingo*, the high thunder-god of the neighboring Kenyas, though the word *bali* has also a secondary technical sense of "spirit" or "soul", terms equally well known to the wild forest-folk.

"The Punans", writes Dr. Hose, "worship the Supreme Being (sic) as the Kenyas do, and they address Him as *Bali-lutong*. They have similar ideas with regard to the soul of man and its destination after death, and like all other peoples they believe themselves to be surrounded by spirits which may be harmful to them. Their medicine-men are sometimes called in by people of other tribes and enjoy a high reputation".² Again,—“They pray to *Bali-Penyalong*, (evidently the same being), who seems to be the principal object of their trust. This being is probably conceived anthropomorphically—but they make no images in human form, and we do not know that *Bali-Penyalong* is supposed by them to have a wife—their rites involve no animal sacrifices, and they do not look for guidance or answer to prayer in the entrails of animals”. Moreover, “the term *bali* is only applied to a being having special powers of the sort that we should call supernatural”, “indeed no human being is addressed or spoken of with the title *bali*”.³ It is certainly noteworthy that one of the few prayers so far recorded should be addressed directly to Him, as when at the common sacrificial ceremony the ritual fires are lighted, and the blossom of the Betel-Palm is solemnly offered to the *Aba-lingo*, the *Bali-Penyalong*, the “Spirit-Father-in-Heaven”.⁴ This seems to reveal an extraordinary power for help, for neither the crocodile nor the omen bird are of any serious significance in this ceremony, as I shall presently show.

“The Punans are very mild savages, they are *not* head-hunters, do not keep slaves, are generous to one another, and moderately truthful, and probably never do any injury by making a false statement. They are a cheerful and bright people, who are very fond of their children and kind to the women”. “The Bakatans are not cannibals”.⁵ This is an attractive picture, as it tends to reveal a moral, peaceful, and truth-loving God as the author and keeper of the public conscience. But it is impossible to appreciate this subject without comparing them with their next-door neighbors, the Kenyas and Kayans.

² Hose-McDougall, *Men and Animals*, p. 195. ³ Idem, *Pagan Tribes*, II. 186, 29, 121. ⁴ Idem, *Men and Animals*, p. 196. *Pagan Tribes*, II. 84, 189 (hatred of crocodiles). ⁵ Haddon, *op. cit.* p. 320-321. Brooke, *apud* Ling-Roth, *op. cit.* I. 17. Compare Hose, *Pagan Tribes*, I. 175 (no cannibalism), II. 180 (innocent of vices, primitive family life).

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Of these the *Kenyahs* are the nearest blood-relations of the *Bakatans*, and the lowest in point of culture, which makes it probable that they embody a very similar belief. Here *Balingo* is distinctly the god of thunder, and *Bali Penyalong* is "the supreme Being to whom the *Kenyahs* pray for guidance in important undertakings, while the women pray to *Doh Penyalong*, his wife".⁶ But the most distinctive feature is the cult of the Hawk, an omen-bird, which is never killed or eaten, but is offered in sacrifice to *Bali-Penyalong*, with the words:—"O Spirit of this bird Ask *Bali Penyalong* to take away all sickness from us and to keep us from all harm!"⁷—accompanied by the flame and smoke of the ritual fires and the sprinkling of the worshippers and the image of *Bali Penyalong* with the blood of the bird. Here the "Blood-Brotherhood" is firmly established, "when each of the two men drinks or smokes in a cigarette a little of the other's blood drawn with a bamboo knife". But the most important point in this ceremony is the fact that the omen-bird is not in itself the divinity, but that "they look upon the hawks as *messengers* or *intermediaries* between themselves and *Bali Penyalong*".⁸

Among the *Kayans* we find the same fundamental ideas, but somewhat differently worded. "Like the *Kenyahs* they worship a supreme Being under the name of *Laki Tenangan*, or 'Grandfather Tenangan', and the women pray to *Do Tenangan*, his wife". Here *Laki Neho* appears under the form of the Hawk, but he is a mediator between God and man, as is clear from the sacrificial rite, in which fires are lighted, a hen or a pig slaughtered, and an egg offered to him with the invocation:—"This is for thee to eat! Carry my message directly to *Laki Tenangan*, that I may become well, and may train my children in the path of right living!"⁹

In the parallel account furnished by Dr. Nieuwenhuis it is *Amei Tingei* (intensive *Amaka*, *Tamaka*), who is the "High Father" of the *Kayans*, who spins the world out like a spider, who made the first human pair, *Adja* and *Djaja*, who induces a rice-famine in the earthly Paradise, who punishes the violations of the moral law, who is an all-knowing, all-ruling Spirit or *Bruwa*, having innumerable spirits under His sway. Here also the hen and the egg are sacrificed, and foods are wrapt in banana-leaves and liquids offered in bamboo-cylinders to the *Great To*, or "Universal Spirit". At death the good are carried to *Apu Lagan*,—*Amaka's* place of heavenly delights. This report, furnished by an eminent scientific expert, is of considerable value, as it tends to corroborate the findings of less professional authors and to supply us with something approaching to a native story of world-origins.¹⁰

⁶ Hose, *Men and Animals*, p. 175. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 184-185. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 177. ⁹ *Ibid.* p. 189-190.
¹⁰ A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, (2 Vols. Leyden, 1900) Vol. I. p. 139-141. *Idem*, *Quer durch Borneo*, (2 vols. Leyden, 1904) Vol. I. pp. 98-99, 100-103, 112-132. (This is a short English version of the original Dutch and German report). For the *Kalamantans*, see the *Bakatans* above, & Comp. Hose, p. 192.

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Now in collating all this evidence it seems to be clear that the belief a supreme personal Being shines through the different mythologies in a manner which makes it quite impossible to confound Him with any bird, beast, or tribal ancestor, however sacred. As a fact, the hawk or omen-bird becomes less conspicuous the more we delve into the jungle, and is quite unimportant among the Bakatans or lowest aborigines of the land. This shows that divination, with all the animistic practices that it implies, shows a steady decrease the more we penetrate into the primitive zone. The simple "Our Father" of the jungle-folk has little or no connection with the omen-bird, nor is the "spirit" of a pig, or any other animal invoked in order to obtain mystic communion with Him. Again, He is sexless and wifeless, His female "partner" being prominent only among the Kenyahs and the more advanced tribes, while the general absence of nature and ancestor-worship is at least equally striking.

But as to the purity and authenticity of this belief, it is to be noted that there is no organised totemism among any of the natives, least of all among the Bakatans. "The prevalence of the beliefs in a supreme Being" says Hose, "tends to prevent the development of totemism, and we cannot conclude without saying something as to the possible origin of this conception of a beneficent Being, more powerful than all the others, who sends guidance and warnings by the omen-birds, and who receives and answers prayers carried to Him by the souls of the fowls and pigs. It might be thought that this concept had been borrowed, directly or indirectly, from the Malays. *But we do not think that view is tenable.*" And the authors emphasise the fact that this is a *living* belief among the wild forest-men, far from Malay influence, while it is a *dead* one the Ibans or Sea-Dayaks, close to Malay influence,—an important point, and one upon which Archdeacon Perham concurs.¹¹ Moreover—"It is doubtful whether those of the aboriginals who have mixed least with the other peoples pay any attention to the omen-birds. With that exception there is probably no wild animal of the jungle that the Punans do not kill and eat".¹² The crocodile is shunned and avoided, but this is not "totemism", for which reason we are amply justified in contending for a pure and lofty cult of divinity. Again,—"Highly significant as against other Dayak tribes is the complete fidelity to the marriage-tie among the Bahau (or wild men of the interior), and the equality of conjugal rights between man and woman, with a numerical preponderance of the latter, argues for a degree of continence and sexual self-control that is surprising among a people on such a low level of culture."¹³

¹¹ Hose and McDougall, *Men and Animals*, p. 202-212. ¹² *Ibid.*, p. 195. ¹³ Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*, Vol. I. p. 100. (Translation from the Dutch). Comp. also P. W. Schmidt, *Mythologie der Austronesischen Völker*, (Vienna, 1910). pp. 11, 12, 23ff. for further criticism.

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(D, 2) THE TOALAS AND TORADJAS OF CELEBES

These conclusions are seen to be still further corroborated by the existence of a common form *Kalangi* as the designation for the "Heavenly One" among the aborigines of Central Celebes.

For the Toalas, or "backwoodsmen", religious statistics are as yet very meagre. The authors speak vaguely of a tree-cult with sacrifice, which cannot but remind us of the betel-fruit offerings above.¹⁴ Fortunately the deficiency can be supplied in part by the neighboring tribes.

Among the Makassars and Buginese of Southern Celebes we find *Adji-Patoto* as the "Ruler of Destiny", with whom is associated *Datu-Palinge* as the "Creator" of the world. The latter is a female, it is true, but *Adji-Patoto* suggests "Fatherhood", while *Palinge* is too suspiciously near *Kalangi* not to reveal the fundamental meaning of *Pa-lingo* as the "Father-in-Heaven", of which *Ka-langi* as the "Chief" or Creator of Heaven is but a variation. Though these deities are apparently married, and have a divine child,—*Batara*, "the Lord"—, who descends from heaven in a bamboo and prepares a paradise for man—, there is evidence to show that they were originally free from the sex-relation, as we shall presently see.¹⁵

A similar tradition is preserved by the Toradjas of the interior, among whom *I-lai* and *In-dara* figure as the "Father-Mother"-God, and a being called *Samoa* takes the place of the demiurge. The latter makes two human beings, man and woman, out of stone, and breathes into them the breath of life. He conducts them to a high mountain, offers them a stone and a banana, and through choosing the banana they have lost the gift of immortality. Here *I-lai* is the common Austronesian *I-laki*, or *I-langi*, which as *Yalangi* means nothing less than "I am in Heaven" (the Great "I AM"?), and where the phonetic analogy with *Kalangi* is once more apparent.¹⁶

But as to *Kalangi* himself, He forms the background of the Minahassa traditions of Northern Celebes. Though apparently one of the sons of *Lumimu'ut*, the "Mother Earth", his position as the "Lord of Heaven" and his identification with *Muntu'untu*, the "Highest One", (the mountain-peak), "the Great Master, who has made heaven and earth, and is acknowledged as the Lord by all the gods", seems to reveal a distinct notion of transcendence. Here also He is the center of a "tree-cult with sacrifice", He is prayed to by gods and men, and He is the Helper of man and the Ruler of human destiny.¹⁷

¹⁴ P. and F. Sarasin, *Materialien zur Kenntniss der Naturgeschichte der Insel Celebes*, (Wiesbaden, 1905) Vol. V. Part II. p. 126. ¹⁵ G. Wilken, *Het Animisme in den Indischen Archipel* (Leyden, 1885) p. 232ff. A. C. Kruyt, *Idem* (Hague, 1906) p. 467ff. ¹⁶ Kruyt, *l. c.* p. 469. Also, *Mededeeligen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*. (1894) p. 339ff. ¹⁷ Schwartz-Adriani, *Tontemboansche Teksten*, (Leyden, 1907). Vol. II. p. 337, 477ff.

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(D, 3) THE CERAMESE-AMBOINA GROUP,—SOUTHERN MOLUKKAS

Finally we have the mixed Malayan and Papuan populations of the eastern Spice Islands, among whom we find the same mythological concepts in all their essentials.

For Ceram Frederik Riedel reports of a Heaven-god, *Upu Langi*, and an Earth-mother, *Upu Tapene*, both of whom are invoked on solemn occasions. The natives say that they came down from heaven, others that they sprang out of the *Nunu*-tree, a species of fig, which was planted on the mountain summit of an island in the West. The same tradition is found among the natives of Buru, where *Ubun Langi* and *Ubun Sanane* are evidently synonymous with the above. This is further emphasized by the *Amaka Lanito* and the *Inaka Ume* of the Amboina-group, the collateral forms *Upu Lanito* and *Upu Ume* revealing the fact that *Amaka* and *Upu* (*Apo*, etc) are identical terms. These are invoked by the common expression *Aamina Lanito*, "Father-Mother-Heaven", which shows that both are equally heavenly, though their creative power is here no longer as vivid, men springing out of the *Kanari-tree*, which however was planted by *Amaka*, the "Father" of All. It is He that carries on a continual war against thunder and lightning, and who lives in the place where *Anin*, the wind, has its source,—showing that He is distinct and above the creation and above His female "mediator".¹⁸

It will now be seen with what right we have identified the forms *Aba*, *Ama*, *Apu*, *Upu*, *Amaka*, *Tamaka*, as the original designations for the divine "Fatherhood" throughout the central Indonesian zone. *Ab* or *Am* is one of the earliest roots for "father" in existence, its reduplicated or syncopated form appearing in all combinations with *Ba*, *Bu*, *Pa*, *Pu*, *Ma*, *Mu*, such as *Ba-lingo*, *Pa-lingo*, *Pu-lingo* (perhaps *Pu-luga*?) *Ma-amba*, *Mu-untu*, *Mu-lungu*, etc. *Ka* and *Ta* are for the most part intensitive or causative, from which we get *Ka-ri*, *Ka-lingo*, *Ka-langi*, *Ama-ka*, *Ta-ma-ka*, etc. signifying "Great Father", "Creator", and so on, while the *La*, *Langi*-series is fundamental for "Heaven", "Clouds", "Light", etc. which in combination with the *Aba*-notion reveals *Aba-Langi*, "Father in Heaven" as the universal basic form, the idea of "thunder" being a secondary notion expressive of power,—*Ka*, *Ta*. (Compare also *Lowa-Langi* of the Niassians). On the other hand *Da*, *Do*, *Dara*, *Djadja*, *Chawah*, etc. as "Blood", "Life", "Female Principle"; is always subordinate to *Adja*, *Adji*, *Adjam*, as the male "governor", which shows that *Amaka-Balingo-Kalangi* is essentially sexless.¹⁹

¹⁸ Fr. Riedel, *De sluiken kroes-harigen rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, ('s Gravenhage, 1886), p. 160ff. 7, 51ff. ¹⁹ Further discussion in W. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, pp. 11, 23, 55, 68, 94ff

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(E, 1) ABUDA—THE ARU ISLANDERS,—ARAFURA BAY, NEW GUINEA

In crossing the Molukkas we have already entered the "black" region, in which the Papuan type begins to assume the ascendancy. We leave Indonesia proper and enter the enormous domain of Papuasias, which extends from here to Tasmania on the one side, and to Fiji and New Caledonia on the other. Of the aborigines of the Aru Islands we have as yet little knowledge, but the following points should be noted:—

It appears that they worship an "*Abuda*" or "Father"-*Boitai*, "who lives at the foundation, under these islands", and to whom they still pray and offer wild fruits. Though pictured as a man, as the ancestor of all the frizzly-haired Papuans, he seems to be an eternal being, to whom they have continual access in prayer. This is suggested by the fact that the astral triad,—sun, moon, and earth,—is of very little significance in this region, being entirely eclipsed by *Boitai*, the "Lord" of the Earth, and *Taidue*, the "Lady" of the Sea,—once more a divine couple. That the former overshadows the latter, and is a supra-mundane being, may be inferred from the conjuration-formula, in which He is invoked in astronomical language, to be sure, but in which the idea of a single divine personality is clearly revealed, to wit, "*O Moon, Lord-Sun! Thou who seest all things that are in Heaven and Earth!*" An inspection of His titles will show that the position of sun, moon, and earth, etc. in *Dyabularan*, *Dyabu-vulan*, *Dyabu-vava*, is either subordinate, or, what is more probable, purely descriptive and complementary, being a triple invocation to *Boitai* as the "*Lord of the sun, the Lord of the moon, and the Lord of the earth,*"—a suggestive prayer.¹ That this is really the case is rendered increasingly certain by the testimony of Baron Van Hoëvell, who distinctly states that there is no vestige of an organised sun-cult on the islands.²

I am prepared to admit, however, that the astral mythology has made considerable inroads in these regions, which is only to be expected from their growing contact with higher cultures. At the same time an analysis of *Dyabu* reveals once more the two roots *dya* and *abu*, the former of which is here vaguely "Lordship", doubtless a later addition to the more primitive *abu* which we have already identified as the "father"-root in the earliest zone. *Boitai* is therefore an *abu*, and in his triple manifestation He is in fact an *Abuda*, an "Oldest One", a "Life-giver", which is surprising in view of the confused racial and religious character of these peoples.

¹ Fr. Riedel, *De sluik-en kroes-harigen rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, ('sGravenhage, Ind. Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde, Vol. XXXIII (1890), p. 82. ² Comp. W. Schmidt. *Austronische Mythologie*, p. 89ff. to whom I am indebted for these references.

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(E, 2) THE TAPIROS,—NORTH-WEST NETHERLANDS NEW GUINEA

Of the newly discovered Tapiros we have as yet no definite information. It will be useful, however, to call attention to a few anthropological and ethnological data which may serve as a help for correctly estimating their religious position. The following is from the pen of Dr. H. S. Harrison:—

“In the case of the Tapiro of New Guinea recently discovered by Captain Rawling and his colleagues, circumstances prevented anything but a preliminary survey, though the information gained is sufficient to show that they fall into line with other negritos scattered in small groups over a wide but discontinuous area of the earth's surface. . . . Conspicuous among the physical characters of the Tapiro are the low stature, the woolly hair, the dark skin, and the broad head. To use the language of science, they are ulotrichous melanic brachicephals of an average height of less than five feet. The same definition may be applied to certain pygmy-tribes found in regions not far distant, and also in Central Africa. The former are usually called Negritos, and the latter are often spoken of as Negrillos. The Negrito-group has hitherto included only the *Andamanese* of the Andaman Islands, the *Semang* of parts of the Malay Peninsula, and the *Aeta* of the Philippines. To these must now be added the negritos of Dutch New Guinea, for which the only native name is that of *Tapiro*”.³

Speaking of their social and religious customs, he says—

“We have no information as to the manners and customs, and the social or tribal organisation of the Tapiro, but if they are in agreement with other pygmy groups, there will be no departure from the prevailing simplicity. Amongst these, totemism and clan-systems are wanting or rudimentary, hereditary chieftainship is apparently unknown, and the social groups partake of the nature of family associations, the villages, if such exist, being always small. There is no ancestor-cult or ceremonial spirit-worship, but in some cases at least *a belief in supernatural beings is known to prevail, and there may even be recognition of a supreme deity*. Monogamy is usual and women are not ill-treated. Death appears to be regarded as a natural event, and not as the result of witchcraft or sorcery, and burial of the dead in the ground is customary, though platform and tree-burial are occasionally practiced in some groups”.⁴

But as we have no knowledge of the Tapiro beliefs as such, we are forced to turn to the adjacent areas for further enlightenment.

³ H. S. Harrison, in Rawling, *The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, (London, 1913) p. 266-267, on the negrito-question. ⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

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(E, 3) AWONA-KAWA—THE KARESAU-ISLANDERS OF GERMAN NEW GUINEA

This deficiency can now be supplied by the Karesau-Islanders, who inhabit the coast region directly to the north-east, on the German side of the great continental divide, known as the Charles-Louis range or the Victor-Emmanuel mountains. These peoples are sufficiently low to have been the bearers of an aboriginal Papuan faith, their semi-nomadic life and loose social organisation being based exclusively on "natural" or clan headmanship, which, as we have seen, approaches nearest to the primitive standard. Organised totemism is here unknown, and spirit and ancestor-worship at a minimum, all of which are points favorable to a lofty cult of divinity.

They acknowledge a supreme being whom they call *Awona-kawa* or *Wonekau*, who lives in the heavens and has no temples or sculptured representations. In this He is distinguished from the ancestor-spirits who live in the *marea* or spirit-house. He is recognised as the Maker if not the Creator of all, but is himself an invisible, benevolent, and providential being, who is very powerful, directs the destinies of man, and is appealed to in all important undertakings. At the end of the initiation-ceremony for youths—in which all, including women and children assist—, there is an offering of fruits and animals, where, with eyes raised to heaven, He is solemnly invoked in the following strain:—"O *Wonekau!* Come down, and look upon my wife, my children, my mother, my father, my sisters, my brothers, my aunts, my uncles, my cousins, my friends, my fellow-beings!"⁵

It is fortunate that in this case we have the direct reports of a very reliable witness, the Rev. Father Schmidt, S. V. D., who, as he says, was most careful not to suggest anything to the minds of the natives, but let them tell their own story, in their own words, and in their own way. The following conversation with one of the aboriginals is certainly interesting:—

"Has *Wonekau* lived in heaven for a long time, forever?" "They haven't told me" was the answer, "but I am forbidden to eat the casuar forever", (as long as time lasts), showing that the idea of timeless duration was not absent. "When a child has been lost in the back-woods, the mother runs into the forest and shrieks to *Wonekau* as follows:—O *Wonekau!* Thou art good! Go, and tell the whites, that my child must come back!"—this apropos of the fact that the child had left the maternal hearth, and gone to the coast to live with the whites. "When a child has arrived at the sixth or eighth year, the father tells him all about *Wonekau* and what He demands, as follows:—

⁵ *Anthropos*, II. (1905) p. 1029ff. The same report will be found, supplemented and in part corrected in *Austronesische Mythologie*, p. 117-119.

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"They are not to steal arrows, cocoa-nuts, or other things, for Wonekau sees all things, though He cannot be seen Himself. But if people do steal, they are not taken by Wonekau into His palace in Heaven, but are consigned to the flames". "Where are these flames, are they under the earth?". "I don't know". When strangers are amused at their native customs, they answer: "You mustn't laugh, Wonekau has made it so". When a man has finished a difficult piece of work, they say,—"That comes from Wonekau, who helped him". At night the men gather together on the sea-shore, and one tells the story of Wonekau under the light of the stars:—"Men and fellow beings! We are in existence! (Just think of it). Our land is very good. The Pleiades and the stars are shining. This is a great year. Wonekau, He is very good. He is invisible, He makes the Pleiades and the stars!"—and so on.

Further evidence of the moral nature of this being is furnished by the story of the adulterer, who, after being warned by his fellows with the words,—"Friend, you must not do that, no one may steal the wife of another, you must give back the woman", is finally reproved by the leader with the strong allocution:—"Friend, I will say nothing more to you. The Lord Wonekau is already seeing you".

As to the authenticity of this belief, its native origin, it seems to be fully established, partly by the isolation of the natives, partly by the phraseology of the legends. I have suggested *Awona-kawa* as the original of *Wonekau*, hitherto regarded as irreducible. This would give the meaning "Father on High", which accords well with His heavenly character. But what is more important, a borrowing from Christian sources is directly repudiated by the natives themselves. Children for the first time trained in the mission-school of Tumbleo involuntarily exclaimed: "Now it comes out that father was right after all. You boys of Dallmannhafen! Is not 'Gott' the same as your *Wonekau* and our *Wonakau*?" A more conspicuous proof of the originality of a religious system could hardly be desired.

Taking it all together, this report must be pronounced as one of the most well-supported and epoch-making in the entire "black" belt, and one of which our Catholic missionary fathers may well be proud. The discovery of a monotheistic and monogamous people among the "barbarous and bloodthirsty Papuans", is one of the many surprises to which we are gradually becoming accustomed in other regions. It is still too early to say how far these lofty notions extend into the interior, but the first pillars of the bridge have been constructed connecting the Aru Islands with Dutch and German New Guinea.

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(E, 4) CHIDIBEY—THE MAFULU NEGRITOS OF BRITISH NEW GUINEA

Of the Mafulus of North-West British New Guinea a few interesting facts have been collected by Mr. Robert W. Williamson, whose valuable work on the social and religious condition of that people has been commended by Prof. A. C. Haddon, of Cambridge, England.⁶

They know of a semi-divine being called *Chi-di-bey*, who "may be a man, or may be a spirit, (they appear to be vague as to this), who has immense power, and who once passed through their country in a direction from east to west. Wherever you may be, if you speak of this personage, and ask to be told in what direction he travelled, they always point out one which is from east to west. They believe that it was *Chidibey* who taught them all their customs, including dancing and manufacture, and that he ultimately reached and remained in the land of the white man, where he is now living, and that the superior knowledge of the white man has been acquired from him. One of the Fathers of the mission was seriously asked by a native whether he had ever seen *Chidibey* (!) They seem to think that he is essentially a beneficent being. They regret his having left the country, but they have no doubt as to this, and they do not regard him as still continuing to exercise any influence over them and their affairs, have no ceremonies or observances with reference to him, and do not address to him any supplications. As traces of his passage through their country they will show you certain extraordinarily shaped rocks and stones, but they have no ceremonies with reference to these, and they have no fear of them".⁷

It is impossible to read this report without being reminded of the old negrito Heaven-God, who is without fixed habitation, who has "immense power", who teaches them all they know, who is a benevolent being, who dwells or manifests his presence on certain rocks. (Comp. *Anito* of the Philippines). This agrees well with the primitive culture of the Mafulu, whose crude bamboo industry and non-totemic organisation is in such contrast to the perfected stone civilisation of the Melanesians. Nevertheless, the fact that many of them are of mixed Melanesian blood and have naturally borrowed some of their customs, such as cannibalism and ghost-worship (though only to a limited extent), this will explain the fact that the above divinity is no longer untarnished, he has lost the role of Creator, he has no external cult, he has ceded all his rights to the more popular "spirits", who are the controlling power of Melanesian religion.⁸

⁶ R. W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea* (London, 1912).
⁷ *Idem*, pp. 264-265. ⁸ *Idem*, p. 266ff. Note:—I have adopted the spelling *Chi-di-bey* as the phonetic equivalent of the original *Tsi-di-be*.

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(E, 5) QUAT-MARAWA—CENTRAL MELANESIA

This is illustrated by the figure of *Quat-Marawa*,—a quondam deity of the tribes inhabiting the Banks Islands, (Central Melanesia).⁸

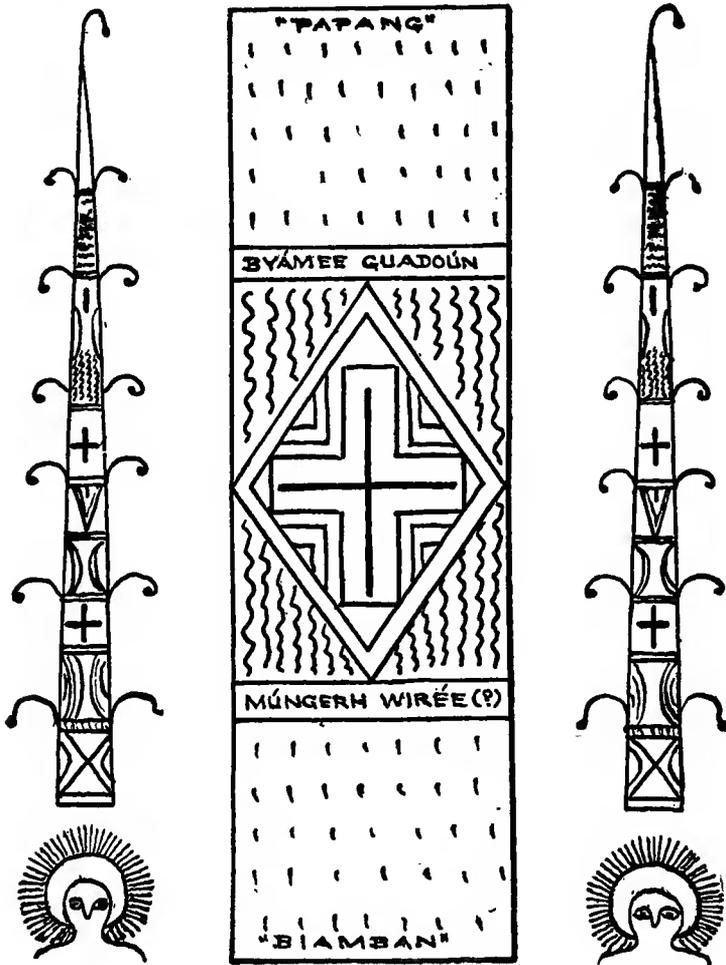
Though born or evolved from a stone, he is a *vui* or powerful spirit. "It is certain", says Codrington, "that he was believed to have made things in another sense from that in which men could be said to have made them. . . . He has fixed the natural condition of things in the world,—light, darkness, storms, winds, rains, seasons—, He has made man out of clay and woman out of supple twigs",—which seems to reveal a rather superior, if not a supreme being, and certainly a personal one. His character, though at times facetious, is generally pure and noble, he is helpful and good-natured, and has taught men the arts.⁹ Nevertheless he is associated with *Marawa*, the Spider, who is in every sense his duplicate, a collaborateur in the act of creation or a possible demiurge,—the "Spider-Moon". He is but one of a multitude of *vui*, to whom first-fruits, money, and even human life are occasionally sacrificed, he is a married divinity with eleven brothers but apparently no sons, and though his name is invoked in the hour of need, it is always coupled with that of *Marawa*, his helpmate, as follows: "*Quat-Marawa! Look down upon me! Prepare the sea, that I may go on a safe sea! Beat down the waves, that I may come to a safe harbor!*" While this has an inspiring ring, it must be offset by the fact that in practice he is hardly more than a dead ancestor, he has been confused with the tribal ghost, he is treated and fed like a disembodied spirit, he is the *Quat* or "Lord" of the Underworld, a mere phantom.¹⁰

By comparing him, however, with the above divinity, Mr. Williamson writes:—"I have been unable to find an account of any spiritual or partly spiritual being associated with the beliefs of Papuans or Melanesians who can be regarded as similar to *Chidibey*. Perhaps the nearest approach to him will be found in *Quat* of the Banks Islands".¹¹ Now it is this uniqueness and isolation among all other manistic taboos of the Papuo-Melanesian belt, which together with the strong Negrito strain, certified for New Guinea and highly probable for Melanesia, makes the existence of some interconnexion in the remote past an almost certain proposition. It is possible of course that the Mafulu divinity may be a faint echo of *Quat*, though in view of Mafulu "primitiveness",—absence of high stone culture, of totemism, of reincarnation-doctrine, of ghost-dance—, it seems more probable that he is the wreck of a former *Amaka*-god, whose worship has been lost by spiritism, but whose unique personality still survives in the popular mind.¹²

⁸ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians, Their Anthropology and Folklore*, (Oxford, 1891).
⁹ *Idem*, pp. 154-158. ¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 159ff. 128, 145ff. ¹¹ Williamson, *op. cit.* p. 266. ¹² Comp. Williamson, pp. 69, 90, 266ff. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, pp. 107, 141.

THE AGE OF BAMBOOS AND OF STRAIGHT-LINE PATTERNS THE FATHER OF ALL

AS SYMBOLISED IN THE BARK SHIELD-INSRIPTIONS OF THE AUSTRALIAN KAMILARCOI, IN
THE AUSTRALIAN CAVE-DRAWINGS, AND BY THE 'LANO OF QUAT', THE CEREMONIAL
HEAD-GEAR OF THE BANKS-ISLANDERS, CENTRAL MELANESIA



SUGGESTED MEANING

"MAY FATHER BAIME PROTECT US BY HIS FIERY BREATH."

SEE K. LANGLOH-PARKER, THE EUAHLAYI TRIBE, (LONDON, 1905), P. 80, 121 K. WEULE, LEITFADEN DER VOLKERKUNDE, (LEIPZIG, 1912), PL. 59, AND H. CODRINGTON, THE MELANESIANS, (OXFORD, 1891), P. 104, FROM WHICH IT BECOMES INCREASINGLY EVIDENT THAT THE SIMPLE CROSS-SIGN HAS A QUASI-RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE.

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(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA,—SOUTH EASTERN BELT

The continent of Australia offers an enormous field for sociological study. For our present purposes, however, it will be sufficient to treat of those tribes only that are racially, ethnically, and linguistically connected with the so-called "primaeval" area,—that region of the far South-East that faces Tasmania and is generally credited with being one of the most primitive haunts of man in existence.¹ The "High Gods" of Australia may be conveniently grouped as follows,—and these are only the most important:—

(a) *Baiame* of the Kamilaroi, and (b) *Nurrundere* of the Narrinyeri,—Darling and Murray-river tribes, Inland Basin. (c) *Bundjil* of the Kulin, and (d) *Daramulun* of the Yuin-Kuri, South Coast (e) *Mungan-ngaua* of the Kurnai,—Extreme South, Gippsland. Let us consider them one by one.

(F) (1) BAIAME,—KAMILAROI, NEW SOUTH WALES

For *Baiame*,—Great One, Creator?—the following information is to hand:—

Baiame is eternal,—He is "very, very old, but never older".² *Baiame* knows all things,—He is "all-seeing Spirit".³ *Baiame* can do all things,—“He can do what He wishes”.⁴ *Baiame* has made all things,—“He who made all things is *Baiame*”.⁵ *Baiame* rewards the good and punishes the wicked both here and hereafter.⁶ *Baiame* instils reverence and fear in a manner which is not shared by any other being,—affection, reverence, duty.⁷ To *Baiame* alone prayers are offered and the sacrifice of obedience, as when "*Baiame, Father of All!*" is invoked at the *Bora*, or Initiation-Rite.⁸

All this savors of high theism, but is apparently marred by the following defects taken from different points of view:—

(1) It has been said that these tribes are no longer "primitive" and that missionary influence is not improbable,—the old theory of importation again.⁹ (2) It has been suggested that *Baiame* is nothing but a deified hero,—the leader of the tribe,—who has been invested with supernatural honors in order to magnify the tribe-consciousness,—the theory of apotheosis.¹⁰ (3) *Baiame's* "wives", "hunting-expeditions", etc., are inconsistent with any ideas of a Supreme Being, however rudimentary,—there is excessive anthropomorphism.¹¹ It is therefore on the face of it unlikely that this picture is of any real value.

¹ A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, (London, 1904), p. 24-33. ² McDonald, in *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.* Vol. VII. p. 257. ³ Langloh-Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, (London, 1905), p. 79. ⁴ McDonald, l. c. and Archdeacon Gunther, cited by N. W. Thomas in "*Man*", (1905), p. 46. ⁵ W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, (Sydney, 1866), pp. 17, 136, Cp. Parker, l. c. p. 4-5. ⁶ McDonald and Gunther, loc. cit. supra. ⁷ Parker, l. c. p. 9. ⁸ Parker, l. c. pp. 8-9 (prayer), 72 (address), 79-80 (*Baiame*-song, untranslated). ⁹ E. B. Tylor, *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.* Vol. XXI. pp. 283-299 (Limits of savage religion). ¹⁰ Howitt, l. c. pp. 491, 500-501, 506-507. (Exaggeration of human attributes). ¹¹ E. S. Hartland, in "*Folklore*", Dec. 1898. (Denial of divine attributes).

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Let us see to what extent these objections are justified.

(1) It is quite true that none of these Australian tribes are strictly "primitive", that is primitive compared with the pure Negrito and the suggested Tasmanian type. Their culture is in every way more advanced, they live in more solid structures, and have discovered the art of making flint implements of palaeolithic and even neolithic design. They have an elaborate totemic system with four matrimonial classes,—an institution which is quite unknown among the lowest races of mankind. Yet with all this, there are clear traces or survivals of an earlier age, and of an earlier race, with whom they must have fused in very remote times,—the Tasmanian. This is revealed by their approximation to the Tasmanian type and by the fact that there is a strong under-current of very primitive culture which agrees very ill with an advanced stone-civilisation,—the grass apron, the fire-plow, the windshelter, the general sparsity of clothing in spite of a more rigorous climate. We must therefore be prepared for something anomalous, for a social and religious mixture. If certain features of this mythology can be proved to be common to the lowest Negrito and Tasmanian belt, it will stand to reason that these are the earlier forms, while the existence of a different circle of ideas will argue just as strongly for their introduction from a higher culture, provided these ideas can be shown to be peculiar to that culture, or at least to be strongly associated with it.

A different question is that of the native origin of the beliefs. Here the evidence gives no uncertain sound. For if a later wave of prehistoric influence must be admitted, a recent borrowing from Christian sources is now impossible to maintain. Tylor's objection that no savage mind is capable of such "advanced" thought is directly contradicted by the testimony of Lang, Howitt, Thomas, Langloh-Parker, and others, that these ideas are indigenous. Howitt has proved conclusively that *Baiame* antedates all the missions,¹² and Mrs. Parker writes:—"I was first told of *Baiame* in whispers by a very old native, said to have been already grey-haired, when Sir Thomas Mitchell discovered the Narran in 1846, (ten years before the missions). But He was a worshipful being, revealed in the mysteries, long before missionaries came, as (he) and all my informants aver".¹³ Similarly Thomas has shown that *Baiame* dates back to 1830,—evidence which ought to be conclusive,¹⁴—especially as Waitz, our greatest authority, emphatically denies importation.¹⁵

¹² Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 504-505. ¹³ Langloh-Parker, 1. c. p. 5. (summary).
¹⁴ Thomas, *loc. cit. supra*. ¹⁵ Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, (Leipzig, 1872), Vol. IV. pp. 796-798. Comp. A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, (London, 1901), p. 25.

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(2) But if the theory of a "Loan-God" is now generally abandoned,—and detailed reasons for this will appear in the sequel,—it is not on the face of it impossible that the supposed divinity might have been derived from an ancestor,—an "ideal headman" who lives in the sky, and to whom the natives pray in the hour of need. But this is going beyond the immediate data, it is "theorizing" on the probable origin of the belief. That a great headman might have suggested the idea is not *per se* impossible, but it will have to be proved that such a headman ever existed, nay more that he was worshipped and adorned with the supernatural qualities above mentioned. Now, not only is this unprovable, but there is strong evidence to show, that this could hardly have been the origin of the belief. There is no trace of hero- or ancestor-worship from which such a concept could have been developed. Moreover a headman, though "great", is hardly a "*Baiame*", a "Creator", a "Maker of all things", "an endless Being", an "all-seeing Spirit". The transition from human to divine attributes is too abrupt. *Baiame* stands out of all relation to tribal chiefs, to medicine-men and magicians. He is worshipped, while they are not, the image is human, but the attributes are superhuman. Howitt's objection is therefore merely a speculative one. It concerns the origin of the idea, not the idea itself, for he is satisfied that *Baiame* in His present form is, to say the least, an "ideal" being.¹⁹

Then again, the worship that is given to *Baiame*, and His hold over the public conscience, is something that is difficult to derive from a defunct ancestor. At the *Borah*, or Initiation-ceremony, He is solemnly invoked as "*Father of All, whose laws the tribes are now obeying!*", and the youth are put through a severe fire- and fasting-test, in which they are instructed in all the details of what can only be called a "religion". *Baiame* "has made all things", He is "the original source of all totems", He has commanded them to observe the customs, "because *Baiame says so*", He requires them to observe the moral law,—for the "three deadly sins are: unprovoked murder, lying to the elders of the tribe, and stealing a woman within the forbidden degrees". Moreover "kindliness towards the old and sick is strictly inculcated as a command of *Baiame*, to whom all breaches of His laws are reported by the all-seeing spirit at a man's death, and he is judged accordingly". Finally, the petition to *Baiame*, that "the blacks may live long", that "He may send rain", that "the dead may rest in peace", etc.,—all are so many indications that we are dealing with a superhuman, an omniscient, an omnipotent Being.²⁰

¹⁹ Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 507. ²⁰ For the facts, Parker, 1. c. pp. 7-9, 78-79. Cf. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, (Münster, 1912), pp. 173, 349ff.

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(3) But is not *Baiame* disfigured by "wife and family", by his role as a "hunter", by his confusion with the sun and the emu, by his invocation under the form of a crude clay figure which is anything but suggestive of a spiritual, an invisible being?²¹ We are here face to face, partly with a harmless anthropomorphism, partly with a social and religious complexity, in which certain features are clearly of later growth, the result of a fusion with higher and later forms culture. (Cp. point 1). This can be shown by the fact that in the most primitive region, that of the East Indies, Central Africa, and probably Tasmania, the supreme Being is very generally unmarried, the hunting-theme is absent, sun, moon and animals have no relation to Him, and there are no plastic representations of the divine. *Baiame* as the Sun-god, with Emu feet, is the leading motif of the Australian totem-culture, as may be easily proved by the very similar figure of *Altjira* among the strongly totemic Aruntas, where we find the Emu-Sun, wife and family, hunting-escapades, and other undignified traits. This culture, and the solar ideas that accompany it, can be traced to at least four continents, and is in every way more advanced than any of the Negrito cycles or the supposed Tasmanian belt.²² If then *Baiame* is tarnished in part by solar and sexual features, if He has been dragged into the world of plant and animal totems, we know from what quarter this part of His picture could alone have been derived. It corresponds to the more advanced aspect of Kamilaroi civilisation, that aspect which binds them to the central Aruntas, while its more primitive features suggest just as forcibly that the simple picture of the All-Father rivets Him to the lowest stratum of belief as yet known to us,—the Negrito Tasmanian circle. Thus two different phases of thought are here in collision, and by eliminating the elements that are demonstrably later, the original picture of *Baiame* stands out in bold relief, to wit:—The human notes bring out His Personality, the supernatural notes His Divinity.²³

This argumentation will appear more conclusive the more the subject is developed in greater detail. For the present it should be observed that although a decadence in beliefs and practices is here distinctly noticeable,—growing nature-worship with magical and totemic ceremonies, cannibalistic practices, etc.—there is a strong undercurrent of pure theology which has left *Baiame* in undisputed possession of the field,—a moral Being who requires from His creatures a strict account of their actions, a high standard. For any being that can vindicate the moral law not only in the future but also in the present life, *must* be more than a 'headman', he must be a faint image, to say the least, of the supreme Judge of heaven and earth.²⁴

²¹ Hartland, 1. c. *supra*. Cp. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, pp. 222, 370ff. ²² See Introduction p. XLIII. above. ²³ Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 388ff. ²⁴ Parker, 1. c. p. 50-60, 61-70ff.

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In illustration of this subject, the following customs, violent though some of them undoubtedly seem, will speak for themselves:—

“Should a girl be found guilty of frailty, it being her first fault, her brothers and nearest male relations made a ring around her, after having bound her hands and feet, and toss her one from the other until she is in a dazed condition and almost frightened to death. Should a woman have been discovered to be an absolute wanton, men from any of the clans make a ring around her, she being bound, and tossed from one to the other, and when exhausted is unbound and left by her relations to the men to do as they please to her,—the almost inevitable result is death”.²⁵

The practice of killing half-caste babies is justified on the plea that *Baiame's* laws have been ignored, that His children have strayed from the path of virtue,—a brutal custom, but indicative of a strong moral feeling. For *Baiame* had said that “as long as the blacks kept his sacred laws, so long should He stay in His crystal seat (in heaven), and the blacks live on earth. But if they failed to keep up the Borah rites as He had taught them, then He would move and their end would come, and only the Wundah, or white devils, be in their country”.²⁶ The high price that is placed upon chastity is illustrated by the beautiful legend of the seven virgins that came down from heaven, two of whom were ravished by mortals and made to live with them, while the remaining five remained spotless. *The seven virgins are the Pleiades, and the two ravished virgins are the two stars in the Pleiades that shine with a diminished brightness.*²⁷

Charity and self-sacrifice are inculcated from the tenderest years. Mothers sing to their babies somewhat as follows:—“*Give to me, baby, give to her baby, give to him, baby, give to one, baby, give to all, baby! Be kind, do not steal, do not touch what belongs to another, leave it alone, be kind!*”

While there are some ugly blotches on the morality of these tribes,—theory and practice being not always in harmony and many revolting customs in vogue,—this picture will show beyond doubt that *Baiame* has a close relation to morals, that He is an ethical Being. As the best known of the Australian “High-Gods”, this may serve as a good example of Australian belief and practice in its earlier form. Of the still earlier but far less known divinities of the South-East a brief summary will be sufficient, as the want of space and the poverty of matter forbid a more lengthy discussion in these pages, interesting though such a discussion might prove to be.

²⁵ Parker, 1. c. p. 60. ²⁶ Parker, 1. c. p. 95-96. ²⁷ Parker, 1. c. p. 52-54.

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(F) (2) NURRUNDERE,—NARRINYERI TRIBES, SOUTH AUSTRALIA

As an equivalent of *Baiame*, but with some approach to *Bundjil* below, stands the figure of *Nurrundere*, the chief deity of the Narrinyeri-tribes.

He has made all things, and has taught men the arts and sciences.¹ His voice is the thunder, and his work the rainbow.² He has brought his people down the river, (Murray), and has ordained a sacrifice which he requires at stated intervals,—a Wallaby-offering.³ He is no longer on earth, but is now in heaven, and his name is uttered only with the greatest reverence.⁴

Here again the notion of a headman, hunter, or tribal leader, can be separated from that of a Maker and Giver of all, a being who is distinctly superhuman, though he is pictured under human forms. Marriage in these tribes is on the local totemic system with male descent, and there is a starvation-ceremony by which the youth are admitted to full membership of the clan. Spirit and ancestor-worship are wanting, or at least weakly developed.⁵

(F) (3) BUNDJIL,—KULIN TRIBES, SOUTH WEST VICTORIA

For *Bundjil* of the Kulin tribes, the material is scanty and difficult to collate. Moreover his picture is tarnished by astral features, as he is now identified with a star, (Altair, or Fomalhaut). "*See!*" (pointing to the star), "*that one is Bundjil. You see Him, and He sees you!*". His sons (or brothers) are also stars, and his alleged wives are two black swans.⁶ By disentangling the complicated mythology, often contradictory, by which this central figure has been obscured, it has been possible to eliminate one by one those notes or attributes that are inconsistent with his prime qualities and show traces of belonging to a later group of ideas. We have already seen that the notion of a married divinity, associated more or less with the sun, moon, and stars, is the leading theme of the more advanced totem-culture, and is conspicuously absent in the earliest stream of human tradition. (Comp. p. 40.) When these items are removed as out of harmony with the more primitive aspect of this people, socially and culturally, the original picture of *Bundjil* as the Heaven-God, with thunder and rainbow-traits, may be clearly discerned in the background, as witness:—

He is the Maker of all things, and the teacher of arts and sciences. He is the guardian of the moral order, and the Father in Heaven, in short, He is a personal being, with mixed human and divine attributes.⁷

This is the region of two-class totemism, with paternal descent.⁸

¹ Howitt, 1. c. p. 488, quoting G. Taplin, *The Narrinyeri*, (Adelaide, 1879), p. 55. ² Taplin, 1. c. p. 57f. ³ Taplin, 1. c. p. 55. ⁴ Taplin, *ibid.* ⁵ Howitt, 1. c. p. 260, 673, 434. ⁶ Howitt, 1. c. 128, 489-492. ⁷ Howitt, 1. c. 491-492. Cp. Brough-Smith, *The Aborigines of Victoria* (Melbourne, 1878) Vol. I. pp. 423-442. ⁸ Howitt, p. 126, 610.

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(F) (4) DARAMULUN,—YUIN-KURI, NEW SOUTH WALES

Another prominent figure in this connection is that of *Daramulun*,—the high Thunder-God of the Kuri nation,—New South Wales. It is remarkable that he is one of the few deities in Australia that is not hampered with rivals or assistants or family retinue, but stands supreme as the one God of heaven to whom deference is due.

He is *Biamban*, or "Great Master", He can go everywhere and do anything.¹ He is Creator of all things, at least in one instance.² He was once upon earth, but is now in heaven, where He watches the actions of men. He can see people, and is very angry when they do wrong.³ He has taught mankind the arts and industries, and He alone has instituted the sacred mysteries,—the so-called *Kuringal*. On these occasions, his voice, which is heard in the thunder, is re-echoed in the whirring of the "Bull-roarer", or sacred wand, and one who is deputed to take his place marshals the young men, and in the name of *Daramulun* knocks out one of their front teeth. This is the only occasion on which his picture is allowed to be exposed or his name uttered. The women and uninitiated know Him only under the more common title *Papang*,—Father,—or *Biamban*,—Master.⁵

But if this picture of *Daramulun* is simple and clear, his later associations are indeed manifold. He is a falcon, He has a mother, the Emu, He has only one leg, (*Dara-mulun*), He is the spirit that dwells in the Bull-roarer as in a secret charm, and that compels obedience by virtue of its own hidden power, (*Schwirrh Holzgeist*).⁶ These items may be interpreted as accidentals, of no essential importance to his main character as a creating divinity. But that they are later accretions derived from the same source as in the preceding cases, is, to say the least, highly probable. His identification with the falcon, spider, or lizard, and his association with the emu-sun, reveals a close connection with the central Arunta totemic region, where animal and astral themes are alone in evidence. Moreover his maimed condition is by no means primitive,—the existing figures are all complete,—while the bull-roarer-spirit is a natural intensification of his hidden presence, which has become more and more blended with magical rites.⁷ It will be noted, moreover, that the nearer we approach the Tasmanian region, the more pure is the picture presented by the supreme Being, the more free from sexual and naturalistic details. Marriage in these tribes is on the simple totemic system with local exogamy and male descent.

¹ Howitt, l. c. p. 553. ² Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 156. ³ Howitt, pp. 494-495. ⁴ *Ibid.* ⁵ Howitt, p. 516-562. ⁶ Howitt, p. 560, 585ff. ⁷ Howitt, p. 553, 563ff. Cp. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, pp. 344-349.

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(F) (5) MÜNGAN-NGAUA,—KURNAL, SOUTH VICTORIA

As the last and in many respects the purest form in Australian theology, the figure of *Mungan-ngaua* looms bright and clear as the supreme being of the Kurnai tribes of South-East Victoria,—Gippsland. He is the only divinity that has no other name but that which describes his paternal relation to man,—*Mungan-ngaua*—, “Our Father”, the “Father” of the human race. Unfortunately but little is known of his physical and ethical traits. These are kept a strict secret, and are known only to the initiated, and to them obscurely. Perhaps the most vivid picture of his character is obtained at one of these tribal initiations, or *Jeraeils*, where the youth are instructed in the following terms:—

“Long ago there was a great being called *Mungan-ngaua*, who lived on earth and taught the Kurnai all they know. He gave them also their personal names, such as *Tulaba*. He had a son, *Tundun*, (Adam?), who was married, and is the direct ancestor of the Kurnai. He instituted the *Jeraeil* at the command of his father, and made the instruments,—bull-roarers—, that bear his name,—*Tundun*. Some tribal traitor impiously revealed the secrets to the women, and for this reason, He sent down fire from heaven, (the Aurora Australis), and a great flood, in which all were drowned except a few of their own ancestors. After this He left the earth and ascended into heaven, where He still remains.”¹

It has been objected that this story is somewhat thin, that it leaves the real nature of *Mungan-ngaua* undermined. It must be confessed that his role as Creator is inferential rather than self-evident, but the sparsity of the attributes that are assigned to Him is at most a negative argument, and proves little when compared with the unique position that He occupies in the life of the people. At least this much may be affirmed:—

He was apparently never made, and is certainly immortal. He is their father, their teacher, their judge, and their lawgiver. He has commanded them (1) to listen to and obey the old men, (2) to share everything with their friends, (3) to live peaceably with their friends, (4) not to interfere with girls and married women, (5) to obey the food-restrictions, etc.²—from which it is evident that we are dealing with an ethical being,—the Author and Guardian of the moral law. Marriage in these tribes is on the local system, with “sex”-totems and male descent. These are among the most primitive and strongly Tasmanoid tribes on the entire continent.³

¹ Howitt, op. cit. pp. 490, 630ff. ² Idem, p. 633. ³ Comp. Schmidt, Ursprung, pp. 324-332. Howitt, l. c. pp. 269-271.

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(F) (6) MARRA-BOONA,—TASMANIAN PURE

Of the aborigines of Tasmania, now extinct, we have only the most slender statistics.¹ Only those, moreover, will be of any religious value to us that depict the natives as they existed before their loss of liberty, before they were placed under conditions of pressure, that is, before 1834. These accounts speak of a divinity, *Marra Boona*, whose name, though only seriously studied since the time of Milligan, (1854), can hardly be any other than that of the chief god of the Mount Royal tribes,—South Tasmania. The full name,—*Tiggana-Marra-Boona*—, has been variously interpreted by scholars, either as “Spirit of great creative power” according to Milligan, or simply as “*High-One-Exalted*”, (Extremus-Unus-Eminens), according to Fr. Schmidt. The exact meaning must be determined by future lexicologists.² In any case these epithets fit in well with the vague descriptions of a deity that have been handed down from very early sources, collected and quoted by Ling-Roth, to wit:—

He is the spirit of light and is opposed to the spirit of darkness. (On this point all are agreed,—Jeffreys, Horton, Leigh, etc.—1820-1822). He is a benevolent being and the author of good, (Ibidem). He is the Creator of man, if not of the universe, (Horton, 1821), and therefore in some sense supreme, at least over the human race. He is addressed by prayers and invocations, which imply an ethical relation of worship and a “feeling” for personality,—(Jeffreys, 1820, Leigh, 1822).

Approaching this subject in greater detail,—it must be admitted that the evidence is neither as clear nor as copious as might have been desired. But the explicit statement of three very early writers must surely be of some weight, more especially as the lexical evidence tends to support it. “These creatures have a song”, says Jeffreys (1820), “which they sing to their imaginary deity, of whom however they have a very vague idea and who as they say, presides over the day, while an evil spirit or demon appears at night. This divinity, whatsoever He may be, they look upon as the *Giver of good*, and it does not appear that they acknowledge more than *one God*”. Horton also testifies, (1821), that they have a creation-legend, according to which they were created “by a *benevolent Being*”, at first “with tails and without knee-joints, when another being descended from heaven, and full of sympathy for the sufferers, cut off their tails and lubricated their joints.” If these items mean nothing more, they imply, at least, that the origin of man is apparently attributed to a good, wise and benevolent Creator, though the tail-motif leaves, of course, much to be desired in the way of a pure concept.³

¹ Collected by H. Ling-Roth in his classic work, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, (Halifax, 1899), from which most of the present material has been derived. ² Compare Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 216ff. for Milligan and the lexical analysis. ³ The simplicity of this story is a guarantee of its native origin. For the sources, see Ling-Roth, pp. 53-54.

OCEANIC PRIMITIVE FORM

Similarly Leigh, (1822), writes:—"Their religious beliefs are very obscure. Nevertheless, they believe in two spirits: the good spirit governs the day, and the evil spirit the night. To the good spirit they attribute all the good, and to the wicked spirit all the evil. When any member of the family is on a journey, they are accustomed to *sing to the good spirit*, in order to implore his protection over their absent friends, and that they may return in health and safety". The later testimonies of Henderson, Robinson, Lloyd, Bonwick, etc. (1832-1870), confirm in part the earlier reports, with this difference that all, with the exception of Robinson, recognise demonism and spirit-worship to be the chief constituent of Tasmanian religion.

From these data it may be inferred with great probability that the Tasmanians at one time recognised a single, supreme, and benevolent divinity, opposed by another, malevolent divinity, and that with the loss of their liberty and their constrained conditions of life, they have turned more and more to spiritism as a last refuge to their shattered hopes.

We cannot therefore reject the united testimony of the earlier reports confirmed by Milligan's lexical studies in 1854. It reveals the existence a "Great High One", whose creative power is attested as early as 1821, and whose benevolence, providence, and personal worship seem to be implied by the existing data. But with regard to His nature, we are left very largely in the dark. The word "spirit" is dubious, and we have no knowledge of ancient Tasmanian worship, that could give us a clue to the "forms" under which it took place. If however Ling-Roth is right in his explicit denial of any sun- or moon-worship on the part of the natives,³ we have an important point in favor of a pure, unadulterated cult of divinity, unassociated with the elaborate nature-worship of later times.

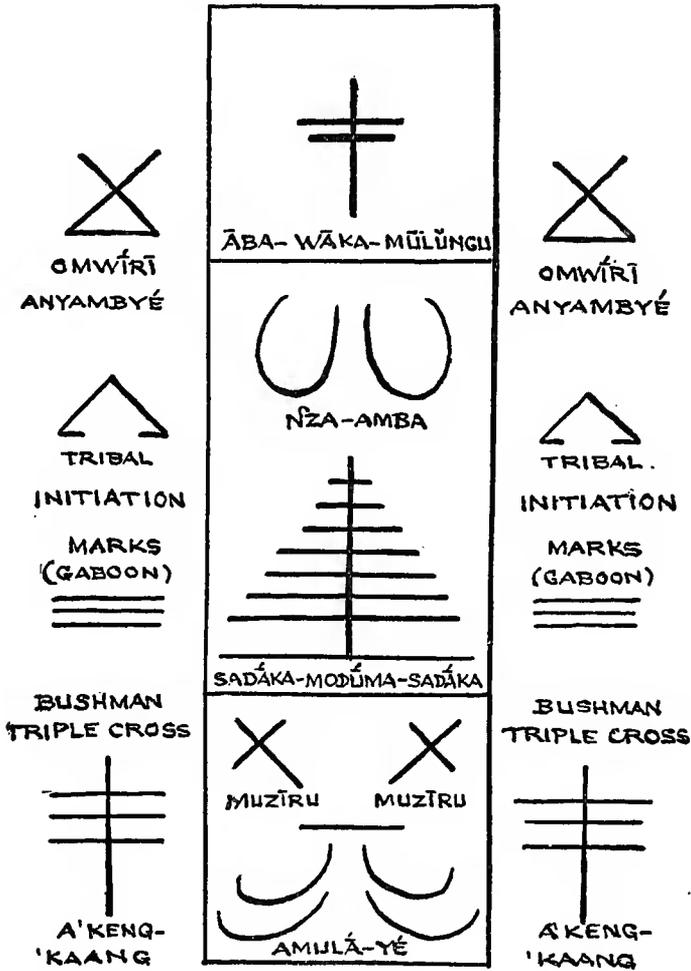
This is a consideration of no small value. It means that Tasmanian religion antedates the cosmic theology by indefinite periods, that the supreme divinity has no relation to sun or moon-cult. This and the absence of totemism⁴ brings it very near the Negrito level, with whom from the standpoint of culture as well as physique the Tasmanians are closely allied.⁵

From what can still be known of this interesting people it appears that they stood on a comparatively high moral level. The marriage-tie was strict and adultery was punished with blows. All agree that there was no cannibalism, and no infanticide except such as was forced upon them by contact with whites.⁶

³ Ling-Roth, op. cit. p. 54. ⁴ Idem, p. 63. (totemism). ⁵ Idem, p. 67ff. (culture). ⁶ Idem, pp. 113-115 (marriage), p. 97 (cannibalism), p. 162 (infanticide). Note:—"There is no evidence that they were in awe of the sun, nor that they associated childbirth with the moon",—p. 54. where the authorities are given. (I have not been able to procure the originals),

THE AGE OF BAMBOOS AND OF STRAIGHT-LINE PATTERNS THE FATHER ABOVE THE CLOUDS

QUIVER-INSRIPTION USED BY THE NEGRILLOS OF THE CONGO-BELT FOR SECURING A SUCCESSFUL CHASE, AND INTERPRETED IN PART BY THE MYTHOLOGY, IN PART BY THE APPENDED SYMBOLS FOR THE "MASTER IN HEAVEN."



COMBINED INTERPRETATION

"THE FATHER ON HIGH—THE CREATOR—WHO HAS PLANTED THE SACRED MODUMA TREE—MAY HE PROTECT US BY HIS GUARDIAN-SPIRITS."

SEE MGR. LEROY, LES PYGMEES NEGRILLES D'AFRIQUE ET NEGritos DE L'ASIE, (TOURS, 1910), P. 169, 252, AND G. W. STOW, THE NATIVE RACES OF SOUTH AFRICA. (LONDON, 1910), P. 28, 120, FOR NEGRILLO AND BUSHMAN SYMBOLISM.

CENTRAL AFRICAN PRIMITIVE FORM

(G) THE AKKA-BATUA NEGRILLOS OF CENTRAL AFRICA

The Negrillos of Central Africa, though famed since classic times, have only recently been studied with anything like precision. And even now, little enough is known of their more subtle beliefs to be able to pass any final conclusions as to their character. But the materials that have come to hand are nevertheless sufficiently well-tested and sufficiently surprising to merit further inquiry.

(G) (1) WAKA—EAST CENTRAL AFRICA,—BONI-WATWA

Of a mysterious being called *Waka* the following facts have been collected by Mgr. LeRoy in a personal interview with the natives:—¹

Waka can see everything, but cannot be seen Himself,—a spiritual being (?). He is the Master of all and has given them all they have,—a Creator. He is the Judge of all, as when He descends from heaven and takes the lives of men at His will, who are then buried in the earth. He is severe and requires a sacrifice, in which the best portions of food are burnt, poured out, or thrown up to heaven, with the following words:—

“Waka! Thou hast given me this buffalo, this honey, this wine. Behold thy portion. Grant me continued strength and life, and that no harm may come to my children!”

The Boni-Watwas are pure primitives and their antiquity unquestionable. As to possible importation, it is to be noted, that although *Waka* is also the name for God among the Hamitic Gallas, their neighbors, it is hardly probable from the want of any Islamic features in their religion that the name or idea is of Islam origin, (Allah). For if so, why were not other Islamic elements, such as dances and dervishes, fakirs, circumcision and medicine-men, transferred also? Moreover the Negrillos commonly speak the language of their neighbors, and *Waka* would be their natural expression for what the Gallas call God. This is in fact a mere question of terminology, and has no bearing on the native origin of the belief, which is now generally admitted.³ As to spiritistic and magical practices, the author has taken care to determine that no charms or amulets of any kind are used by the natives in the hope of driving out the *pepos*, or bad spirits, of which they know nothing.⁴ On the other hand the *Sadaka*, or firstling-sacrifice is common to nearly all the Negrillos, and is generally wanting among all tribes or peoples of Mohammedan persuasion. This is a strong point against importation.⁵

¹ Mgr. LeRoy, *Les Pygmées, Négrilles d'Afrique et Négritos de l'Asie*, (Tours, undated), pp. 175-178. Comp. Schmidt, *Pygmäenvölker*, p. 232. ² See above pp. ³ Schmidt, l. c. p. 232, note 1, 4. ⁴ LeRoy, l. c. p. 176. ⁵ Idem, p. 178, where the author states that on the contrary the first-fruit idea was borrowed from the Watwa, this on the testimony of a Pocomo tribesman.

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(G) (2) INDAGARRA,—MID-CENTRAL AFRICA,—URUNDI-WATWA

Father J. M. Van der Burgt reports of a deity in Central Africa, (Urundi), whose name, *Indagarra*, he associates with a verb meaning "to live", "to be strong" (?).¹ The following facts deserve in any case to be noted:—

He appears to abide in the heavens and cannot now be seen. He has made the first man and the first woman, the parents of the race. He has a subordinate spirit, *Ryangombe*, who may be a mediator, but who is identified in the popular mind with the first man, (or Adam). He is the supreme Judge of man after death, when He sends the good upwards to a place of enjoyment, and the bad downwards to a place of misery.

The author also states that few amulets are worn by the natives, though they manufacture them for the neighboring Warundi and Watutsi, and that very few temples or fetich-houses are to be found, which in this case are certainly imported features. We are therefore justified in conjecturing that this is a deity similar to *Waka* above, though further information will be necessary before any more definite opinion can be formed.

(G) (3) NZAMBI,—WEST-CENTRAL AFRICA, AJONGO-GABOON (MIXED)

From the Gaboon-region, West-Africa, Mgr. LeRoy has obtained the following information concerning *Nzambi*,—again by personal interview:—

He lives on high, and His voice is the thunder. He is the Master of all. He has made all, and "in His sight we are all very small". He causes men to live and to die. When a man dies, his shadow descends into the earth, deeper and deeper. (Purgatory). Then it gradually rises and ascends to God. If he has been good, God says: "Stay here, you will possess great forests and want nothing". If evil, God throws him into the fire, which is above (sic!). All these things, we are assured, the Ajongo have believed from time immemorial.

As against *Anyambie* of the Nkomis, *Nzambi* is distinctly a Judge, with rewards and punishments, His name has no connection with the neighboring divinity, and the Ajongo wear no amulets, and have no priests and sorcerers.³

Similar reports have reached us of the Akkas,⁴ Batuas, Wambuttis,⁵ etc. This, in connection with the firstling-sacrifice above mentioned,⁶ renders the conclusion probable that these are primary, aboriginal, Central-African beliefs.⁷ Such is the verdict of Mgr. LeRoy, who moreover assures us that this belief is superior to that of the Bantus, and is accompanied by a higher standard of private and public morals,—less violence, greater observance of chastity.⁸

¹ J. M. Vander Burgt, *Un grand peuple de l'Afrique Equatoriale*, (Bois-le-Duc, 1903) pp. 46, 74, 82, 119, 137. Cp. Schmidt, l. c. p. 234. ² LeRoy, op. cit. pp. 179-180. ³ LeRoy, l. c. p. 180. ⁴ Comp. Casati, *Ten years in Equatoria*, (London, 1891). Also ⁵ Schmidt, l. c. 234-235. ⁶ LeRoy, 178, 192. ⁷ Idem, p. 187, 177. ⁸ Idem, p. 209ff.

CENTRAL AFRICAN PRIMITIVE FORM

To illustrate this subject, and at the same time to obtain a graphic idea of *how* the natives express their religious views to those whom they feel they can make their confidentials, I cannot do better than quote verbatim the report of Mgr. LeRoy, one of the few white men who has ever taken the trouble to handle this matter with anything like satisfaction.⁹

"I have been singularly struck", says the bishop, "at the difference which exists,—and this entirely to their advantage,—between our little men and the neighboring tribes, a difference which I had already discovered on the eastern coast and which to my astonishment I found to be the same on the other side of Africa. When I accidentally invaded the *Boni*-settlement, (close to Malindi, Zanzibar), and made the acquaintance of the chief, I drew from him a remark which surprised me. Contrary to the custom of the Bantus around them, pagan or more or less mussulman, these Bonis carry no amulets.

"I do not see among you those *dawas*, *irizis*, and all those things which other tribes carry around their necks, arms, and everywhere', was my remark. 'No', was the answer. 'Why not? are these things wicked?' 'We know nothing about them'. 'But if the *pepo* (or spirit) enters one of your bodies, what do you do to expel him?' 'The *pepo* never comes to us, he knows only the *Wa-nyika* and the Mussulman'. 'And you have no sacrifice either, (*Sadaka*), for example when you kill a buffalo, when you find honey, when some evil threatens you?' 'Listen, if you want to know everything. When I kill a buffalo, I take a small portion, the best of it, and place it on the fire. One part remains there to be burnt, the other I eat with my children. If I find honey, I take none of it until I have thrown a little into the forest or up to heaven. And when I get palm-wine, I must first scatter a little of it over the ground. . . . Is that what you want to know?

"Yes,—but in doing this, you say nothing?" 'I do. I say for example:—"*Waka!* Thou hast given me this buffalo, this honey, this wine. Behold thy portion. Grant me strength and life, and that no harm may come to my children!"' "*Waka* is the Galla name for God. I knew this, but it was better to play the ignorant, and let this savage explain himself in his own way. "*Waka?*" said I, "what is *Waka?*" "You have never heard of *Waka?* Why, He is the Master of all, He whom the Swahilis call *Mu-ungu*. He gives us these lands, these forests, these rivers, everything that you see: We live off Him, but He is severe, He wants His share of things, and we give it to Him." "Have you seen Him?" "Seen *Waka?* Who could ever see *Waka?* But He sees us easily.

⁹ LeRoy, op. cit. p. 175ff. I give a short English version of the original French.

CENTRAL AFRICAN PRIMITIVE FORM

"Sometimes He comes into our camp and makes one of us die. Then we bury him in the earth, him whom he has deprived of life. For it is dangerous to remain under the eye of God".

The author concludes:—

"These backwoodsman-ideas of God and of sacrifice that is due to Him made, I repeat, a profound impression upon me, superior by far as they were to those commonly scattered among their agricultural, sedentary, and comparatively civilised neighbors. They reversed the conceptions that I had made on the subject, and which wanted to make out (according to the books) that religious and other knowledge goes hand in hand with material civilisation".

This is only one specimen of the above author's numerous interviews with the natives, and every time he found not only "the recognition of a personal and supreme Divinity" but the offering up of sacrifices to His name. "For my part", he says, "I have found no group in which He was unknown."¹⁰

But if the magical and animistic practices of the Bantus are here conspicuously absent, any notions of totemism, of a descent from trees or animals, are equally distant. *Waka* has made men and all things *directly*, they do not spring from lower forms, and at death He is their immediate Judge, there are no reincarnations. They have a natural shyness towards the Chimpanzee, and they regard the *Moduma*-Tree as sacred, the latter containing the secret of life, from which they abstain at stated intervals, offering up the sacred nut as a "present to the Lord". Moreover, "I made many inquiries to know whether the negrillos were cannibals. The answer was always in the negative, except among the Beku (or Bushmen), or very intermittently,"—a verdict with which Casati agrees.¹¹ They are a peaceful, affectionate, and comparatively moral people, among whom monogamy prevails and women are not ill treated. "They have a fellow-feeling for one another, assisting one another as the occasion may require", and their family life and social customs should be studied with the help of Mgr. LeRoy's interesting pictures, which will reveal more powerfully than any words can do, how these simple childish people reverence themselves and their Creator.

As to the name of this divinity, the word *Waka* contains the two roots *Wa* and *Ka*, from which the meaning "High Man" "Great Master" may not improbably be revealed. *Nzambi* (*Nza-amba*) is "He who creates", while *Inda-garra* is taken to mean "The Strong One" "He who is alive". In any case, the expression *Abe-Yehu-Mu-lingu* will speak for itself—*"Our Father, who art in Heaven!"*¹²

¹⁰ LeRoy, 1. c. p. 187. ¹¹ Ibid. p. 193. ¹² For linguistic notes and invocations see Idem. p. 112ff. Also, *La Religion des Primitifs* (Paris, 1911) p. 173ff. 301.

CENTRAL AFRICAN PRIMITIVE FORM

(H) KAANG—SOUTH-AFRICAN BELT,—KALAHARI BUSHMEN, (*Maluti*)

Of the Bushman religion, (Kalahari Desert, South Africa), conflicting reports are in circulation. This is owing to the fact that these tribes are no longer unadulterated, but exhibit certain advanced features, (use of palaeoliths, poisoned arrows, pottery, and polychrome), side by side with very early elements, (wind-screen, loin-strap, fire-stick, etc.), which makes their position an anomalous one. They are also beyond the negrito stature,¹ have powerful hereditary chiefs,² show vestiges of totemic ideas,³ are strongly addicted to magic,⁴ and exhibit a morality by no means flawless,—polygamy and infanticide in parts.⁵ These, by contrast with qualities of an opposite nature, make their combined character very difficult to estimate. Nevertheless, there is a general consensus of opinion that they are an ancient people, and in the most primitive area, that of the Maluti, or Mountain-Bushmen, we hear of a great being called *Kaang*, (Master), of whom the following information has been gathered:—⁷

Kaang cannot be seen with the eyes, but only with the heart of man. *Kaang* causes to live and causes to die, gives or refuses rain. "At first he was very good and nice, but he got spoilt through fighting so many things" (Idea of original goodness contending with increasing evil). "He has made all things and we pray to Him". He is to be addressed in times of famine, or before going to war, or when performing the sacred dance, (*Mo'koma*). The following prayer is authenticated:—"O *Kaang*, *Kaang*! Are we not thy children? Do you not see our hunger? Give us food!" "And He gives us both our hands full".⁸ He has instituted the *Mo'koma* or "Dance of Blood", a terrible gambol, in which both sexes take part, and which ends with swooning and nose-bleeding, but the transgression of whose rites on the score of sexual excess is punished by *Kaang* with terrible chastisements,—transformation into beasts, and banishment to a mysterious region under the water.⁹

From what has been seen above, it seems probable that *Kaang* is an old Bushman "God", whose character has been partly lost by growing social and moral deterioration. Dr. Bleek's identification of *Kaang* with the grasshopper, (*Mantis*), shows inroads of the totem-culture in the West, but leaves his nature undetermined in the more primitive region, (*Maluti*).¹⁰ A similar invasion of animal ideas has been noted in Australia and the Andaman Islands, (q. v.) It must be admitted, however, that this figure is too humanised and corrupted in its present appearance to satisfy the rigid demands of a pure theism. It points at the most to a former and probably more elevated conception of the divine.

¹ G. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, (London, 1910), p. 12. ² *Idem*, p. 186. ³ *Idem*, p. 129ff. ⁴ *Idem*, p. 125. ⁵ *Idem*, pp. 95-97, 50-51. ⁶ *Idem*, pp. 40, 151. ⁷ Stow, l. c. pp. 113, 132-134, taken partly from T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un voyage au Cap de Bonne Esperance*, (Paris, 1842) p. 501ff. partly from J. M. Orpen, *A Glimpse into the mythology of the Maluti Bushmen*, *Cape Monthly Magazine*, July, 1874. ⁸ Stow, l. c. p. 134. ⁹ *Idem*, p. 120. ¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 133-134.

CENTRAL AFRICAN PRIMITIVE FORM

REVIEW

Such in brief are the main outlines of the earliest African faith as yet known to us. It cannot be denied that the picture is fragmentary, that the material offered is far from voluminous, that the conclusions drawn are not in every case beyond criticism. We must remember, however, that this is an entirely new field, and that in the first endeavor to uncover these beliefs, to penetrate beyond the veil of tribal secrecy, there must needs be considerable difficulty and not a little disappointment, that with such an expenditure of labor the material reported should be apparently small. But the quantity of the matter offered is not always the best test of its veracity, of its relative importance. A few vital statistics are worth volumes of undigested folk-lore, of secondary issues. In the present case the splendid work of Mgr. LeRoy has opened out a new world of investigation in Central Africa, and the facts that he has brought to light should be a stimulus for every searcher after truth to widen its domain, to bring more secrets to the surface. The more essential points of his report have been given above, for the more descriptive matter the reader is referred to the work itself, which serves as an excellent and at present the only popular introduction to the study of Negrillo beliefs.

Taking this area as a whole, there can be no doubt that the main points established admit of a fairly rigid demonstration,—to wit,—

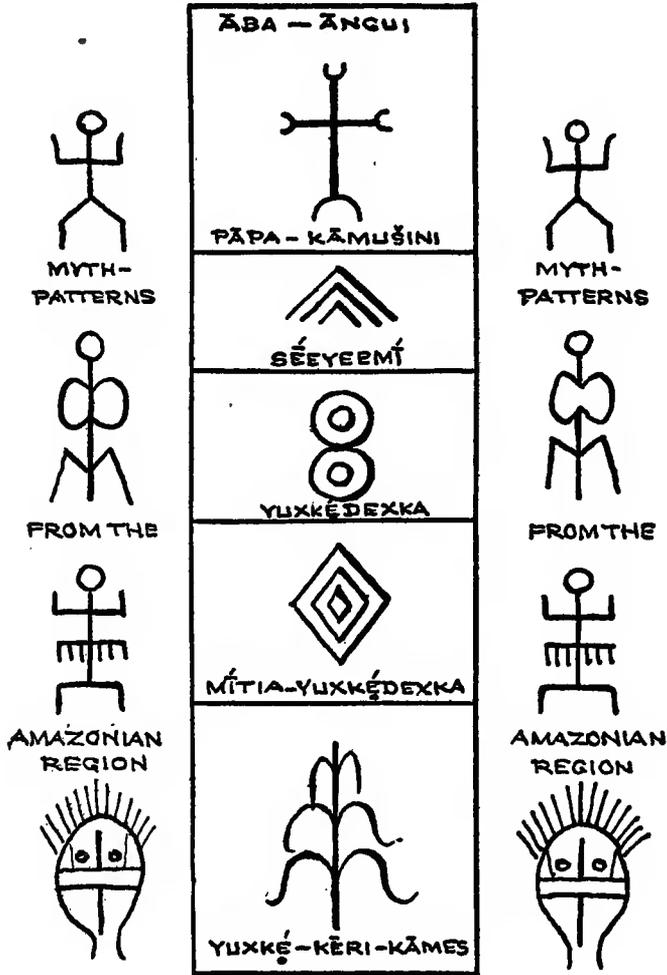
(1) It cannot now be denied that the races in question, Negrillo and Bushman, are the real aborigines of the African continent. It is also impossible to suppose that their beliefs were borrowed from "higher" peoples for the simple reason that their isolation and the want of any higher traces, whether in their tradition or in their practices, makes the above supposition increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to maintain.

(2) The facts collected are sufficiently numerous and variegated to warrant the conclusion that a personal and providential "Maker of All" is not only acknowledged, but worshipped and invoked by His needy children. This simple childlike religion binds the Negrillos to their brethren, the Oceanic Negritos, which is one more point in favor of its authenticity.

This completes the cycle of negrito races and their allies, the Tasmanians and Bushmen being included as cognate races of woolly hair. It is now time to turn our attention to another group, which, though closely allied to them, represents a transition to a somewhat different type of humanity.

THE AGE OF BAMBOOS AND OF STRAIGHT-LINE PATTERNS THE FATHER OF SHINING LIGHT

PICTOGRAPHIC SERIES DISCOVERED AMONG THE SHINOU-TRIBES OF THE MIDDLE
AMAZON AND SUGGESTING THE PRINCIPAL THEME OF THE KERI-KAMES LEGEND



SUGGESTED INTERPRETATION

"THE FATHER ABOVE, THE SHINING ONE,—HAS PLANTED THE SEED—WHICH BRINGS FORTH THE FRUIT—OF THE KERI-KAMES TREE."

SEE K. VON DEN STEINEN, DURCH CENTRAL BRASILIEN, (1889), P. 234, AND COMPARE W. C. FARABEE, SOME SOUTH-AMERICAN PETROGLYPHS, (HOLMES ANNIVERSARY VOLUME, WASHINGTON, 1918), P. 88-90, FOR THE APPENDED SKETCHES. FOR NOMENCLATURE SEE KOCH-GRUNBERG, DIE BETOYA-SPRACHEN, (ANTHROPOS, 1913), P. 944, AND CONSULT THE COMBINED CENTRAL-BRAZILIAN LEXICOLOGY.

AMAZONIAN PRIMITIVE FORM

(K) SOUTH AMERICAN REGION, CENTRAL BRAZIL,—TAPUYAS, ETC.

The fact that we find extremely low races in the heart of Brazil suggests the conclusion that they are the survivals of a former age when they held exclusive dominion of the soil, that they were pushed into the remote confines of the tropical forest by the stronger races that followed in their wake. These tribes, known under the collective name of "Tapuyas", or "Barbarians", are believed by some authorities to be the earliest representatives of a South-American indigenous race of which we have any knowledge.¹ They are the modern descendants of the "Lagoa-Santa" race (pre-historic), they are more or less pygmoidal, they are possibly of pre-Indian origin, (proto-Malayic, comp. Jakun), they antedate the age of stone (wood and bone industry), they have no developed totemic ideas (local exogamy), they have no permanent settlements (wind-screen), and they wander from river-jungle to mountain-creek in quest of such animal and vegetable food as can be collected by the crudest of weapons (staff-bow, boomerang?),—all of which stamp their possessors as being one of the earliest invaders of the New World, though, for reasons already given, we cannot consider them on precisely the same level as the East-Indian Negritos,—(lank hair, taller stature, more complex culture). We have therefore classified them as "late archaic", with elements derived from the Boomerang-culture, and as such they merit our attention, though little enough is known of their higher beliefs to justify any certain conclusions as to their nature.

(K) (1) IGUANCHI,—YIVAROS—, WEST-CENTRAL BRAZIL, OR E. PERU

The Yivaros of the upper Amazon are not generally classed as Tapuyas. But a few items of their belief may serve to interpret a region where a primitive undercurrent is to be suspected,—a former Tapuya-zone.² Their unique divinity *Iguanchi* is probably identical with *Pillan*, a Thunder-God, who lives in volcanoes and spits fire. Of his personal character nothing is known, but his name is invoked on all occasions.³ He also appears as a fire-spewing ape, and is worshipped in the narcotic-trance, *Natema*, when his servants hold mystic communion with him. This shows at least that a personal cult is in evidence, but leaves *Iguanchi* himself a blurred image,—supreme, but otherwise indefinable. There is no clear evidence of totemism. But cannibalism and head-hunting have made violent inroads in this region, the Yivaros are a decadent people.⁴

¹G. E. Church, *The Aborigines of South America*, (London, 1912), p. 66ff. Also K. Weule, *Leitfaden*, (Leipzig, 1912), p. 47. D. G. Brinton, *The Dwarf Tribe on the Upper Amazon*, *Amer. Anthr.* (Washington, 1898) Vol. XI. pp. 277-279 (unidentified). ²K. Preuss, *Religionen der Naturvölker Amerikas*, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIV (1911), p. 293ff. ³Idem, p. 293. ⁴Comp. Rivet, *Les Indiens Ivaros*, *Etude géographique, historique, ethnographique*, *L'Anthropologie*, XIX, pp. 235-254. (religion), *Ib.* Vol. XVIII, pp. 333ff. (ethnography).

(K) (2) KAMUSHINI,—BAKAIRI-BORORO—, SOUTH CENTRAL BRAZIL

But if the upper Amazon is largely a "terra incognita", the Shingu-region gives promise of better results. Here the Bakairi and other allied peoples are not impossibly the forerunners of the great Amazonian family, they and the Pareisis, Bororos, and Caingang, approaching nearer to the Botokudo-type,—admittedly the most primitive type of mankind on the continent. Somatically they are of low to medium stature,¹ they go practically naked, and live a largely nomadic life, which is content with the simple hut or windshelter.² Staff-bow, boomerang, and bull-roarer are well represented in this region, as well as the peculiar facial disfigurement that accompanies them,—nose, lip, and ear-ornament.³ As to their industries, "the Shingu are living in an age of shell, wood, tooth, and bone",⁴ they "plow" fire, and bark-canoe and balsa are still in evidence. They have neither lance, blowpipe, nor poisoned arrow, though the Tupi employ a throwing-stick.⁵ If it is true that some of these people can also work stone and produce fair pottery, our leading authority is convinced that these are not native but imported features, as most of the Bakairi cannot make celts.⁶ Finally there is no totemism, but rather a strong lunar mythology with a peculiar "spider"-motive, which again suggests the typical theme of the Boomerang-circle.⁷

This is illustrated by *Kamushini*, the supreme figure of Bakairi mythology. Whether the name be Arowakish or not, *Kamu* may be taken vaguely as "light", whether sun- or moon-light, and the fact that he appears under the form of a spider, spinning the universe out of his brain, makes it more than probable that he was once connected with the moon, and in still earlier times with the heavens in general. (Comp. *Puluga*, *Amaka*, *Quat-Marawa* above). In any case *Kamushini* is apparently a Creator, He has made *Keri* and *Kame*, the first human twins, and He controls the moral law by sanctions that are rigorous and severe.⁸

This idea of justice is particularly strong among the Tupi, where *Monan*, the Creator, destroys mankind by a conflagration, in which *Irin-mage* alone is saved, whose righteous posterity repeople the earth.⁹ Similar legends are told throughout the Amazonian region, and invariably with a high moral purpose. In fact, the combined folklore of the Brazilian races is so immense and these heroes of the divine mercy so extremely numerous that, apart from any creation-legends, the reward of virtue and the punishment of vice point vaguely to certain similar ethical qualities as vested in some form of supreme moral Governor.¹⁰

¹ K. Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Central Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894) "a justly famous work, the best on South America" (Thomas, *Source-Book*, p. 881), see p. 160-165. ² *Idem*, p. 200f. ³ *Id.* 228ff. ⁴ *Id.* 204. ⁵ *Id.* 228, 231f. ⁶ *Idem*, 203. ⁷ *Id.* 375. ⁸ *Id.* 364ff. ⁹ Denis, *Une fête brésilienne célébrée à Rouen en 1555*, (Paris, 1851) pp. 86-90. ¹⁰ Comp. Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Mythen und Legenden der Süd-Amerikanischen Urvölker*, (Berlin, 1905), pp. 30-31, 40-55ff. Also P. C. Teschauer, S. J., *Die Kaingang oder Coroados-Indianer*, *Anthropos*, IX. (1914), p. 32-35, for linguistic connection through *Kaingang*, *Kames*, *Kayurukre*. Also L. Adam, in *Compte Rendu*, (Congr. Amér. Paris, 1900), p. 317ff. for Creation-legend.

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It is impossible, however, to estimate this subject in its true proportions, and at the same time to realise its weak features, without recounting the *Keri-Kame* legend with some detail.¹¹

The story opens with *Kamushini*, the Heaven-god, the oldest figure of the mythology. The Bakairi trace everything to heavenly origins, and so in the beginning, heaven and earth were united, all was heaven, and *Kamushini* was apparently supreme, the king of heaven, the author of all existence. For although a creation is not explicitly mentioned, and *Keri* and *Kame* appear to be ready-made, such a creation is hinted at by the designation of *Kamushini* as a being belonging to a "different people",—a superhuman being—, and as "making threads like a spider", a "heavenly spider", etc. Moreover he is evidently the creator of man, for he "makes men out of arrows and women out of maize-stampers", who then address him as "*Papa*",—Father—, a plain index of paternal though non-sexual relations.

In those days men lived for ever, there was no death, and paradise was on the earth, a heavenly world blazing with light, and the mystery is, how the reign of immortality came to an end, how heaven and earth were separated. The firm conviction that there would be no death if all men were good, that death is the result of sorcery, of bad magic,—this seems to imply that death is in some way the result of sin, of a moral failure, though not necessarily in far off times. But whatever be the origin of death, heaven and earth were destined to be parted, there is a mysterious transmutation-scene in which *Keri* thus addresses the god of heaven (*Kamushini*). "You shall not stay here, my people are dying! And yet you remain here. You are good, but I do not wish my people to die!" And Heaven answered:—"I will stay!"—and *Keri* replied: "Then *I* will change!" After that he and all his people went off to the earth, and heaven went upward. The prayer of *Keri* to Heaven that he may leave them, because, though "good", he is the cause of his people's death, seems to insinuate that immortality was lost in paradise as the result of a rebellion against the decrees of heaven, that death is the result of divine justice. *Keri's* attempt to escape justice by "changing his climate" was doomed to disappointment, for ever since men have continued to die, and *Keri* himself has had to make men out of arrows. As an atonement for the sins of man, offerings of fruits are still placed on the *Keri* and *Kames*-Tree,—an indirect hint that life and death are possibly connected with a forbidden food, which food must be sacrificed to Heaven in order to procure reconciliation.¹²

¹¹ Von den Steinen, op. cit. p. 348ff. ¹² Idem. p. 360. Ehrenreich, 1. c. p. 39.

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The idea of retribution, both temporal and eternal, is strongly developed among the Bakairi as among other Brazilian tribes. Nearly all have the tradition of a great flood or fire which was brought upon mankind through their own culpability,—violation of the moral law, of social customs, of the “couvade”.¹³ This institution is regarded as particularly sacred, and consists of a fasting-ordeal during which the father of the new-born child sleeps or shares his bed with the latter, and abstains from all foods and dissipations which he conceives will endanger the life of the child, so intense is his consciousness that he and his child are one(!). “The father is a patient, in so far as he feels himself one with the new-born”.¹⁴ This singularly beautiful custom is evidently meant to symbolise not only the close union between father and child, but also that the child is his, and his only. Terrible consequences are believed to follow from its neglect,—not only the fire and brimstone of the past, but especially ferocious demons are said to devour the culprit. On the other hand those who observe the sacred customs and abstain from witchcraft will never die but will go to the paradise of their ancestors, *Keri* and *Kame*. The body is always interred.¹⁵

This picture has many attractive features, but the surprisingly high tone of the stories should not blind us to their inherent deficiencies. From the beginning there is no very clear distinction between creator and creature, both are sun and moon-heroes, they change and produce things with equal ease, they are facetious and in some cases even ridiculous, and the hypothetical Heaven-god has been long since forgotten, his place has been taken by the *bupé* or ghost-god, which is the natural outcome of a trivial theology. The morals of the natives tend to bear this out. For although theft is rare, and the position of women comparatively high, both abortion and desertion are said to be common, and the practice of cannibalism, however sporadic, shows that the condition of these people is far from ideal.¹⁶

On the other hand the native origin of the legends can hardly be questioned. It seems quite certain that no intruding missionaries, however accommodating, would clothe their message of salvation in the cast and phraseology above described, and the natives themselves repudiate it. “Is *Keri* the ‘god’ of the Portuguese?”—“No, we know nothing of him, he is another, . . . *Keri* lives in heaven, he is the grandfather of the Bakairi”.¹⁷ It is evident, however, that *Keri*, *Kames*, and *Kamushini*, have been frequently confused, that the original Heaven-god has been mixed up with the national ancestors.

¹³ Ehrenreich, 1. c. p. 31. ¹⁴ Von den Steinen, 1. c. pp. 334-336. ¹⁵ Ibid. p. 349. 339 (mat-
burial). ¹⁶ Idem, p. 334ff. ¹⁷ Idem, p. 380.

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Are we to think of mere "culture-heroes" after the type of Deucalion and Pyrrha? I agree with Ehrenreich that a creation in the strict sense is difficult to prove from the existing data, and that in their present form these stories have the unmistakable ring of hero-legends. Nevertheless the fact that *Kamushini* is said to have "made men out of arrows, and women out of maize-stampers"(!), this is certainly a bold exploit even for a Hercules, and when we consider that very similar stories are told of *Monan* of the Tupi and of *Kayurukre* of the Kaingang,—not to speak of *Aba-angui* of the Guarayo, *Uabale* of the Paressi, *Karu* of the Mundruku, *Karakara* of the Guayakuru, and *Tiri* of the Yurakare,—all of whom are "fathers" of humanity and are said to have made, formed, or equipped man, while they themselves are unborn or immortal,—the question of an All-Father belief in this region, partially obscured by lunar worship, is one that we cannot afford to dismiss. In my own opinion these semi-divine "culture-heroes" are a forcible reminder of the *Quat-Marawa* legends of Melanesia, and should be interpreted accordingly.

(K) (3) TUPAN,—BOTOKUDOS—, EAST-CENTRAL BRAZIL

That the Botokudos worship a personal divinity may now be regarded as certain.¹¹ He is known as *Tupan*,—a Tupi-Guarani word signifying "chief", "master". The difficulty in this case concerns his derivation. Some have suggested that while the word is native, the idea is of missionary origin, being imported by the Catholic priests,—also called "tupans". But it is notoriously unsafe to rely too exclusively on the latter source. There are some facts that seem to point in an opposite direction. He is a "Thunder"-god, He is invoked in the chase, there is not a vestige of Christological dogma, which seems strange when we consider the compactness of the Catholic system. Moreover, the custom of shooting arrows into the air during thunder-storms, with the exclamation, "*The Great Chief is angry*",¹² has a native ring that recalls strangely many of the Negrito practices in this regard (thunder-charm?). Sun- or moon-worship are undeveloped, and spiritism seems to have had no effect on the supremacy of the "Great Master". "In the Botokudos we have the oldest representatives of the *Ges*" (pure Tapuyas).¹³ Windshelter, beehive hut, fire-plow, nose and lip-ornament, rank them as quasi-primitives, though some of them work flint. Chieftaincy is limited, monogamy preponderates, but cannibalism and infanticide are not unknown. After death the body is interred. Cremation and urn-burial are wanting.¹⁴

¹¹ Paul Ehrenreich, *Über die Botokudos*, *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* (1887) p. 34-35, on religion.
¹² Reported by Renault and St. Hilaire, *ibid.* p. 35. ¹³ *Ibid.* p. 81. ¹⁴ For anthropology and ethnology, consult G. Church, *The Aborigines of South America* (1912) p. 66-71. T. Joyce, *South American Archaeology* (1912), p. 256ff.

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(L) PATAGONIAN EXTENSION,—TIERRA DEL FUEGO

As a southern offshoot of the same Amazonian race certain Fuegian tribes on the Straits of Maghellan should merit our final attention by reason of the additional light that they promise to shed on the Brazilian data, which are as yet none too numerous. Here we find three groups of primitives, known as the Yahgans, the Onas, and the Alacalufs, the first and the third of whom occupy the same relation to the higher Patagonian peoples that the Botokudos do to the higher Arowaks. The bee-hive hut of the Yahgans and their almost naked existence, in spite of a thermometer which is frequently below freezing,—this is a fairly strong proof that they antedate the age of round-houses and of stitched or weaved garments, they are the relics of a tropical race whose artificial methods of keeping warm by means of extensive bon-fires has given the name to the archipelago,—it is the "Land of Fire". Moreover their shells, bones, and flake-implements tell a similar story, their flint arrow-heads being probably of remote Patagonian origin, as are a few other items of the specifically "Ona" culture. Finally the absence of totemism and of elaborate tribal divisions is a sociological fact which in combination with the industrial data reveals with sufficient clearness that we are dealing with an antarctic survival,—the "Tasmanians" of the New World.

(L, 1) THE GOOD AND THE EVIL SPIRIT OF THE YAHGANS

The Rev. Mr. Bridges repeatedly stated that the Yahgans have no supreme deity, God, or Creator. A negative is notoriously risky when there is a question of a savage's higher religious beliefs, and in this case we have fairly good evidence to the contrary. Captain Bove mentions both a good deity and an evil deity among the Yahgans. Whether these are two greater spirits corresponding to *Yerri-Yupon* and *Yaccy-ma* among the Alacalufs, or whether they are only lower good and evil spirits, such as are spoken of by Admiral Fitz-Roy, it is hard to say. The Yahgans, however, seem to be well supplied with malevolent spirits and beings, as, when a man dies, the natives have been heard to say at times that "such a one has been taken by Gopoff", an evil spirit. As to *Aiapakal* and *Lucooma*, the former is hardly more than a deceased witch-doctor, while the latter is the spirit of the tides and whirl-pools, whom they greatly dread, and to whom the portions of a fish, a dog, or even an infant are occasionally sacrificed. This may of course have no connexion with Capt. Bove's "Good Spirit", but the prominence of the negative cult makes it difficult to say, what this "benevolent being" really is.¹⁵

¹⁵ Rev. J. M. Cooper, DD., in the work immediately cited, p. 148-149.

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(L, 2) WALICHU OF THE ONAS

Father Beauvoir's identification of *Jhowen* with the Hebrew *Jahwè* is more startling than commendable, but the account of a certain divinity called *Walichu*, who "sends good and bad things to men", shows, if the report be correct, that the Onas have a vague idea of a power that rules. In practice, however, the invocation of two deceased weather-doctors by the living medicine-men is the only worship recorded. The Onas believe in metempsychosis.

(L, 3) YERRI-YUPON OF THE ALACALUFS¹⁶

According to our best-authenticated reports the religious ideas of the Alacalufs verge upon dualism. They believe in a "good spirit, *Yerri-Yupon*, author of all good, and invoked in time of distress and danger", and also in "an evil spirit, *Yaccy-ma*, who, they think, is able to do all kinds of mischief, cause bad weather, famine, illness, etc. He is supposed to be like an immense black man". This idea of a big black man in the woods has been independently verified by at least two observers, and he appears on the whole to be an evil being. "A great black man is supposed to be wandering about the woods and mountains, who is certain of knowing every word and every action, who cannot be escaped, and who influences the weather according to a man's conduct". After narrating the killing of a thief, an Alacaluf added:—"Rain come down—snow come down—hail come down—wind blow-blow—very much blow—very bad to kill man—big man in woods no like it—him very angry!" This is probably the same being as the *Taquàtu* of the Salesian Fathers,—“an invisible being whom they imagine to be a giant, who travels by day and by night in a large canoe over the seas and through the air. If he finds any man or woman idle or distracted, he takes them without more ado into his great canoe and carries them away from home. It is at night particularly that the Alacalufs dread to meet this terrible being”.

It seems quite clear that *Yerri Yupon* is more than a "weather-doctor" on the one hand, and less than an "exalted ethical being" on the other. He is perhaps a faded supreme Being, as he is "invoked in times of distress and danger" and "the good go to a delightful forest, and the wicked to a deep well, where they cannot escape",—implying justice. The relatively high tone of morality, in spite of contrary instances, tends to bear this out. Monogamy is the more general rule, though polygamy is allowed, and the natives are a quiet and peaceable race, for most of whom, at least, cannibalism is unknown. This and the splendid Yahgan physique makes them an attractive object of study.¹⁷

¹⁶ Recent evidence shows that Fitz-Roy's "Chonoans" are the identical race. ¹⁷ Further information in Rev. J. M. Cooper, D.D., Analytical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent islands, Bulletin 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, 1917), p. 203ff. Compare Lang, Making of Religion, p. 173ff. Schmidt, Gottesidee, p. 145.

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SUMMARY

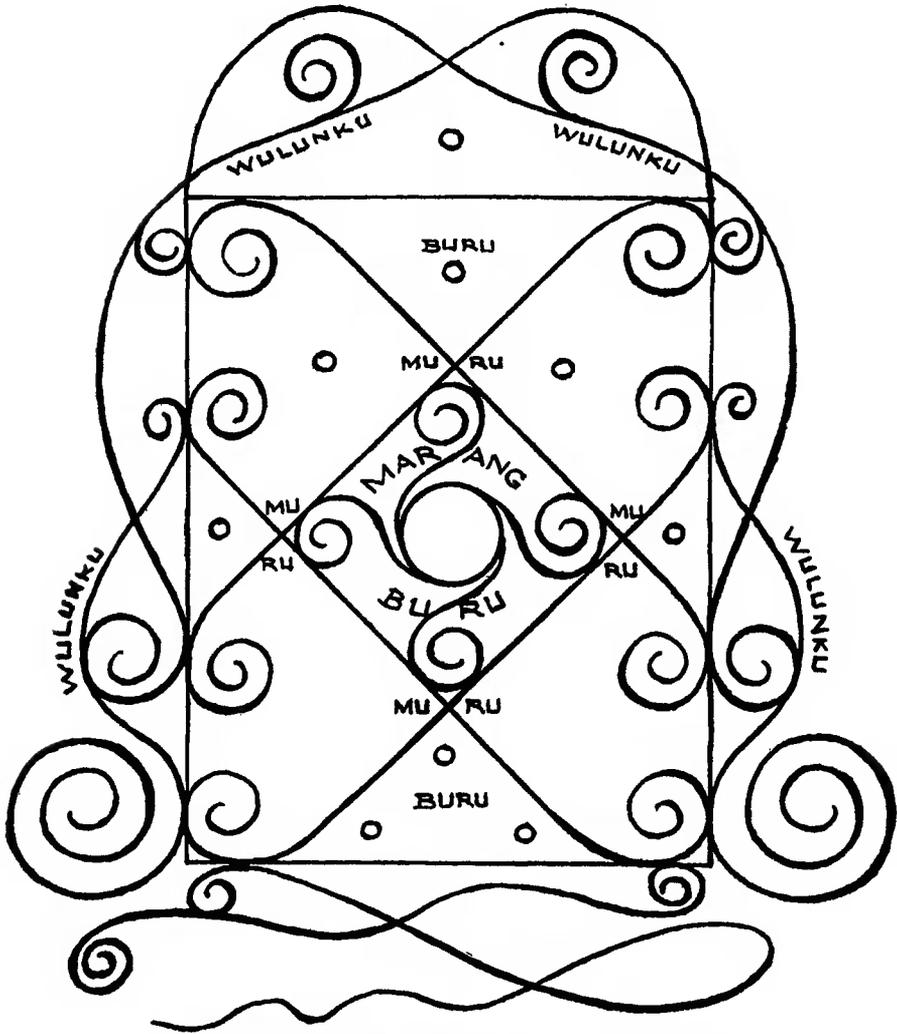
With this brief survey of the more essential points of the South-American faith in its earlier form, we note at the outset that what little is shown of the supreme figure in the mythology is no longer as simple and clear as in the corresponding African and Oceanic region. The hypothetical *Pillan* is apparently a "thunder-god" like *Puluga*, etc. of the far East, but under the form of *Iguanichi* he is also an ape, a fire-spewing monkey, which is hardly a noble conception of the divine. The reason why he has even been mentioned in the present place is simply to complete the picture, to chronicle what little is known of the only personal deity that is so far reported from the far Western portion of the Amazonian region. The fact that the Yivaros are a comparatively advanced people is no argument that the deity is not a survival of far earlier days, when the Tapuya races extended their influence to the foot of the Andes. But even in their present condition the Yivaro-tribes are sufficiently antique to merit consideration as the possible carriers of an earlier faith, which has since become corrupted, but whose simple outlines may still be discerned in the fragments.

The same remarks apply to the Shingu-region, though here the greater purity of the stock and their more primitive footing has preserved the more ancient form of the belief in a clearer perspective. *Kamushini* "spins" the world out of his brain, but he is more distinctly a person, a magnified man, if you will, but still supernormal, apparently transcendent, the "maker", if not the "creator" of all. Relics of the moral idea of justice may be discerned in the fire and flood-legends, where *Monan* and similar "makers" act as the punishers of mankind for their adultery, blasphemy, sacrilege, etc., but these lessons are not always heeded in practice, they are often forgotten.

Finally, the picture of *Tupan* among the Botokudos brings us once more face to face with a "Great Master", who is simply the leader of his people, but whose laws have more hold upon the conscience,—a "living" god. Yet even here, the few items reveal a powerful helper rather than a rigorous judge, a being who forbids adultery, yet appears to sanction the taking of life.

To sum up then, these earliest exemplars of South-American civilisation cannot compare to our Old-World primitives, either in their antiquity, their morality, or their religious beliefs. It is interesting to note, however, that the nearer we approach to the earliest and purest region, the more vivid becomes the picture of a simple "Father" or "Master" of all, one who has no connection with ape or spider, but is the direct moulder of human destiny.

THE AGE OF ROCK-PAINTINGS
 AND OF SPIRAL DESIGNS
 SPECIMEN OF A BURU-MYSTERY
 SHOWING THE EVOLUTION OF THE SUN-SERPENT



THE WORLD-EMBRYO (BURU)—BRINGS FORTH THE SERPENT'S HEAD (MURU)—
 AND DEVELOPS INTO THE GIANT COBRA (WULUNKU)
 (COMBINED SUBJECT)

GROUND-DRAWING IN RICE-FLOUR USED IN THE MALABAR CEREMONY OF THE
 SNAKE-TOTEM, (SOUTHERN INDIA), AND PARALLELED BY SIMILAR DRAWINGS IN
 TOTEMIC AFRICA, AUSTRALIA, AND NORTH AMERICA.

"SIN-BONGA BIRIDJANA!" "O SIN-BONGA, SAVE US!"

SEE THURSTON, ETHNOGR. NOTES IN S. INDIA, (MADRAS, 1908), PL. XVII.

INDO-ASIATIC TOTEMIC FORM

(M, 1) SIN-BONGA,—CENTRAL INDIA,—KOLARIAN ABORIGINES, (MUNDA-KOL)

There are good reasons for believing that Central India is the radiating-point of the totem-culture, that phase of belief which can be traced to four continents,—the Indo-African-Australian-North American cultural connexion,—(late pleistocene?).¹ The Indo-Kolarian or Dravidian races are, with the Australians, perhaps the nearest approach to the undifferentiated glacial type, (Neanderthal), and of these the Munda-Kol tribes of Western Bengal are the best representatives of an “unclaimed ignoble horde, who occupy the background of Indian history as the jungle once covered the land, to prepare the soil for better forms of life”.² Although this is no longer strictly true, the Mundas having been largely civilised by their Hindoo neighbors, (agriculture, metallic arts), they are sufficiently backward in many ways to reveal many of the more prominent features of the palaeolithic belt, (mid-glacial). Among these are the general tendency to the nomadic life as shown by the minimum of their clothing, the instability of their habitations, (mud-huts), and the general popularity of the buffalo-hunt by means of simple bows and arrows, wooden spears, throwing-sticks, etc. The discovery of numerous caves with rude ornamentation, (comp. Australia), and the existence of undoubted palaeoliths, (of native manufacture), secures their geologic past and their continuity with palaeolithic culture.³ The carved wooden bowl and the bamboo-flute point in the same direction. Finally we have the hereditary chief, the bachelor's dormitory, the practice of painting and anointing the dead, and above all a totemic system of marriage and consanguinity which is based on animal ancestors, all of which suggest the conclusion that “here, more perfectly than elsewhere in India, do we find preserved the ancient systems of totemism and exogamy”.⁴

These Kolarian tribes worship a Light-god, known as *Sin Bonga*, whose name is commonly rendered “Sun-Spirit”, the supposed Austro-nesian equivalents being *Sina*,—sunlight, daylight—, and *Bona*, the general term for God, Spirit. This being seems to possess the attributes of divinity. He is the ever-beneficent God of gods, the author of the universe and man, including the entire host of *bongas*, or minor spirits. He is apparently judge of man and is invoked in prayer, rice-offering, or bird-sacrifice, with the words: “*O Sin-Bonga, save us!*” At death the soul reincarnates, either as man or beast, according to merit, and this is the distinctive feature of the Munda religious beliefs. Where before we had a comparative freedom from metempsychosis, we now have an explicit doctrine of animal descent with a possible return into animal forms.⁵

¹ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV. p. 15. W. Schmidt, in the *Compte Rendue of the Louvain Congress* (1913), p. 265. See also the Introduction above, pp. XLV. ² S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their country*, (Calcutta, 1912), p. 2ff. 361ff. ³ Roy, *op. cit.* p. X, and 24-26. ⁴ Frazer, *op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 285. ⁵ Roy, *l. c.* p. 467ff. Comp. W. Schmidt, in *Anthropos*, VIII (1913), p. 273. ⁶ Roy, *l. c.* p. 471.

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But what is the nature of this deity, and where did he come from? May he not be of Hindoo or Brahminical origin in view of the reincarnation-doctrine with which he is associated?

It is satisfactory to note that we have excellent reasons for believing that this is a native, pre-Aryan, pre-Brahministic divinity. In the first place his name cannot be derived from Aryan sources, but is pure Austro-asiatic or Austronesian, belonging to the group of languages that were spoken in India long before the Hindoos ever were heard of, and whose radiating center is now believed to be Southern Asia, and not impossibly Central India.⁷ In the second place, his unique and personal position differentiates him *toto caelo* from any Brahminical triads, and the fact that he is worshipped without temples, law-books, or ascetical rites, and that the Hindoo intrusion can always be separated as something sporadic and out of harmony with the national life, something that the Mundas have ever detested from time immemorial, makes his derivation from Hindoo or Mussulman sources, to say the least, a precarious proposition. Should we not expect to find some traces of Hindoo or Islamic notions,—some account of *Vishnu*, some faint echo of *Allah*, with his distinctive laws and ceremonial observances? Now, not only are these conspicuously absent, but the Munda belief and practice is rather opposed to them, it is strictly territorial, peculiarly national, underivable either from strongly ascetical or strongly polygamous peoples. Furthermore, the existence of pre-Aryan divinities of a similar nature has now been firmly established by Prof. Oppert, and the parallel case of the Todas and other races of supposed Turanian(?) origin, makes the figure of *Sin Bonga* more and more natural and easy to understand.⁸ Finally, those who would derive the doctrine of reincarnation from Brahminism are hopelessly at sea with the facts, as this is one of the earliest, though *not* the earliest, persuasions of mankind, found among peoples where no such Brahminical influence can be suspected, as it is far out of their reach. It would be more true to say that the Aryans have borrowed this belief from the Dravidians, which belief binds the latter with the far-off Australians, North-Americans, and other primitive peoples. In the words of Roy, "the Munda's idea of rebirth is yet in a rudimentary stage, and not half so elaborately worked out as by his Hindoo neighbors". Moreover, the Brahministic reincarnations, though ostensibly realistic, have no essential relation to the laws of marriage, nor are connected, as far as we know, with any definite matrimonial interdicts.⁹

⁷ Roy, *op. cit.* p. 18-22. Foy, *op. cit.* p. 227. W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer Völker als Bindeglied zwischen den Völkern Central Asiens und Austronesiens*, (Braunschweig, 1906).
⁸ G. Oppert, *Die Gottheiten der Inder*, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1905, p. 719-726ff. *Idem*, *The original inhabitants of India*, (London, 1893) p. 78, 188. ⁹ Roy, *l. c.* p. 471. *Comp. also* P. T. Iyengar, "Did the Dravidians of India obtain their culture from the Aryan Immigrant?" *Anthropos*, IX (1914) pp. 1-15.

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As to the inner nature of this divinity, he is certainly a "light"-god, and though Father Schmidt insinuates a possible lunar origin, (Austronesian *Sina-Bona*, light-month?), this is of no great import in view of the fact that his name might have travelled from India to Oceanica, and that among the Mundas he is universally identified with the sun. "*Sin-Bonga*, the Sun-God, is the supreme deity of Munda mythology".¹⁰ What then is his relation to nature, to the universe, to man? It is true that the expression "sun-god" is not in itself decisive. The great luminary is too common an object in the heavens not to attract the attention of all men in all ages. Moreover he is apparently a Creator and evidently a Person, as he commands in the imperative mood. To take an illustration—

"In the beginning of time", runs the old Mundari legend, "the face of the earth was covered with water. *Sin-Bonga*, the Sun-God, brooded over the waters and the first beings that were born were a tortoise, a crab, and a leech. *Sin-Bonga* commanded these first-born of all animals to bring him a lump of clay from the depths of the ocean. And with this clay *Sin-Bonga* made this beautiful earth of ours. At his bidding the earth brought forth trees, plants, herbs and creepers. He next filled the earth with birds and beasts of all sorts and sizes. Finally a certain swan laid an egg, and out of this egg came forth a boy and a girl, the first human beings",¹¹ etc.

This legend has a dignified, almost biblical ring. Nevertheless there are certain points that are strangely suggestive of a nature-god, of a being who is not clearly transcendent:—

(1) There is no statement that the Sun-God created the waters, but that he "brooded over" the waters, which seem to be anterior, or at least coeval with him, though such a creation might be implied in the context. (2) The absence of any creation of sun, moon, and stars is a point that suggests their eternity, more especially as *Sin-Bonga* is himself the Sun-Spirit. (3) Throughout the idea of "hatching" by sun-power, of "brooding" over the waters, of evolving things out of "eggs", is too strong to be lightly dismissed. It shows that *Sin-Bonga*, though a person, is intimately connected, if not identified, with the sun, that he acts by "solar" power.

This idea, harmless and even beautiful as it may seem, has colored the entire mythological system of the Mundas, it has drawn the divinity into the world of lifeless matter, it has made Him part and parcel of the world, it is the first indication of a half-naturalised Creator,—of a "totem"-god.

¹⁰ Roy, op. cit. p. XX. note. ¹¹ Roy, l. c. p. V.-IX, described as the most valuable of the Mundari mythical legends.

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. Now such a naturalisation is bound to leave its impress on the social and eschatological aspects of the question. A deity who is himself related to nature as the sun-light, is apt to produce the conviction that his children are also related to her, nay that they are bound to her by fetters that can never be completely shaken off. Hence the general persuasion of these people that they are not only connected, but in some way related to the lower creation, that plants, animals, and even the "red earth" are their direct ancestors. This genetic relation between a man and his "totem" has produced a feeling of identity, which forbids not only the killing or eating of the totem, but the intermarriage of those who belong to the same totemic *kili* or clan,—this evidently on the score of incest. But more than this, there is no deliverance from nature at the hour of death. The soul is not summoned to the judgment-seat of God, but is condemned to be reborn, whether as man or animal,—there is no escape from palingenesis. Now this is a point of no small importance. Father Schmidt finds no evidence for the belief in the descent of men from their totems, though he admits a close, a parallel relation. But surely the transformation into bird, beast, or reptile implies a return into the totem and a vital relation to nature of no ordinary kind. Frazer also testifies that the Oraons, their neighbors, "like many other totemic peoples conceive themselves to be descended from their totems".¹²

Then again the growth of magical and spiritistic practices is a striking feature. The *Soso-Bonga* ceremony, in which the "ghost-finder" draws a figure on the ground with coal-dust, red earth, and rice-flour, inserts an egg with a *Soso*-slip in the center, sprinkles the whole with rice, and starts a long incantation to the *Soso*- (or *Bhelva*-tree) spirit, in which the story of *Sin-Bonga* is related, shows without a question, that although the supreme divinity is not forgotten, the efficacy of the entire function depends on the *Soso*-tree, whose branch the worshipper then religiously plants in his fields to increase the harvest,—a sort of fructification-rite.¹³

To conclude,—there is less of prayer and more of magic in this religion, and its "sun-god", though theoretically supreme, has become otiose, less exacting in morals. For among the Mundas divorce is openly recognised and there is at times considerable sexual laxity.¹⁴ They have local exogamy with tribal endogamy and male descent of the totem. The clan-totems, of which there are no less than 339, are the chief regulators of the tie. This and the formerly common practice of cannibalism and human sacrifice shows that we have entered a different world of ethical consciousness, we are dealing with a new mental, social and cultural complexity.¹⁵

¹² Frazer, 1. c. II. 290. ¹³ Roy, 1. c. p. 482. ¹⁴ Roy, p. 455. ¹⁵ Frazer, II. 292.

INDO-ASIATIC TOTEMIC FORM

It may be objected, however, that this estimate of Munda belief and practice is needlessly severe, that the picture of deity as sun-spirit is surely harmless enough, that the supposed magical practices are in reality invocations to the supreme divinity under the form of a flower-stalk, which is thus brought into close relation with the Giver of all and cherished with a peculiar affection as sacred to him,—a beautiful harvest-ceremony, reminding with its evident symbolism of the sacred palms of Holy Week(?)—of the life and resurrection symbols of all nations.

This is a well-timed observation, and I for one do not wish to place any obstacles in the path of those to whom the religious data suggest such an interpretation. The alliance between the deity and the solar orb is in many respects an advance upon the crude anthropomorphisms that we find among many primitive peoples, and the sun is as good a "representation" of God, himself unpicturable, as any miserable mannikin or idealised thunder-man, sitting on the clouds, and hurling his lightnings. But the point that I wish to bring forward is simply this, that the idea of personality is more easily suggested by "man" than by "sun", and that where we have an elaborate sun-cult, we require special proof that the sun is a person, that he is invoked and treated as a person, not a mere force or principle. In the present case we have a "sun-man" who seems to furnish the proof, and yet his want of direct control over the life and destiny of man seems to indicate that his cosmic preponderate over his personal traits, that he is simply a *buru-bonga*, a vague deity, partly identified with his own creation.

Hence the interpretation of the *Soso*, or Bhelva-Tree totem as a "mystery", as a sacred "medicine", nay as a possible "sacrament",—the ghost-finder devouring the egg, if not the *Soso-slip*—, is one which I would not exclude but would rather approve as in harmony with similar practices in all ages of humanity,—the desire of union with the divine. The above data show moreover that the sun-spirit is not forgotten, that he is apparently the object of the ceremony. But even with these concessions it would surely be premature to conclude that the God of Heaven is actually believed to present in any of the *burus* or sacred totems in unadulterated form. We cannot of course penetrate beneath the surface of things, but the entire mythology and practice of these people tends to show that a Father in Heaven is no longer as vivid to them as in the earlier days of the world, that his action is less direct,—more mysterious, more "mystical".¹⁶

¹⁶ Comp. A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, Chap. XIV. "First-fruits and Taboos", p. 256-269, esp. p. 265. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I. 120, II. 590. IV. 230-232.

INDO-ASIATIC TOTEMIC FORM

Of these *Buru*-mysteries we have ample evidence both here and in other parts of the Indian peninsula. The custom of offering up this or that plant or animal to the local deity of the village or to the household-god is too common a practice to be called in any sense distinctive, nor is it necessarily polytheistic because the name of the *Marang Buru* or "Great God" is not explicitly mentioned.

Thus at the Sohorai festival of the Sacred Buffalo, the Munda owners of buffalos remain fasting all day until the evening, when the buffalos are brought home and lamps are lighted near them. A handful of rice is then thrown over the cattle by way of a benedictory rite. At the door of the buffalo-shed a black fowl is sacrificed and rice-beer offered up to the *Gorea-Bonga*, or Cattle-deity. This ceremony is repeated the next morning, and finally the buffalos and other cattle are washed and anointed with oil or lard, and are sent out to the pasturage bedecked with gay marigolds, yellow flowers that are particularly abundant in this region.¹⁷

In so far as all these *bongas* are in control of a supreme Sun-Spirit, the function may be interpreted as a simple dedication-ceremony to the "patrons" of all the buffalos, who is himself a representative of the sun-god. There is a striking similarity between these and the dedication-rites of the Todas of Southern India,—another race of Turanian or pre-Aryan origin. Here also the buffalo is sacred, and cannot be killed or eaten except on sacrificial occasions.¹⁸

In the Malabar ceremony of the Snake-totem, a ground-drawing is made in rice-flower representing the convolutions of the reptile in all possible forms. Then follows a long incantation to the Snake-deity, during which the performer brandishes a fruit-stalk (here the Cocoa-nut) in the hope of warding off the serpent's bite.¹⁹ That the serpent is intimately connected with the sun is revealed by the stone slabs, etc. representing the "Sun-Serpent", a particularly favorite theme among the Mallas and other aborigines of Southern India, the leading idea being that of divine protection.²⁰

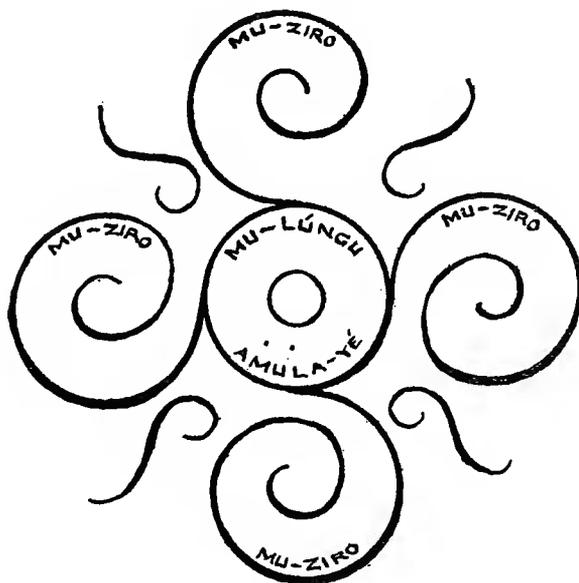
Thus the concept of deity as the Sun, the Bhelva-Tree, the Buffalo, and the Serpent, is to say the least a prominent feature among the Dravidian races. To what extent this involves an identification of *One* Deity with the totems among the Munda-Kol, I have endeavored to indicate in the above.

¹⁷ Roy, *op. cit.* p. 481. ¹⁸ W. H. Rivers, *The Todas*, (London, 1906). Comp. G. Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, (London, 1893), pp. 186-188. ¹⁹ E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, (Madras, 1908), p. 290, (Pl. XVI). ²⁰ *Idem*, Pl. XXIII.

THE AGE OF ROCK-PAINTINGS
AND OF SPIRAL DESIGNS

THE SECRET OF LIFE
OR THE AFRICAN SNAKE MYSTERY

THE EVOLVING MULUNGU
BEING ANOTHER VERSION OF THE SUN-SERPENT WITH A VAGUE PERSONAL FORCE
IN THE BACKGROUND.



DESIGNS USED BY THE NANDI AS SHIELD ORNAMENTS AND FOUND ALSO ON ROCKS
OVER LARGE SECTIONS OF THE EAST-AFRICAN AREA, WITH THE EVIDENT MOTIVE
OF DIVINE PROTECTION. BANTU INVOCATION TO THE SUN-FATHER:

"O MULUNGU, MERCY!"

SEE MGB. LE ROY, LA RELIGION DES PRIMITIFS, (PARIS, 1911), P. 126

CENTRAL AFRICAN TOTEMIC FORM

(M, 2) MULUNGU,—EAST CENTRAL AFRICA,—(EASTERN BANTU)

The cultural connexion between India-Africa, like that between India-Australia, India-North America, makes it more than probable that they form in a sense a religious unit, in which the institution of totemism forms a primary if not a paramount element. Among the Bantus of Eastern Africa nearly all the items of this culture may still be traced, more especially the bark-belt, the round-house, the fire-drill, the half-round bow, the carved figurine, circumcision, platform-burial, etc. though in nearly every case the Western-Asiatic neolithic wave has driven the older civilisation into the background, with the result that many of these elements appear in the far South-West, as among the Hereros.¹

For this region the form *Mulungu* is fundamental for deity, extending with slight variations from the Tana to the Zambezi, and far into the interior. Mgr. Schneider, late bishop of Paderborn, has already treated these central figures of Bantu mythology with considerable detail,² but his reports must be supplemented by those of Mgr. LeRoy, which are more recent and more direct.³ The following are the main points of the report:—

Mulungu is a great Sky- or Light-Lord, and is believed to be the author of the world and of all existence. He has many *mulungus* or minor spirits under him, but he himself is unique and indescribable, "neither man nor spirit, nor ghost, nor heaven, nor earth nor anything, though he is in all and through all".⁴ In many parts his name is still invoked in prayer and sacrifice, but in others, as among the Zulus, his worship has long since been abandoned, and he is simply known as *Unku-lunkulu*, the "Old, Old One", the "Ancient of Days", etc. Some of the old invocations breathe quite a lofty spirit:—"Mulungu! Send us rain! We are in misery, we hunger! and we are thy children. Send us clouds of rain, that we may obtain food. We ask it of thee, O Mulungu, our Father!" "O Mulungu, send us peace, tranquillity", etc.⁵

Such aspirations are a clear indication of a personal beneficent divinity.

But as to the inner nature of *Mulungu*, He is mysterious. The name is variously translated as "He who is in heaven", (*Mu-lungu*,—*Mu-ingu*, *Mungu*), or as the equivalent of *Molimo*, *Modimo*, *Morimo*, South-African for "spirit" "soul" etc.⁶ There is evidence, however, to show that the name and the idea may be taken in a very different sense, a sense which we cannot afford to ignore. Let us consider for a moment the various appellations for divinity in these Bantu lands and note the widely divergent meanings that are assigned to words of similar if not identical sound.

¹ Foy, op. cit. p. 182-185. B. Ankermann, *Kulturkreise in Africa*, *Zeitschr. für Ethnologie* (1905) p. 54-84. ² Schneider, *Die Religion der afrikanischen Naturvölker*, (1891), pp. 28-48, 59-100. ³ LeRoy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, (Paris, 1909). ⁴ LeRoy, op. cit. p. 184ff. ⁵ Idem, p. 298ff. ⁶ Idem, p. 176ff. and comp. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 139. Comp. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 235. *Making of Religion*, p. 213ff.

CENTRAL AFRICAN TOTEMIC FORM

I am not in a position to speak with any linguistic certainty, but the form *mu-longo* as a designation for the totemic taboo is too suspiciously near the above to be passed over in silence. It is found among the *Wa-gogo* and other tribes of German East Africa, admittedly one of the centers of African totemism, where it occurs side by side with the form *mu-ziro*.

"As a *Wa-gogo* clan has its *muziro* (forbidden thing), so each *Wa-gogo* family has its *mulongo* (forbidden thing), which is transmitted from the father to his children. The wife may have a different *mulongo* from that of her husband, but her children do not inherit it. The *mulongo* is apparently forbidden only after marriage. To eat the *mulongo* involves the loss of hair and teeth; to eat the *muziro* is said to cause the skin to fall off. From this account it would seem that the *Wa-gogo* have, like the Herero, a double set of totems, one set (*muziro*) being appropriated to the clans, and the other set (*mulongo*) to the families. The latter are hereditary in the male line".⁷

In view of the conflicting etymologies given above and its additional derivation from the Kanioka *molongo*, a word apparently meaning "row", "line", "descent",⁸ we are equally justified in inferring that *mulungu* is an abstract for anything sacred or mysterious, and more especially for the genetic relation of things, the family taboo, the occult ancestor. "The *Wa-gogo* think that if a person kills or eats the animal which is the totem of his clan, he thereby endangers his relations, but not himself".⁹ Moreover, throughout the Bantu domain, there is a very general belief in the transmigration of souls into the lower animals, especially into snakes and serpents, which shows that the supposed divinity is incapable of delivering man from the shackles of nature, that he is himself to a certain extent a nature-god.¹⁰

What then is *Mulungu*? It would be premature to reach any dogmatic conclusions from the existing material. But although the ancient picture of a Father in Heaven is still in evidence, there are strong reasons for believing that he has lost much of his original purity, that he has been drawn into this own creation as a family totem, that he is simply "taboo". Morality in this region is not flawless. "At time of circumcision", says Mr. Cole, "abusive language is very much indulged in, and the women especially lose all sense of modesty, and the country becomes a mighty bedlam".¹¹ While this is doubtless an exaggeration or at most a sporadic phenomenon, the inroads of moral laxity, of general polygamy, is a fact that can hardly be denied.¹²

⁷ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II. p. 404. ⁸ Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 140. ⁹ Frazer, I. c. II. 403. ¹⁰ Frazer, I. c. II. 388-392 (*Theory of Bantu Totemism*). Dr. Theal's theory is yet to be proved false. ¹¹ H. Cole, *Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa*, *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* XXXII (1902) p. 307. Frazer, II. 403. ¹² LeRoy, *op. cit.* p. 101ff.

CENTRAL AFRICAN TOTEMIC FORM

But the character of a divinity is best described by the legends, rites and practices of a people in his regard. How far does he help or direct them? To what extent is he a personal power in their lives?

Now it is interesting to observe that throughout the Eastern Bantu domain the Sun and the Hyaena are intimately interconnected, that they are in a peculiar sense sacred,—*mulungu*. Not only is the hyaena sacrificed to *Mulungu*, the Heaven-God, but among many, as among the Nandi, the bodies of the dead are given to the hyaenas to eat, in the hope that their spirits may share the occult powers of the animal, that they may communicate with their ancestors.¹³ Here there are special Sun- and Thunder-men that drive away thunder-storms by throwing an axe into the clouds with the exclamation:—“*Thunder! Be silent in our town!*”¹⁴ We have little information of the higher Nandi beliefs, so that it would be premature to conclude that this is a mere thunder-charm, (compare the Malakkan negritos). But the custom such as it is, savors strongly of sympathetic magic, of the control of nature by means of parallel, disproportionate forces,—impersonal power.

Further South, among the Bechuanas, there is a whole tribe dedicated to the Sun. The members of this “Sun-Tribe” say that, when the sun rises in a cloudy sky, he is afflicting their heart(!). All the food of the previous day is then given to the old women, who alone may touch it or give it to the children whom they nurse. The people go down in a body to the river to wash their bodies. On returning to the village after this ablution the chief kindles a fire in his hut, and the people come and get fire for themselves from his. Then follows a “Sun-Dance”, accompanied by a monotonous chant, on the public place of the village. In this dance he who has lost his father lifts his hat towards the sun; he who has lost his mother, his right hand; while orphans who have lost both parents, raise neither, but cross both hands on the breast.¹⁵

It is not easy to interpret this ceremony with anything like satisfaction. But the saluting of the sun, and the raising and crossing of the hands in honor of the dead ancestor, seem to reveal some connexion between the Sun and the ancestor, while the fire in the hut of the Sun-chief is best explained by supposing that the kindling of the fires of the earth will re-kindle the fires of the solar orb,—the celestial ancestor,—a probable case of long-distance magic. The similar customs among many savage and semi-civilised peoples tend to confirm this view, founded as it is upon detailed and repeated observations among numerous and widely separated races of mankind.¹⁶

¹³ A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, (Oxford, 1908), p. 70ff. ¹⁴ *Ibidem*. ¹⁵ Arbousset et Daumas, *Voyage d'Exploration*, pp. 350ff. Frazer, II. 373. ¹⁶ *Idem*, II. 374. Comp. Lang. Magic and Religion, p. 3, 235. Making of Religion, p. 65ff.

CENTRAL AFRICAN TOTEMIC FORM

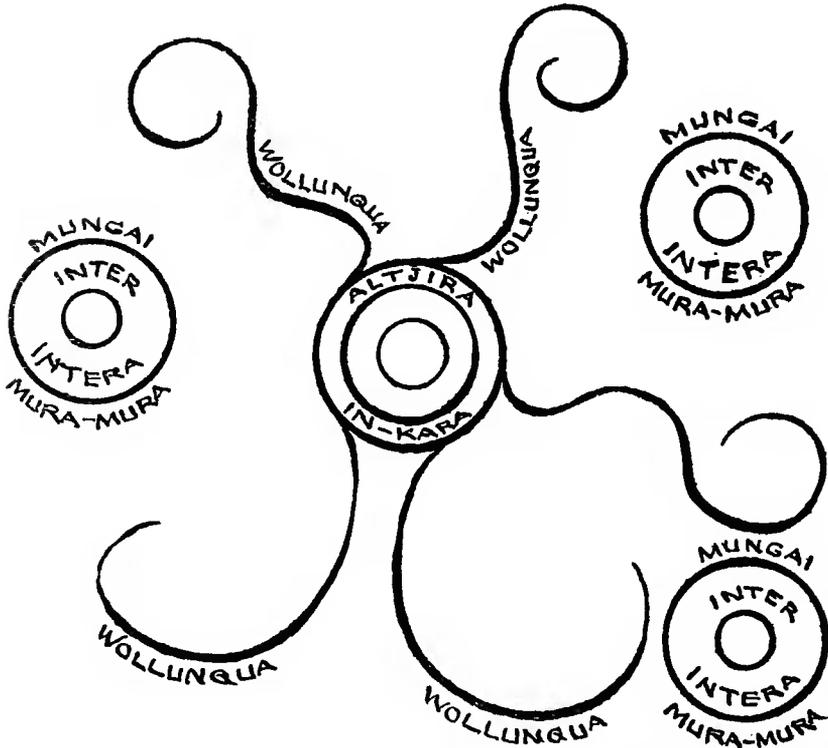
Among the Hereros of the far South-West there are curious stories of the origin of the Sun and Rain-clans, but they shed little light on the real origin of the cult, they are evidently mythical and extremely simple. "Once upon a time there were two sisters, whose uncle was dead, and they thought they would go to the funeral. The one said, 'It is very hot, let us wait for the rain'. But the other had no fear of the heat, and away she went to the funeral. So the one who waited for the rain was called 'She who was related by marriage to the rain', and the one who had no fear of the heat was called 'She who is related by marriage to the Sun'. That was the origin of the Sun and Rain clans."

It cannot be said that these stories carry much conviction, either on the subject of the origin, or on the equally difficult question of the nature of these beliefs. Some allowance must always be made for the pictorial and symbolic method by which savages commonly convey their meaning, more especially to strangers. But the combined picture can hardly be rejected in those points that are particularly prominent, and these are the more or less direct cult of the Sun and the Hyaena, and the belief that these objects are in some way related to man, that they are his ancestors. A realistic interpretation is suggested by the fact that the disembodied spirit speaks "through" the Hyaena, and that in both cases the Sun-cult is associated with the souls of the deceased, with the funeral of a relative. Hence the strong expression "to be married to the Sun" implies at least this much, that the ancestor has migrated to the Sun, which, for this reason, obtains the closest relation to the survivor expressed by the marriage-relation. Finally, the production of rain and sunshine by more or less occult agencies, and the general absence of personal prayers to the great *Mulungu*, except in isolated sections of the North East, makes it more and more probable that this is a vague divinity whose name is invoked in parts, but whose personality has been dimmed in others by the growing importance of nature-powers. In so far as *Mulungu* is the Father of All, he is transcendent, in so far as he is Sun, Serpent, or Hyaena, he is the totem, sacred or profane just in proportion to the degree in which his All-Father character is still recognised. To what extent this is the case in each individual instance, it is impossible from the existing material to determine, but the above data show with sufficient clearness, that the concept has been largely naturalised, whether for better or for worse, must remain for the present a disputed question.

THE AGE OF ROCK-PAINTINGS
AND OF SPIRAL DESIGNS

THE GIANT WOLLUNQUA
OR THE AUSTRALIAN WORLD-SERPENT

PARTLY EXPRESSIVE OF CREATIVE ACTION, AND PARTLY DESCRIPTIVE OF THE
MYTHICAL FEATS OF THE REPTILE AS HANDED DOWN IN THE POPULAR LEGENDS



THE WORLD-SERPENT ISSUES FROM THE EMU-SUN AND GIVES BIRTH TO THE SPIRIT-
ANCESTORS OF DREAM-TIME.

MOTIVE: MULTIPLICATION OF FOODS

GROUND-DRAWING ASSOCIATED WITH THE WARRAMUNGA CEREMONY OF THE WOLLUNQUA
SNAKE AND INTERPRETED BY THE SIMILAR DRAWINGS CONNECTED WITH THE
INTICHUUMA CEREMONIES OF THE EMU TOTEM (ABUNTA TRIBE), HERE THE CIRCLES
ORIGINALLY REPRESENTED THE EMU-SUN, AND WERE LATER CONVENTIONALISED INTO
TREES, WELLS, ROCKS, ETC. ABUNTA INVOCATION:

"O ALTJIRA, HELP!"

SEE SPENCER AND GILLEN, THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA (LONDON
1904), PP. 177, 226, 737 FF.

CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN TOTEMIC FORM

(M, 3) ALTJIRA,—CENTRAL AUSTRALIA,—(ARUNTA TRIBE)

But if the preceding divinities are partly related to nature and man, either as the "sun-spirit", or vaguely as the "taboo", their counterpart in Australia is still more immersed in the nature-complex, his personality has been largely forgotten. Of this being,—*Altjira*, (Aboriginal One?)—, a few reliable facts have been gathered by C. Strehlow, a recent missionary,¹ of whom W. I. Thomas says in his Source-book that "his reports are important as supplementary to and corrective of those of Spencer and Gillen in the same region".²

Altjira is an eternal being, and is represented as a big strong man of ruddy complexion, whose long flaxen hair hangs over his shoulders. This is the first indication of his solar character, the long glistening hair representing the sun's rays.³ Like the Indian divinity he lives in the Sun, he has several beautiful wives and many sons and daughters, who carry out his behests. But though his image is human, he and his family have emu- or dog's feet, he is not the creator of the world, which is eternal, and though "good" (*mara*), he has no ethical relation to man, who neither fear nor love him. These were not created, but evolved from shapeless masses during the primaevial age of evolution, *Alcheringa*, ("Dream-Time"), and partly fashioned by totemic lizard-gods, or serpents, (*amunga-quinia-quinia*), who instituted the rites of circumcision and subincision. It is from these *inapertwas*, *inter-interas*, or shapeless ancestors,—called also *altjira-inkaras*, (the uncreated, immortal ones)—, of partly human, partly animal form—, that the Arunta derive the whole universe of being. Moreover in every Central-Australian tribe without exception there exists a belief that each soul is a reincarnation of a totemic ancestor, to which he may return at the hour of death. According to another tradition, however, the good return to the great *Altjira*, while the wicked are devoured by evil spirits.⁴

The main outlines of this system seem clear enough. *Altjira*, though formerly supreme, is now an evolutionary divinity with emu-feet(!), who arose out of nature and has conquered the high heavens. In other words he is a totemised Heaven-God, who has become part and parcel of nature, of which he forms the climax.⁵ This will become increasingly evident the more the Arunta customs and beliefs are studied as a whole and compared with the neighboring cults. Throughout this region the divinities have been mixed up with the forces of nature to such an extent as to hide, if not to entirely eclipse, their original features.

¹ C. Strehlow, *Die Aranda und Loritja Stämme in Central-Australien*, edited by F. Leonhardi, in *Veröffentlichungen aus dem städtischen Völkermuseum der Stadt Frankfurt*, (Frankfurt, 1907-1910) Vol. I. ² Thomas, *Source-book*, p. 913. ³ Strehlow, l. c. (Aranda) p. 1, 16. (Loritja) p. 1, 8. ⁴ See Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, (London, 1904), pp. 145ff. 174ff. for "Dream-Time", reincarnation, and eschatology. ⁵ Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 124, 372.

CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN TOTEMIC FORM

For it seems clear that this another case of an otiose divinity, a former Creator, a forgotten God. The fact that *Altjira* is eternal, of superhuman outlines, of righteous ethical qualities, this alone suggests that He was at one time supreme, and probably worshipped. It is difficult to explain such a "rudimentary survival" unless we suppose that, like the divinities of the South-East, he was at one time a "living" God. But with this more ancient concept there has been blended a different set of ideas. Of these ideas that of the "Emu-Sun" is one of the most important. The identification of *Altjira* with the Sun and the Emu is the first indication that we are dealing with a naturalised divinity, an impersonal force, an evolutionary god. This is not putting the case too strongly. His very name has been applied to the shapeless "monads", lizards, grass-seed totems, and the like, who as the *altjira-inkaras* are unborn, undying,—the germs of all life, of all existence. But more than this. They are the centers of an elaborate cult, in which they alone are recognised as all-powerful.

Thus at the *Intichiuma* ceremony of the Emu-totem, elaborate drawings representing primarily the sun, but secondarily the emu-intestines, feathers, eggs, etc. are made upon the ground in red or black ochre. Then two men,—bedaubed with paint and emu-feathers, take their place in the center, one personifying the tribe, the other a "sun"-ancestor (sic). The former brandishes a flower-stalk, while the latter holds a small disk with a central patch representing the navel of the original sun-ancestor. Both performers kneel one behind the other, and by swaying their bodies from side to side seek to obtain supernatural power from the emu-sun to the accompaniment of a rude incantation, *Wah, Wah, Wah!*, by the surrounding tribesmen.⁶

Now in so far as *Altjira* is behind the sun, a certain notion of transcendence is here implied, it is through *Altjira* that the "charm" is operated. But the fact is, his personality is hardly recognised, there are few supplications to a Heavenly Father, but rather crude magical incantations to the sun for the increase of food, for the multiplication of totems. This ceremony, suggestive though it be, is magical rather than religious, though it is capable of a religious interpretation with a personal god. Such a personality may still be traced in part, but he is a married divinity, of half animal nature, unloved and unrespected. The Aruntas have 4-class totemism with male descent. Monogamy is in vogue, but polygamy, wife-loaning, cannibalism, and infanticide, are all represented in this region. In fact, it is these practices, which, with the revolting custom of "sub-incision," have given the proverbially shady reputation to the modern "savage" as most of us hear of him.⁷

⁶ Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 182, 737. *Idem*, *Across Australia*, (1912), Vol. II. pp. 268-273ff. ⁷ *Ibidem*.

CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN TOTEMIC FORM

Among other strongly totemised cults of this region those of the neighboring *Loritja* deserve to be mentioned, for the reason that their chief divinity *Tukura* is in many respects a duplicate of the foregoing,—a quondam Creator, whose personality has been lost by excessive naturalism. All the remarks that have been made of the former apply with equal force to the latter, and it is sufficient in the present place to indicate, that the above data are corroborated by the appearance of a parallel divinity among a people who are culturally and industrially on nearly the same level.⁸

If the same cannot be said of the *Dieri* nation, a group of tribes inhabiting the Lake-Eyre region, it is precisely for the reason that here more than elsewhere animism and spirit-worship have made more than ordinary progress, it is the defunct ancestor that alone is recognised. There may be some doubt as to the exact meaning of the term *Mura Mura*, whether with Gason we take it as "the Good Spirit",—*Mooramoor*—, written as a proper name, or whether, as seems more likely from the practices of these people, it is simply the generic designation for anything mysterious,—spirit, ghost, ancestor, rainmaker, etc.⁹ The attempt of Lang and others to read a unique divinity into this term is one that does not commend itself to an impartial criticism.¹⁰ To substantiate such a proposition, a personal cult would have to be clearly proved, but of such a cult there is no direct evidence. On the contrary, the existing data tend to show that *mura-mura* is either generic, or, if anything specific, the *Dieri* designation for the *alcheringa* of the Aruntas, the half-animal indescribables who are the origin of all existence. Nay more, the *mura-mura* ceremony of the snake-totem, in which two men dig up the fossil reptile, here distinctly called *mura-mura*, sprinkle the remains with blood drawn from the arm, collect the supposed excrement of the animal, and then scatter the mixture over the sandhills in the hope of increasing the supply of carpet-snakes,—this is as good evidence as can be desired that, whatever other meanings may have been attached to the term, the name is certainly applied to the snake and lizard totems from which the *Dieri* believe themselves to be descended.¹¹ It also shows that here, as in the *intichiuma* ceremonies to the North, entities are multiplied by occult forces which are not clearly in control of a personal divinity. At the most, the *mura-mura* is a wonder-working ancestor, and he of half-animal form. Such an interpretation will gather additional force when we consider the numerous parallel cases in this immediate area in which the divinity is identified with emu, falcon, snake or spider. If the neighboring deities are of such a nature, it is hardly probable that this supposed "ancestor" is much more than a mysterious magical agency.¹²

⁸ Strehlow, op. cit. supra. ⁹ S. Gason, *The Dieri Tribe*, (Adelaide, 1874), p. 260ff. Frazer, I. 350. ¹⁰ Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 62-63. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, 268, 269. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 480-482. ¹¹ Idem, p. 798, for the Minkani ceremony. ¹² Thus it is probable that Frazer's view comes very near the truth.

CENTRAL AUSTRALIAN TOTEMIC FORM

This is of course mostly negative evidence, based on the apparent absence of personal invocations to a supreme Being. But that such a belief is entirely absent, I do not pretend for one moment to assert. It may be a concealed, symbolic belief, expressed in ritual rather than words, and there are one or two vague indications that *Mura-Mura* was at one time invoked by the mythical ancestors, though the few items collected by Fr. Schmidt are too vague and isolated to carry conviction. They show at the outside that the deity was *formerly* worshipped, but has since been abandoned in favor of a more alluring belief, in itself an important point as it helps to explain the genesis, if not the deterioration of the idea expressed by *mura-mura*. But that such a deterioration has here set in, can hardly be questioned, and until it can be proved that the Great *mura-mura*(?) has made the totem his own, that He is working in and through the supposed ancestor,—which is not in itself impossible—, the religion of these people can hardly be called more than a disguised form of nature and ancestor-worship. With this the social and ethical data are in suspicious accord. This is one of the few regions of Australia where the pure 2-class system with maternal descent is in vogue. While there is no essential connexion between this and a lower standard of practice, we have reasons to believe that spiritism, cannibalism, and head-hunting are the accompaniments of a culture which is typically late-Melanesian and which is here represented in its most vivid form. In any case, it is a noteworthy fact that here alone do we find the strange practice of group-marriage,—technically called the Pirauru-relation—, not simply as an aberrant phenomenon, but as a legally recognised matrimonial state.¹³

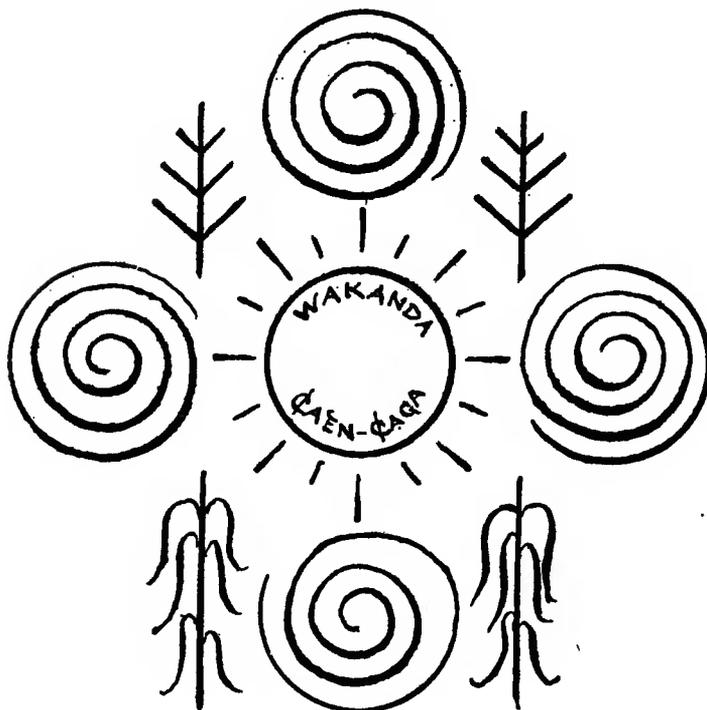
We will now be able to appreciate how sharply the divinities of Central Australia are marked off from those of the far South-East, as well as to trace the origin of those elements in the latter which are clearly disfigurements. If the All-Father is strong in the South-East and weak in the Center, it is because the sun and the emu, the lizard and the carpet-snake, are paramount in the interior and comparatively unknown or unheeded on the coast. *Altjira*, the Emu-Sun, has supplied *Baiame* with Emu-feet, it has associated *Daramulun* with the Lizard, but in neither case has the totem-culture dethroned the ancient Father in Heaven in the most primitive region of the Australian continent as yet known to us.¹⁴

¹³ Howitt, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 73. N. W. Thomas *Kinship-organisation and Group-marriage in Australia*, (Cambridge, 1906). ¹⁴ See under *Baiame*, etc., pp. 37ff. above.

THE AGE OF ROCK-PAINTINGS
AND OF SPIRAL DESIGNS

THE GREAT MEDICINE
OR THE NORTH AMERICAN SUN-MYSTERY

THE ALL-SEEING WAKANDA
SHOWING SUN- AND SERPENT-THEMES SEPARATED



MYSTERY-DECORATIONS PAINTED BY THE OMAHAS AND OTHER SIOUAN TRIBES UPON
ROCKS, BLANKETS, OR DWELLINGS, TO EXPRESS THE TRIBAL CULT TO THE SUN, THE
SNAKE, THE CEDAR AND THE CORNSTALK, WHICH ARE PECULIARLY SACRED.

"HAIL, MYSTERIOUS POWER, THOU WHO ART THE SUN! I WISH TO FOLLOW THY COURSE!
O WAKANDA, PITY ME! YOU REGULATE EVERYTHING THAT MOVES, YOU DECIDE WHEN
MY LAST HOUR SHALL COME!"

TAKEN FROM J. O. DORSEY, A STUDY OF SIOUAN CULTS, 11TH. REP. OF THE BUREAU OF
AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY, (WASHINGTON, 1894), PP. 372-430.

NORTH AMERICAN TOTEMIC FORM

(M, 4) WAKANDA,—PRAIRIE BELT—(SIOUX-DAKOTA-OMAHA)

It is in the broad Prairie-belt of the Missouri basin that the more advanced totem-culture of North-America has been preserved in its most distinctive form.¹ We have the nomadic life, the buffalo-hunt, the fur-blanket, the face and body paint, the round-house, the fire-drill, the half-round bow, the flint-headed spear, the throwing-stick, the carved figurine, the polychrome picture, the bone-flute, the bark-canoe, the patriarchal sept-system, the tribal initiation, the totemic marriage, the platform and tree-burial.² It is to be noted, however, that these elements have been largely fused with a later neolithic and copper wave of industry, and some allowance must therefore be made for the possible intrusion of later stages of belief.

Of *Wakanda* of the Omaha an early authority, Edwin James, writes as follows: "The *Wakanda* is believed to be the best of beings, the Creator and Preserver of all things, and the Fountain of Mystic Medicine. Omniscience, omnipresence, and vast powers are attributed to Him, and He is supposed to afflict them with sickness, poverty or misfortune, for their evil deeds. . . . He seems to be a Protean god, he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. . . . He appears to one in the shape of a grizzly bear, to another in that of a bison, to a third in that of a beaver, owl, etc. All the Magi, in the administration of their medicine to the sick and afflicted, mimic the action and voice, variously exaggerated and modified, of the animal, which, they say, is their respective medicine, or, in other words, that in which the *Wakanda* appeared to them."³

Now it is objected by J. Owen Dorsey that the writer mistook the generic name *Wakanda* for a specific one, that it stands for any great spirit, anything sacred, anything wonderful, not necessarily the supreme Being.⁴ This no doubt is possible. The name *wakan* is used indefinitely for anything marvellous, mysterious, incomprehensible. Its best equivalent is *taboo*,—"sacred".⁵ But on the one hand, the wording of the report, even if exaggerated, seems inconsistent with the idea of a merely tutelary power, on the other hand, his personal nature is attested among other things by the "Smoke" ceremony of the Buffalo men, in which smoke is blown up to heaven with the exclamation, "*Here, Wakanda, is the smoke!*" They say they do this because *Wakanda* "gave" them the pipes, and that he "rules" over them.⁶

¹ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, III. p. 87ff. ² For each of these items consult F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, (Washington, 1907-10), 2 volumes, an excellent compilation. ³ See Frazer, III. 398. ⁴ J. O. Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults*, 11th. Rep. B. A. E. (Washington, 1894), pp. 372-430. ⁵ Frazer, III. 108. ⁶ *Ibidem*. See also the Sun-Dance prayers on the opposite page.

NORTH AMERICAN TOTEMIC FORM

But this question is not so easily disposed of. The fact that *Wakanda* is the general term for "Mystery", and that there is practically no supreme or absolute worship attached to him, makes it difficult to believe that he is in any real sense a unique divinity. There are also no clear-cut creation-myths to show that he is above, superior, or anterior to the world,—a transcendent being. On the contrary, the beliefs and practices of the Omahas tend to reveal a vague nature-worship in which the *wakans* are the primary germinal-units, which contain within themselves the power to produce all things, to operate all wonders. Here again it is the Sun and the Buffalo that figure as the most important agencies,—as witness:

During the Buffalo-Dance of the Omaha Ghost-Society the members prance about disguised in the skins and horns of the animal and then come together for the purpose of making rain. This they do by dancing around a vessel of water and spurring the water into the air in imitation of rain. Then they upset the vessel, spill the water on the ground, fall down, and lap the water up, besmirching their faces in the act.⁷ Members of the Turtle-clan draw a figure of the turtle on the ground and place some pieces of cloth on the figure in the hope of dispelling a fog.⁸ The same tribes have an order of Thunder-shamans, who predict the weather by what they see in dreams and visions of the Thunder-being,—in this case the Sun, the Moon, and other celestial phenomena.⁹ But the most distinctive ceremony of all the Plains tribes was the Sun-Dance, in which the performers gyrated for hours before a buffalo-skull and a sacred pole representing the Sun. This ceremony is rich in symbolism, mostly astrological, but it shows, in the words of Dorsey, that "the Sun, or a god spoken of as the 'Great Mystery,' 'Great Medicine' (*Wakanda*), or 'Man above', was even more prominent in their eyes, being symbolised by the center pole".¹⁰

It will be noticed how close is the approach to the *Intichiuma* ceremonies of Australia and the *Soso-bonga* rites of Central India. This is carried still further in the death-ceremony. "You are going to the animals the buffalos", the dying-man is told, wrapped in buffalo skins. "You are going to rejoin your ancestors!"¹¹ This shows with considerable clearness that the *Wakanda* is essentially a nature-god, that he appears under a myriad forms, the highest of which is the Sun,—the Great *Wakanda*. Though theoretically supreme, he has lost his hold upon human life, upon human destiny. For any god that can suffer his clients to reappear as buffalos can hardly be described as a wise and benevolent Creator; there is something essentially deficient, something essentially sinister in his make-up.

⁷ J. O. Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 3d. Rep. B. A. E. (Washington, 1884), pp. 347ff.
⁸ Dorsey, 1. c. p. 240. ⁹ Idem, *A Study of Siouan Cults*, 11th. Report, p. 395. ¹⁰ Idem, in Hodge, *Handbook*, II. p. 651. ¹¹ Idem, *Omaha Sociology*, p. 229.

NORTH AMERICAN TOTEMIC FORM

Are we then to conclude that this is typical for the entire continent, that what we find is at most a nature-worship disguised by the term *wakanda*? This in the present state of our knowledge would be a somewhat premature induction. The fact that hints of a "Man above", of a Maker, a Giver, a Ruler, are distinctly thrown out to us, and that acknowledged authorities like Dorsey and Fletcher are able to read a personal, and even a creative meaning into the term,—this, together with the common tendency of man to personify nature, to make it human and lifelike, should make us hesitate in associating this idea with the unknown X,—the mere sum-total of all the powers in existence. While *Wakanda* "is the name given to the mysterious all-pervading and life-giving power to which certain anthropomorphic aspects are attributed, the word is also applied to objects or phenomena regarded as sacred or mysterious. These two uses of the word are never confused in the minds of the thoughtful. When, during his fast, the *Omaha* sings—'*Wakanda! Here needy he stands, and I am he!*', his address is to 'the power that moves', 'causes to move', that is, gives life; for the ability to move is to the *Omaha* mind synonymous with life. In this prayer the *Omaha* is not crying to those forces or forms spoken of as *wakanda* in songs that relate to objects seen in dreams or to symbols of magic."¹² If then we have some standing-ground for a personal divinity, a transcendent *Wakanda*, it is no less evident that this divinity is associated if not identified with the Sun, and the above remarks are at least in part justified, the solar predominating over the human features, with the result that a direct personal worship is here at a minimum, it is shrouded in magical and totemic practices which may have an intimate relation to Him, but of whose "sacred" character there is no clear proof.

Thus it is not impossible that the Great *Wakanda* may be concealed under some lesser *wakan*,—bear, buffalo, snake, turtle,—to whom He imparts His divine character in a secret and incomprehensive manner, the whole process being described as the "Great Mystery", offered up to the Supreme Being as a sacrifice of atonement, and even partaken of by the worshipper as a sacrament of union with the divine. Such a "communion"-rite is indeed beautiful to contemplate, more especially under the "Sacred Corn", but it is yet to be proved that *Wakanda* is present as a Person, that He is not simply a magic force or potency. In so far as He is above the totems, unique and incommunicable, such an imparting of power is not inconceivable, but in so far as simply the X of existence, the Great Unknown, such a function is hardly more than a charm.

¹² See the article on the *Wakanda* by Miss Alice B. Fletcher of Washington, (1910), in Hodge, *Handbook*, II. p. 897. Also on the Totem by J. N. B. Hewitt, *Ibid.* p. 787.

NORTH AMERICAN TOTEMIC FORM

It is interesting to note in this connection that the generic idea of "mystery" as a common designation for the Godhead is particularly strong, and especially developed on the North American continent. The Algonquin *Manitoo* and the Iroquois *Orenda* have practically the same meaning,—that which surpasses the ordinary powers of man to comprehend—, anything extraordinary, whether in the mental or physical world. Here too the term cannot be interpreted as a personal one without qualification. *Manitoo* is an appellative, designating "the mysterious and unknown potencies and powers of life and of the universe."¹³ As the *Kitchi Manito*, or "Great Spirit", it has been brought into connexion with a personal divinity, nay with a Creator of all, and this in view of the undoubted existence of parallel cases elsewhere, makes the Chippewa deity a strong figure, though convincing evidence is in most cases difficult to obtain.¹⁴ The *Napi* divinity of the Blackfeet and the *Ahone*-god of the Virginians are unquestionably prominent and apparently personal, but the Blackfeet have outgrown totemism, and of the Virginians we know too little to be able to pass any final judgment as to the nature of their beliefs as a totemic people.¹⁵ Moreover, as a branch of the Iroquois, they belong to the *Orenda*-region, of which Mr. Hewitt thus writes:—

"This hypothetic principle was conceived to be immaterial, occult, impersonal, mysterious in mode of action, limited in function and efficiency, and not at all omnipotent (sic), local and not omnipresent, and ever embodied and immanent in some object, although it was believed that it could be transferred, attracted, acquired, increased, suppressed, or enthralled by the *orenda* of occult ritualistic formulas endowed with more potency."¹⁶ How a "local" force can be always "immanent in some object" is difficult to understand, but consistency is hardly to be expected in this place, and the entire catalogue of attributes that are assigned to the *Orenda* shows how confused and entangled the notion is, how far from satisfying the rigid demands of a theistic notion. Hence the existence of "High Gods" in the Iroquois region must be interpreted by the parallel light of the *orenda*. While a personal dominance can be proved in this or that instance, the sources are too far off to allow of any exact definitions as to its nature. From what has already been found of existing divinities, it appears to be more and more probable that although a commanding figure is for the most part traceable in single outline, the *orenda-wakan-manitoo* system has either expanded the notion, or,—what is more likely—, it has obscured it by a confused jumble of nature-beliefs.

¹³ A. F. Chamberlain under "Manito" (Hodge, I. 800). ¹⁴ W. Warren, *A History of the Ojibways*, (St. Paul, Minn., 1885), pp. 63-65. Frazer, III: 382ff. ¹⁵ Cp. Lang, *Making of Religion*, 230-237ff. ¹⁶ J. W. B. Hewitt, under "Orenda"; (Hodge, II. 147).

NORTH AMERICAN TOTEMIC FORM

The social and moral statistics tend to bear this out. While the noble and the ignominious are mysteriously intertwined in all the ages of man, there is here no longer that delicate perception of the moral fitness of things that we find in the earlier stages of human society. Polygyny and divorce exist side by side with the stricter code of an earlier age, and there is evidence to show that irregular unions, even at sacred functions were by no means unknown. There was also less regard for the sanctity of life. Cannibalism in some form or another was at one time practised by all these tribes, whether confined to cases of hunger, or to those of sharing the brave qualities of an enemy. Wars, duels, and blood-revenge were once the order of the day, though striking instances of kindness, hospitality and the like are also on record. The picture in short is a two-fold one, but the growing inroads of a weaker standard are distinctly noticeable.¹²

(M, 5) CHINIGCHINICH,—PACIFIC BELT—(CALIFORNIA REGION)

The Rocky Mountain divide separates the Plains and Plateau Indians from their more primitive forbears on the Pacific slope, to whom pottery, weaving, agriculture, and mocassin-vestment, are largely unknown, or exist only as sporadic features. They lead the half-naked life of the deer-hunter that goes hand in hand with the loin-cloth, the round-house, the fire-drill, the unpolished flint, the self-bow, the throwing-stick, the wooden boomerang, the bull-roarer, the bone-whistle, the basket-canoe, and the balsa-raft—(California region).¹³ Father Boscana in his labors among the Acagchemem tribes of Southern California thus writes of their religious beliefs:—¹⁴ “Although ignorant as they were of the knowledge of the true God, the moral instruction given by parents to their children was contained in the precepts of *Chinigchinich*, which were strongly impressed upon their minds, that they might become good, and avoid the fate of the evil. The perverse child invariably was destroyed, and the parents of such remained dishonored. At the age of six or seven years they gave him a kind of god as protector,—an animal, in whom they were to place entire confidence who would protect them from harm, etc. They were not, however, to consider this animal as the real God, for He was invisible, and inhabited the mountains and bowels of the earth, but if He did appear to them at any time, it was in the shape of an animal of the most terrific description.

¹² Hodge, op. cit. I. 200, 571, 808. ¹³ Items in Hodge, passim. ¹⁴ Fr. Geronimo Boscana, *Chinigchinich, An Historical Account of the Origin, Customs, and Traditions of the Indians at the Missionary Establishment of S. Juan Capistrano, Alta California, called the Acagchemem Nation*, in “*Life in California*”, by an American [A. Robinson], N. Y. 1846, pp. 270, a very rare work. (Frazer, III. 404.)

NORTH AMERICAN TOTEMIC FORM

This was not *Chinigchinich*, but another called *Touch*, signifying a Devil. That they might know the class of animal, which the God, *Chinigchinich*, had selected for their particular veneration, a kind of drink was administered to them, made from a plant called *Pibat*, which was reduced to a powder, and mixed with other intoxicating ingredients. Soon after taking this preparation they became senseless, and for three days were deprived of any sustenance whatever." The report then describes how the neophyte is commanded to obey implicitly whatever visions are vouchsafed him during the trance, how he imagines an interview with a bear, crow, or rattlesnake, how he finally divulges the secret to the by-standers and the commands of the mysterious apparition.

This report is of value because it reveals a distinction between the supreme divinity and the totems. While the former is invisible and benevolent, the latter are visible and of animal form. This is characteristic of the totem-culture in its earlier stage, for though an advanced clan-system is here absent, matrimonial totemism of the undeveloped form (individual and local), is now known to exist. Moreover Merriam assures us all these Californian tribes believe that they "came from" certain animals, trees, or rocks, which suggests the conclusion that they may also return to the same by re-birth.¹⁵ This and the narcotic ceremony recorded above shows with some force that the divinity has lost much of his power to control the life and destiny of man by rational sanctions, that he is after all only a nature-god. Institutions appear to be patriarchal and plutocratic, with local exogamy and male descent.

It will thus be seen that throughout the totemic zone there exists a certain similarity of belief and practice which is too striking to be put down as a mere coincidence. In every case the divinity has been drawn into closer relations with nature, whether as the *Buru-Bonga* of India, the *Mulungu* of Africa, the *Altjira-Inkara* of Australia, or the *Wakanda* of North America. This is evidenced by his role as a married hunter, by his cosmic and solar character, by his possible confusion with the tribal totem, and by his want of direct control of the moral law. Throughout this region there is also a strong belief in metempsychosis and in the multiplication of entities by impersonal magic. To what extent these elements have affected the combined picture of the divinity, will be discussed later on.

¹⁵ Merriam, in the *American Anthropologist*, X. (1908), No. 4. Compare Hodge, II. 793.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

(N) EURASIAN-POLYNESIAN-CORDILLERAN GROUP,—NEOLITHIC BELT, (Recent)

The association of the European Neolithic with the Caucasian race of historic memory is one of the most daring achievements of modern ethnology. It is believed to be solidly probable by reason of the striking homogeneity of that culture, by the fact that the modern ethnical boundaries correspond very largely to the ancient ones, (Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean Group), and by the survival into historic times of certain elements that are believed to be peculiar to the Indogermanic races,—among others the Dagger and the Blow horn, which are well certified for the middle-European Pile-period.¹ Whether this will be substantiated by further evidence, remains to be seen. In the meantime it can hardly be doubted that, as the character of this culture was fundamentally Caucasian, it was at least in part Indogermanic, and we are therefore justified in using the latter as one of our sources. On this system it will be possible to read the religion of the lake-dwellers and megalithic architects partly in the linguistic records of the past, (Aryan religion), partly in the existing Austronesian and Cordilleran-American traditions, which are still associated with a very similar culture, (Advanced neolithic and bronze age). It is essentially a highland culture, encircling the earth in almost unbroken continuity,—from the Alps and Carpathians to the Caucasus, and through the Himalayan region to Indo-China and Polynesia on the one hand, and to Alaska, Mexico, Peru, and Patagonia on the other. (Polynesian-Cordilleran extension).²

But if the Aryan race was a conspicuous figure during the second stone age, it was by no means the earliest or only one, and it seems certain that we must go beyond Europe to Western Asia in order to find the real beginnings of neolithic civilisation. The threefold dispersion of Caucasian races, to Arabia, Egypt, and Iran, seems to postulate some common radiating center from which the proto-Caucasian race must first have emerged into prominence. Now such a center is found in that portion of Western Asia which is racially and territorially neutral,—neither Aryan, Semitic, Hamitic nor Mongolic—, but which is associated with the beginnings of all four, and tenanted by a people whose physique and language are irreducible,—the so-called "Sumerian" race of the Mesopotamian plains. Whatever be the exact interrelation of these peoples in prehistoric ages, some remote binding-link seems to be called for, and such a link is sufficiently prominent in the "land of the four rivers" to merit our serious consideration.³

¹ F. Graebner, *Die Melanesische Bogenkultur*, (Anthropos, IV, 1909) pp. 1029-1030. O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*, (Jena, 1907) pp. 349f. Idem, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Alterthumskunde*, (Strassburg, 1901) p. 824ff. A. Schliz, in *Præhistorische Zeitschrift*, (Berlin, 1912), pp. 36ff. (Craniology), Comp. also Keané, *Ethnology*, p. 108. Haddon, *Wanderings*, p. 40. ² Graebner, *op. cit.* pp. 998ff. ³ Comp. L. W. King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*, (London, 1912), pp. 321-348. (Cultural influence on Egypt, Asia, and the West).

WESTERN ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

It is not pretended that this was the direct ancestor of any of the "white" races as we now know them. It was not even Caucasian in the modern sense, but is better described as proto-Caucasioid, revealing perhaps some Mongolic affinities. Their ethnic position is still largely problematical, while their language has been affiliated with nearly every known tongue. This agrees well with the theory above supported and is only to be expected on the supposition that they antedate any existing representatives of the Caucasian stock, forming a possible link between the Dravidians of Central India and the pre-Aryan Ligurians of the middle-European Pile-belt.⁴

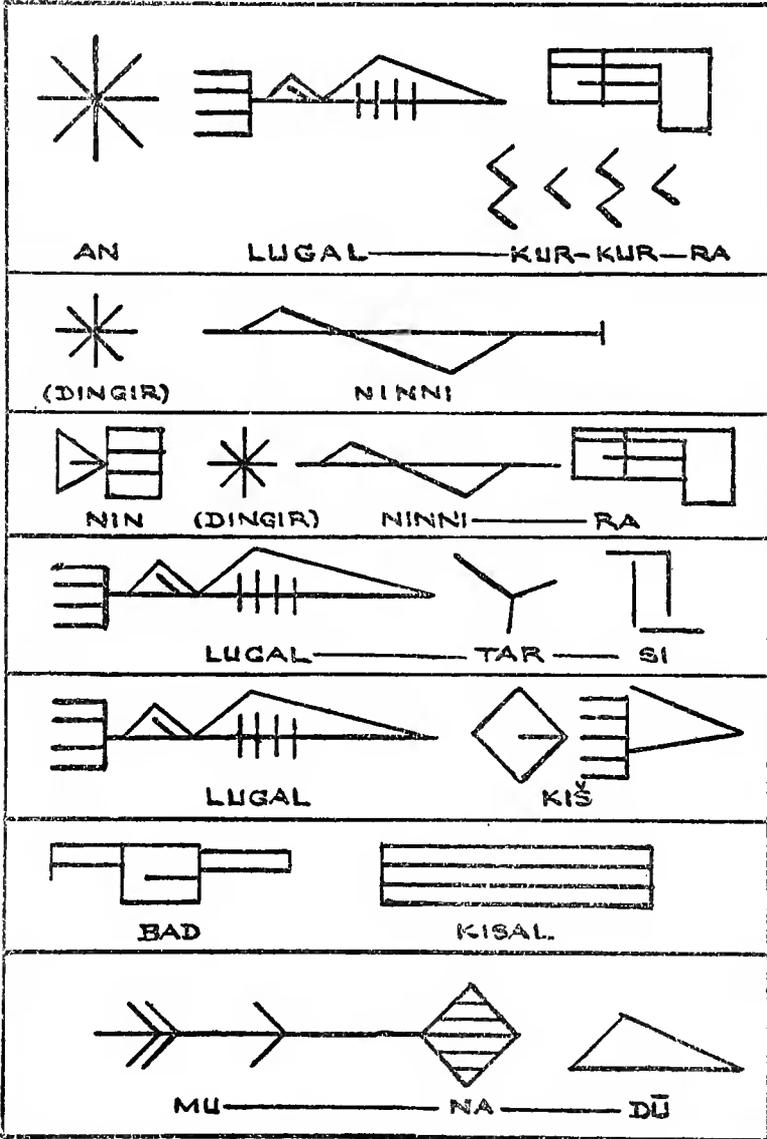
Here we have a people whose prehistoric past ascends indefinitely, and not impossibly to the eighth millennium before Christ.⁵ For these remote ages the alluvial mounds of Mesopotamia have revealed a culture which is characteristically neolithic, and this in its earlier stages. We have the simple mat-garment, or apron, (hand-weaved), the mud-hut and the clay architecture, (indigenous), the fire-flint, the sling-bow, the developed boomerang, the polished flint-knife, the bone-needle, the simplest kind of pottery, (unmarked), the clay figurine, the wooden lyre, the xylophone, the reed-boat, the "patesi"-kingship, the free marriage, (non-totemic), and above all the tomb-burial with contracted corpse, which is now believed to antedate the cremation-rite of the later Caucasian and Indogermanic peoples.⁶ It will be seen that most of these elements fit in well with what we know of the early pre-megalithic lacustrine age, though the nature of the soil will account for its strongly "alluvial" character.

If then we raise the Sumerian problem to the forefront of ethnic possibilities in relation to early neolithic man, it is because the finger of archaeology points strongly in this direction, because we require a neutral Caucasioid race as the bearer of the earliest neolithic culture, and because it carries us back to a time when the whole of Western Eurasia formed as it were a unit,—a time which was pre-Sargonic in Babylonia, predynastic in Egypt, and generally prehistoric in Persia. Finally, as our present appeal must be to the buried records of the past, it is only in Egypt and Mesopotamia that we possess the earliest extant syllabic or alphabetic writing, as distinct from mere pictographs, and this must always be a heavy denominator in any attempt to evaluate in their true proportions the early beliefs and practices of a civilisation which has been buried for five-thousand years.⁷

⁴ Comp. F. Weissbach, *Die Sumerische Frage*, (Leipzig, 1898) (Linguistic theory) King, *op. cit.* pp. 1-15 (General Introduction) pp. 40-55 (ethnical affinities). ⁵ Ur-Nina, 3000. Cuneiform, 3-4000. Hieroglyphic, 4-5000. Lowest strata, 8-10000. ⁶ Items in S. P. Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, Index. (New York, 1912).

THE AGE OF TABLETS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF SYLLABIC WRITING TO ANU AND ISHTAR

VOTIVE-TABLET OF LUGAL-TARSI, KING OF KISH,
OF THE AGE OF MESILIM, CA., 3100 B. C.



CUNEIFORM TEXTS FROM THE BABYLONIAN TABLETS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, PUBLISHED IN LONDON (1902) VOL. III, No. 12155, DECRYPTED AND TRANSLATED BY F. THUREAU-DANGIN.

DIE SUMERISCHEN UND AKKADISCHEN KÖNIGSINSCHRIFTEN, (LEIPZIG, 1907), P. 160.

(By Permission of the British Museum.)

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

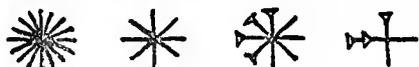
(N, 1) ANU—EN-LIL—EN-KI—Sumerian Triad

The three ideograms for Heaven-Earth-Underworld (An-Li-Ki) are well represented on the earliest tablets from Nippur and Lagash. The question arises: (1) Can any precedence be established for them as signs? (2) Do they stand for abstractions, persons, or things? (3) Is there any evidence to show that either has held a personal supremacy over the other from time immemorial?

One of the earliest inscriptions as yet known to us is that on the votive-tablet of Lugal-Tarsi, king of Kish, in which he dedicates the great temple of Kish to *Anu*, (and the Lady *Ninni*), at a date which can hardly be less than 3000-3100 B. C. (Age of Mesilim). It runs as follows:—

*“To Anu, King of the lands, and to Ninni—the Lady Ninni—hath Lugal-Tarsi, king of Kish, erected the wall of this temple.”*¹

Now the use of the *Anu*-sign in this passage, first absolutely, “to *Anu*,” and then determinately, as a mere prefix to *Ištar-Ninni*, shows with some force that in the first instance we are dealing with the “divinity” *par excellence*, the “High One”, while in the second case he is speaking of a deity who shares something of this exalted position, but is more of the nature of a patron saint, a protecting goddess. This determinative use marks, in fact, all the lesser divinities, while in the case of *Anu* himself it was unnecessary to add any other ideogram: He is Himself the God of all gods, the Heavenly One. Moreover, His high antiquity is proved by the fact that the same ideogram can be read as a hieroglyph far into the pre-dynastic age (4000), and that a very similar sign has been certified among the pictographs of the early neolithic age, from the mounds of Europe to the cliffs of Arizona.²

As to the nature of *Anu*, though the symbol is unquestionably a solar or astral one, its evolution being  etc.

(compare the Chinese  Egyptian  Indogermanic ),

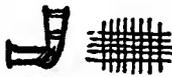
He is a Person. For, to take the test of worship, Gudea calls his patron saint *Bau*, “the daughter of *Anu*,” “King of the gods,” in whose honor he builds a temple,³ Ur-Engur invokes *Nannar* (the moon) as the “mighty bull of *Anu*” (the sun?),⁴ Lugal Zaggisi (2800) calls himself the high-priest of *Anu*, the “loving Father of Enlil,” to whom he sacrifices⁵ and Lugal-Tarsi builds the great temple of Kish in honor of *Anu*, “King of the lands”, the tablet quoted above. While the hieroglyphic evidence tends to show some connexion with the sun in very remote times, the title “king” or “father” points with equal force to a great Personality.

¹ Cun. Texts, (British Museum), Vol. III, No. 12155. Thureau-Dargin, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (Leipzig, 1907), p. 160. ² Barton, Babylonian Writing (Leipzig-Baltimore), p. 5. Wilson, The Swastika (Wash. 1896), p. 926 ff. ³ Th. Dargin, l. c. p. 79, 101. ⁴ Idem, p. 189. ⁵ Idem, p. 155ff. Hilprecht, Old Babylonian Inscriptions, I. 2.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

Thus the expression *lu-gal*, for "king" is literally "great man", and this, together with *adda* for "father", shows that the astral divinity *An* is not simply a nature-power, but a living personal character, symbolised by the orb of heaven or the star as the most appropriate expression of his mysterious nature. I even venture to suggest that the term *dingir* as the common appellative for divinity may contain the notion of "life-power" (*tin-gir?*) in the sense that the divine nature is conceived as "life" and therefore not as a mere force or tendency of matter. But apart from this, the above inscriptions reveal a fatherly ruler, a celestial *patesi*, with sufficient clearness.

Side by side with the God of Heaven, we have *En-lil*, the god of the earth, the winds, or the air, and *En-ki*, the god of the deep. In both cases the prefix *En* is ideographically represented on the earliest tablets by the hand and scepter,  again denoting lordship, dominion, kingship.

Thus *En-lil* is written , later , and finally

 signifying "Lord" of the earth, clouds, or air. His worship is almost as old as that of *Anu* and equally prominent. Gudea calls *Ningirsu* the "son of *En-lil*," the "mighty warrior" of *En-lil*,⁶ *En-shag-kush-an-na* attributes his victories to *En-lil*, the god of battles,⁷ *Eannatum* calls him "King of heaven and earth," *Entemena*, "King of the Lands,"

"Father of gods," etc. In like manner *En-ki* is the first ,

then , and finally . This is com-

monly translated "Lord of the Land," but the fact that he is universally associated with the liquid element, *Aa*, "Water," and that he is identical with *E-A Ea*, "House of Water," makes it more probable that the above should be read "Lord of the Deep," of the "Underworld." In any case he figures as such from the earliest times, and for many he is not only the Lord of the Deep, but the "Fountain of Wisdom" as well,—*En-zu*,—a singularly abstract designation.⁹

Now what is the relation of these deities to one another? Are they three independent divinities, or three aspects or manifestations of a single divinity? This for want of unimpeachable evidence can never be known with certainty. The designation of deity as "Highness, Dominion, and Wisdom", is a tempting device, but the same logic would force us to include many of the minor *dingirs* as equally manifestations of the divine. From the fact that *Anu* is called the "Father of *En-lil*", whereas no other deity is ever called the "Father" of *Anu*, we may conclude with some probability that *Anu* is the Father of all the gods, but to what extent identical or of the same nature with one, or any of them, we shall indeed never know.¹⁰

⁶ Th.-D. 26, 96, 98ff. ⁷ Th.-D. 157. ⁸ Th.-D. 14, 37. ⁹ Th.-D. 18, 40, 60, 124. ¹⁰ Cp. J. Hehn, *Die biblische und babylonische Gottesidee*, (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 1-29, the latest and best work on the subject.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

But a mere Sky-lord, however heavenly, does not satisfy the full definition of deity. There must be some evidence that he is looked on as a Maker, if not a Creator of all. Now of such evidence we have in the present instance only the barest fragments, and these from the later Semitic-Babylonian period, when the ancient pantheon had already been swallowed up by the single commanding personality of *Bel-Marduk*, the saviour-god of Mesopotamia. In the well-known Creation-Epic we find the following concatenation:—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Mummu-Apsu, Lachmu-Lachamu, Anšar-Kišar, Anu-Bel-Ea, Ištar, etc.—
symbolising:—

Chaos-Deep(?) Day-Dawn(?), Heaven-Earth, Sky-Lord-Deep, Mistress.¹¹

If *Mummu-Apsu-Ištar* be excluded, the former as an indeterminate void, (*Tiamat*?), the latter as a mere patronal goddess, we have the famous “septette” of divinity which is so characteristic of later Babylonian thought. But what is more important, the entire system seems to insinuate an evolution of gods,—a theogony,—in which *Anu* himself is pictured as rising out of heaven and earth, which are themselves the children of the day and dawn, and these again the children of *Mummu*, the Chaos, the “mother of them all”. It is still a disputed point to what extent these are poetical personifications or real personalities, for even here it is the Babylonian triad,—*Anu, Bel, Ea*,—that alone are recognised as real, personal, producing agencies, their great enemy being *Mummu*, who as the Serpent *Tiamat*, figures in the celebrated story of *Bel* and the Dragon. In this legend it is *En-lil (Bel)*, who cleaves the great Serpent in twain, out of which he makes heaven and earth, the sea, and all that is therein, while man he fashions in an extraordinary manner, by cutting off his head and mixing his blood with the slime of the earth,—surely a vivid creation-legend. But this account is not isolated. In the parallel *Adapa*-myth, it is *En-ki (Ea)* who creates the *Adapa*-man, and in the *Gilgamesh-Epic* it is distinctly stated that *En-ki* created the first man *in the image of Anu* through *Aruru* (the Earth?), whence the name allotted to him was *Ea-bani*,—“God-created”.

If then we have reasons to suspect that *Anu-Bel (Enlil)-Ea* formed a cosmic triad even in the earliest, pre-Sargonic times, the functions assigned to the one may be safely transferred to the other, and *Anu* thus becomes a Creator by means of his “generated” divinities. At the same time, the divine hieroglyph and the above “theogony” seem to point to the possibility that he and his entire hierarchy were at one time more closely related to nature, more directly associated with its immanent, evolutionary forces.¹²

¹¹ For the text see L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, (London, 1902), in *Lucas's Semitic Text and Translation Series*, Vols. XII, XIII. ¹² Compare Hehn, l. c. and J. Nikel, *Die Genesis in Keilschriftforschung* (Freiburg, 1903) p. 113.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

Here again we find those strange echoes of a "tree of life", a serpent, a temptation and fall, in which *Ea*, the God of the Deep, plays such a conspicuous part,—yet evidently in conjunction with *Anu*, the Heaven-God.

"At *Eridu* a palm-tree grew, in holy place it blossomed.

Its roots were bright, as crystal white, they spread forth to the waters.

The shrine of *Ea* was its home, at *Eridu*, the fertile,

Its seat the center of the earth, its leaves the couch of *Ba-u*.

Into its holy house, which like a forest spread its shade,

Hath no man ever entered. Alone the God of Light, He dwells within,

On lowland coast, between the parting rivers".¹³

But the moral of the story is not flawless. *Adapa* has lost the "Bread and Water of Life" because he follows the advice of the Ocean-God to reject the latter, and to ask of *Anu* clothing and oil,—hardly a straightforward action. In the *Gilgamesh-Epic*, the hero travels to the "Isles of the Blest" and obtains a marvellous root from his ancestor, the translated "Noah", but on his return a serpent darts up and he loses the precious treasure. In the Deluge story again, it is the Chaldaean "trinity" that decrees the destruction of man and saves the righteous few very much as in the biblical legend.

There is in fact ample evidence for the personal leadership of the triad, but of his worship in those remote times we know very little. From the title, *Iugal kurkurra* and the temple remains, there is reason to believe that each guardian deity had his own shrine at the summit of the *Zikkurat*, or the *E-kur*, temple-tower, in imitation of a mountain. The discovery of beads, statues, and temple-lamps shows that it took place under plastic forms, the *Patesi*, or Priest-King, acting as the vice-gerent of the Almighty. Here no doubt the great sacrifices took place, of the sheep, the ram, and the ox, and bloodless offerings were made of bread and wine,—recalling the *First-Fruit* sacrifice of the far East and of Central Africa. This was accompanied by the burning of incense or aromatic spices, and by a musical performance on the rude harpsichord or wooden lyre, to judge by the representations on many of the early steles.¹⁴ There is no evidence to show that at any time human sacrifices were offered up to the deity, nor is there any proof that the bodies of the dead were burnt in supposed "crematories", the custom of tomb-burial of the dead being now well certified, even for the earliest period. Thus the worship was, as far as we can conjecture, both humane and dignified. For further particulars on these and similar subjects the reader is referred to the succeeding chapters, more especially the one on Sacrifice.¹⁵

¹³ Text in C. T. XVI. PL. 46, 183ff. "God of Light" lit: "Sun-god" "Tammuz" (ibid).

¹⁴ Compare E. J. Banks, *Bismya*, the lost city of Adab, (N. Y. 1912) (latest excavations).

¹⁵ Further details in S. P. Handcock, *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, (N. Y. 1912) and P. Dhorme, *La Religion Assyro-babylonienne*, (Paris, 1910).

SUMERIAN PRAYERS TO BEL

FROM THE CUNEIFORM TEXTS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
Vol. XV. Pl. 10, 3-8, & Pl. 13, 1-9.

"FATHER ENLIL, LORD OF THE LANDS"

A-A (D)	MU-UL-LIL	U-MU-UN-E KURKUR-RA
A-A (D)	MU-UL-LIL	U-MU-UN DUG-GA ZI-DA
A-A (D)	MU-UL-LIL	SIB-SAC GIG-QA
A-A (D)	MU-UL-LIL	I-DE-DU IM-TE-NA
A-A (D)	MU-UL-LIL	AMA ERIN-NA SA-SA
A-A (D)	MU-UL-LIL	U-LUL-LA DUR-DUR

"RETURN, LOOK DOWN UPON THY CITY"

NITUK	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU	U-(GE-DUG)	
ELIM-MA	NITUK	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU	U-(GE-DUG)
U-MU-UN KURKUR-RA-GE	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU		
U-MU-UN SAG-GA ZI-DA	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU		
(D) MU-UL-LIL A-A KA-NA AG-QA				
SIB SAC-GIG-QA	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU		
I-DE-DU IM-TE-NA	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU		
AMA ERIN-NA SA-SA	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU		
U-LUL-LA DUR-DUR	NIGIN-U	URU-ZU		

SEE LANGDON, SUMERIAN AND BABYLONIAN PSALMS, (LONDON, 1908) P. 276, 293. JASTROW, RELIGION BABYLONIENS UND ASSYRIENS, (GIESSEN, 1905), II. P. 51, 57. VANDERBURGH, IN J. A. O. S. VOL. XXX (1910) P. 61-71.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

As to the expression of worship by prayer, the oldest Sumerian hymns reveal a deep feeling of dependence upon an all-merciful Father. But we must not be surprised if these supplications are directed chiefly to *Enlil*, the second member of the triad. A "Heaven-God" was too distant and abstract a conception to withstand the encroachments of a "Lord of the lands", one who was in a peculiar sense the national savior. At the temple of Bel in Nippur the lamentation-ritual of this kind was particularly vivid:—

1, "Father *Enlil*, Lord of the lands! 2, Father *Enlil*, Lord of the living command! 3, Father *Enlil*, shepherd of the blackheads! 4, Father *Enlil*, who seest by thine own power! 5, Father *Enlil*, strong Lord directing mankind! 6, Father *Enlil*, who causest multitudes to repose in peace!"¹⁸

1, "O mighty *Enlil*, return, look down upon thy city! 2, O strong and mighty one, return, look down upon thy city! 3, Lord of the lands, return, look down upon thy city! 4, Lord of the living command, return look down upon thy city! 5, Father of the land, return, look down upon thy city! 6, Shepherd of the blackheads, return, look down upon thy city! 7, Who regardest us with eyes of mercy, return, look down upon thy city! 8, Who bringest forth the light, return, look down upon thy city! 9, Who protectest the weak against the strong, return, look down upon thy city!" and so on in endless refrain.¹⁷

Again, Lugal-Zaggisi, king of Uruk, thus addresses the god of Nippur:—

"O *Enlil*, King of the lands, my beloved Father! Grant me long life! Give rest and peace unto this land! Make my armies to flourish! Preserve the sanctuaries, look favorably upon this land! Have mercy upon the people! Give me power to rule with a firm hand!"¹⁸

Again, take the following formula for the general confession of sins:—

"O Lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins!
O God, my transgressions are many, great are my sins!
O God, whoever it be, my transgressions are many, great are my sins!"¹⁹

But there is evidence of another kind that may prompt us to modify this conclusion to some extent. The existence of divination, augury, hepatoscopy, and demoniacal obsession, with an elaborate incantation-ritual for the expulsion of witches, this is a fact which cannot be passed over without revealing a belief in magical and spiritistic agencies, which is generally branded as "superstitious," and which seems to detract from the simplicity and purity of an All-Father cult.

¹⁶ Cun. Texts. XV. Pl. 10, 3-8. ¹⁷ Cun. Texts. XV. Pl. 13, 1-9. Elima nituki, Assyrian transcription for *Enlil* (Bel). Compare the versions of Langdon, Jastrow, and Vanderburgh, cited on the opposite page. ¹⁸ Hilprecht, *Old Babyl. Inscript.* 1, 2, no. 87. Thur. Dang. op. cit. p. 154; Jastrow I. 394. ¹⁹ Rawlinson, *Cun. Inscr. of Western Asia*, IV. pl. 10 ff. ("whoever it be" = "known or unknown"), Jastrow, II, 102.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

I have already had occasion to remark that a ceremony can only be called "magical" if a supreme Being is deliberately and explicitly excluded. The invocation of a patron saint and the expulsion of a harmful demon is the most natural of religious actions, and even the diagnosis of future events by inspecting the liver of the sacrificial animal is more or less excusable in proportion as the whole action is referred to the deity, is believed to be the expression of his divine will. Hence the *baru*-inspections and the *shiptu*-incantations must be interpreted in the light of a higher belief, in which they become the expressions of a divine power acting through the *kabittu*, the soul or "liver" of the animal, which for the time was identified with the soul of the deity. Such a practice, however reprehensible, led to the study of the science of medicine. Moreover in the *shiptu*-ritual for the expulsion of demons we find the higher divinities often invoked:—

"May Anu and Antum arise, to dispel the disease!

May Bel, the Lord of Nippur, arise, to give life by his irrevocable decrees!

May Ea, the Lord of humanity arise, he who with his hands made mankind". &c.

It is a long litany for the sick, in which by means of prayers and purgations, water-aspersions and so on, the imprisoned demon is let loose, and the sufferer restored to health,—surely an appropriate custom.²⁰

Yet with all this the intrusion of demon-worship, with many spiritistic and occult practices, is too pronounced a fact to be put down as a mere side-issue. The growing importance of the nature powers, not simply as mystery-forces, but as personal life-centers endowed with "zi"—, "life-or spirit-power"—, has produced a hierarchy of strong independent divinities which is frankly polytheistic, the distinction between god and demon being often difficult to trace. They are all *dingir-ilu*,—high and mighty personalities, whose *kabittu* or liver-soul decides the fate of humanity, sometimes to their great misfortune. It is Shamash, the god of divination, who is the father of this science, by which stars and entrails, bird-flights and the "evil eye", are in direct control of human life, the *manu* or "ghastly look" being the chief exponent of this secret power. I do not venture to hazard any etymologies, but the combination *shamah-manu* is too suggestive of "Shamanism" as a doctrine of "fire-spirits" to be lightly dismissed.²¹ Manistic animism, with occasional phallic developments, was destined to be one of the most important moulding-forces of early neolithic region,—as we shall see. And this is the one point that should never be ignored whenever we attempt to read the exact meanings into terms which have long since changed their original significations.

²⁰ Surpu, IV. 68-87. in Zimmern, Beiträge zur Kenntniss der babylonischen Religion, (Leipzig, 1901), Pl. X. (Incantation-text). ²¹ Comp. the ritual-tablets in Zimmern, loc. cit. & Shiptu-tablets, No. 57, l. 14. *minutu*, (ii) *Samas (imannu)*. Also Delitzsch, Assy. Handwörterbuch, under *shamu*, *manu*, etc. (Leipzig, 1896).

WESTERN-ASIATIC OR NEOLITHIC FORM

What then is the idea expressed by *zi*? Does it stand for life in general, or for a special form or manifestation of life, the disembodied spirit, the soul-double? Hieroglyphically *zi* is expressed by the flowering stalk,

viz.:  Assy. , and is generally translated "life", Assy-

rian *nišu*.²² It occurs very early, being found in the inscriptions of Eannatum and Gudea between two and three thousand B. C.²³ Here it is apparently used as an abstract, the "Life" of Ea (*zi dingir Ea*) being interpreted by the parallel *en-zi*, the equivalent of *en-ti*,—"Lord of Life"—, and by such combinations as *zi-kum* or *zi-kura*, which as the "Life of Heaven and Earth" became the standard formula for the expulsion of demons. Thus a well-known *šiptu*-tablet, which begins with an invocation to the Ocean-god, ends with an incantation to the heaven and earth:—"O Life of Heaven, mayest thou conjure it! O Life of earth, mayest thou conjure it!"—in which *zi* appears to have no other meaning than that of life in general, as it is not applied to the *tigillu*, or healing herb, which cures the patient on such occasions.²⁴ But even admitting that *zi* was originally the flowering reed, as suggested by the ideogram, there is no evidence to show that it was a disembodied spirit, much less a demon, as the latter are known as *lilu*, *lilitu* (airy ones), *alu*, *galu*, *shedu*, *utukku* (great ones), *ekimmu*, *akkhasu* (capturers), *labasu*, *labartu*, (tormentors, destroyers), but never to my knowledge described as *zi*, which was evidently the Sumerian symbol for the *gesh-tin*, or "Tree of Life", the *shammu balati* of the Baby-

lonians,—the source of immortality, (  =ti).²⁵

Again, the Assyrian transcriptions show with considerable clearness that the Semitic invaders understood the expression in a similar sense, the *niš ilani*, being the "Life of the gods", used in all conjuration-formulas. Thus *niš šamē lu-u ta-mat*, *niš iršiti lu-u ta-mat*, (general form), or more specifically, *ni-iš Ašur belī-ia rabi . . . sum-ma, ina libbi šabe annuti naru šuatu la ušahru*,—"By Ashur, great god! . . . To think that I should have dug this canal!" Delitzsch goes so far as to say that *nišu* stands for existence, essence, or personality, "a word of very broad signification", though he admits its application to spirits or demons in some instances.²⁶ If then the Semitic transcribers read such a lofty and refined meaning into the term, and there is no clear proof that it was used for *lilu* or wandering spirits, is it too much to say that *zi* stands for life- or spirit-power in general, even though it might also be taken for "spirits"?

²² Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, (Leipzig-Baltimore, 1913), Pl. 23, No. 91. ²³ Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Pl. 3, A, 1, 11. *Cun. Texts*. IX. 1. 1, 6. *Comp. Price*.— The great Cylinder-inscriptions of Gudea, A. 1, 15. B. 1, 3, 9, 22. Th. D. 89. ²⁴ Rawlinson, V. I-58. C. T. XVII. Pl. 19. Kol. I. 32-51. ²⁵ Barton, *op. cit.* Pl. 18 No. 76. ²⁶ Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 482-483, under *nišu*.

WESTERN-ASIATIC OR RECENT FORM

Thus the application of *zi* to the High gods, while it appears to be animistic, seems to reveal a deeper notion of divinity than can be conveyed by a discarnate form, a mere phantasm. "The *lil*, or ghost", says Prof. Sayce, "was distinct from the *zi*. While the *zi* belonged to the world of the living, the *lil* belonged to the world of the dead".²⁷ . . . "Unlike the *lilla*, the *zi* represented the man himself in his personality; if that personality were destroyed, it also ceased to exist". It is true of course that on this view *En-lil* would be a "Lord of ghosts", but it must be remembered that the earliest picture-writing gives no direct intimation of a malevolent being, but is vaguely expressive of earth, clouds, air, in a general sense, the identification of *lil* with the demon not being provable except in the later *shiptu*-ritual, when it was applied to the night-spirits that terrified the living in the form of a cloud. That ghost-hunting was rampant during this period admits of no doubt, but it was a secondary development, not a primary one. Though magic and demonism are strongly developed within the historical period, it cannot be proved that *Bel* was originally evolved from the ghost. Rather should it be said that the *zi* of the gods represents perhaps the first attempt to define the nature of the supreme Being as a "Personal Spirit", one who was more than a personal "Father" on the one hand, or an impersonal "Mystery" on the other,—an ethereal Essence, who, though clothed in the garb of nature, was above all totems, the life and animating power of all being. If it is also true that there is a spiritistic side to the concept, this is only to be expected by analogy with all great movements, in which a new idea is struggling for recognition, but is at once distorted and applied in the wrong direction,—the ghost-god.

This represents a distinct advance upon all the preceding systems. As an offset to the elaborate fasts, the dreams and trance-visions, by which the *bonga* or the *wakan* is secured as a personal guardian, union with the divine is once more obtained by the more direct channels of prayer and sacrifice, though fasts and penances survive as a secondary means for achieving the same end. All culminates in the "Bread and Water of Life",—the bloodless immolation offered to *Anu* by the earliest kings,—clearly a survival of the paradisaic or first-fruit libations of the days of man's innocence. After that the outlook is gloomy. There is no clear vision of a heavenly Father, but *Aralu*, the land of shades, the abode of "the spirits in prison". Yet the soul has crossed the rivers of death, it has no more need of earthly necessities, it is immortal,—it has arrived at the "Isles of the Blessed".

²⁷ Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 280.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 278.

THE CONTEMPORARY AGE OF WALL-PAINTINGS

AND

THE BEGINNINGS OF ALPHABETIC WRITING

A TIMELESS CREATOR

PYRAMID TEXT: PEPI I.

SETHE, VOL. II, P. 302, SEC. 1446. P. 663b. P. 664c. P. 664d.



ME-SI (MSI) PEP-I PEN IN ITEF ATUM EN HEPER-RET PET EN HEPER-
RET TA EN HEPER-RET REMTET EN ME-SI-T NETERU EN HEPER-RET MET

INVOCATION

TO THE NINE PARTS OF THE HEART OF ATUM

"O MIGHTY ENNEAD"

PYRAMID TEXT: PEPI II.

SETHE, VOL. II, P. 374, SEC. 1655. N. 665a. N. 665b. N. 665c.



HA PESEDET EAT I-MI-T I-UN ATUM SHU TEFNUT
GEB NUT OSIRIS ISIS SET NEPHTYS MESU ATUM PED-IBEF EN MESUF

HIEROGLYPHIC ORIGINAL IN K. SETHE, DIE ALTÄGYPTISCHEN PYRAMIDEN-
TEXTTE NACH DEN PAPIERABDRUCKEN UND PHOTOGRAPHIEN DES BER-
LINER MUSEUMS, NEU HERAUSGEGEBEN UND ERLAUTERT (LEIPZIG, 1908-
1910), VOL. II PP. 302 AND 374. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION BY
PROF. G. S. DUNCAN, OF JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, TO APPEAR
IN HIS FORTHCOMING WORK, "THE PYRAMID TEXTS, CRITICALLY TRANSLATED
AND ANNOTATED", (BALTIMORE, 1916), AND COMPARE P. VIREY, LA RELIGION
DE L'ANCIENNE EGYPTÉ, (PARIS, 1910), P. 6-7.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

(N, 2) OSIRIS—ISIS—HORUS—Egyptian Nome-Triad

We are told by Prof. Maspero that the earliest Egyptian monuments that we possess, those of the III. and IV. dynasties, side by side with certain divine persons, frequently mention God, the one God—*Dieu, le dieu un, le dieu unique*. These startling words are based upon the disclosures of certain pyramid texts in which men and gods are pictured as the result of a single divine action.¹ But the first strong reference to the monotheistic concept is found in the pyramid of King Pepi I., about 2500 B. C.

*"This King Pepi was born by his father Atum, before the sky was created, before the earth was created, before mankind was created, before the gods were created, before death had been made."*²

From the use of the passive voice and the instrumental "by" in this passage, it is argued that a single personal Creator is here intended, and that the appearance of the same hieroglyph in remote antiquity, *Atum, Atem, Tum*, tends to show that this or a very similar figure was looked upon as the maker or modeller of all. This divinity is always depicted in human form, he is sexless and wifeless, and he is described in the Book of the Dead as the "Creator of the heavens, the Maker of all existence, who has begotten all there is, who gave birth to all the gods, who created himself, the Lord of life, who bestows upon the gods the strength of youth".³ At last equally old is the designation *Ra* or *Re* for the material sun, from which the combinations arose—*Atum-Ra, Horus-Ra, Osiris-Ra, Amon-Ra*, etc.—and soon the triads began to appear, among which *Tum-Shu-Tefnut* furnishes probably the model for the great Egyptian "trinity," *Osiris-Isis-Horus*, the famous Nome-Triad.

But it is the great Ennead of Heliopolis that can alone interpret this figure. Here we find a generation of gods in the following order:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Atum-Shu-Tefnut-Geb-Nut-Osiris-Isis-Set-Nephtys, indicating
Father-Air-Dew-Earth-Sky-Light-Land-Deep-Mistress.

These are the nine parts of the heart of *Atum*, and are thus invoked:—

*"O mighty Ennead of gods which is at Heliopolis, Atum-Shu-Tefnut-Geb-Nut-Osiris-Isis-Set-Nephtys, children of Atum, whose heart spreads out to them!"*⁴

This is as clear evidence as can be desired that although *Atum-Ra* is a first and apparently unique divinity, the remaining eight parts of his "heart" are at least equally essential, and the position of the national *Osiris*-triad, with the original *Set*, is here plainly indicated.

¹ Evidence in Virey, *La Religion de l'ancienne Egypte*, (Paris, 1910), p. 1-5.
² K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (Leipzig, 1910), Vol. II., p. 302. Translations by Prof. George S. Duncan, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and Virey, I, c. p. 6. *Heperet* lit., "came into being." ³ Erman, *Ägyptische Religion* (Berlin, 1909), p. 10 ff. *Book of the Dead*, LXXIX, I. Virey, I. c. p. 136. ⁴ Sethe, Vol. II, p. 374. Comp. Erman, I. c. p. 44, 73ff. Virey, I. c. p. 7, 146ff.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

Are we then to infer that the different "gods" of the Egyptian pantheon are distinct divinities or different aspects of one and the same divinity? This will depend on the interpretation of the "Holy Nine", and their relation to the later triads, whether of Memphis or Thebes. The designation of *Tum-Ra* as the "All-Sun", the "great god Pan", revealing himself in the Ennead through increasingly higher forms, the whole culminating in *Osiris-Isis-Horus* as in the most vivid manifestation of the divine, is one that suggests a monotheistic interpretation, more especially as the supposed Sun-god is not a blind nature-force, but a creating and life-giving Personality, apparently timeless and eternal, and one who transmits these attributes to his apparent "successors" in undiminished brightness. They are all Creators, whether as *Chnum-Ra* or *Shu-Ra*,—modelling the egg which conceals the light and the germ of the future world (a direct moulder of man after the analogy of the potter's wheel),¹⁰ or as the great *Amon-Ra*, who as the "concealed" Sun inherits the fulness of the divine majesty under the later dynasty of Thebes.¹¹ In every case the similarity if not the identity of attributes points to an underlying unity of essence, of which the different nome-gods are but varying expressions.

This is a plausible argument, but cannot be allowed to stand as it does without considerable qualification. In the first place we have the mysterious *Nun* at the beginning of the series, out of which, as out of the chaotic deep, there arises the "World-Egg," and from this again the Sun-light, *Ra*, who then becomes the Father of all existence, etc.¹² This has the suspicious ring of a theogony, of a rise of divinities out of lower powers, even if *Nun* himself be personified and endowed with all the divine prerogatives of his children,—wisdom, power, providence, and the rest. It is possible of course that *Nunu* is an interpolation, (Bab. *Mummu*), but even so, it shows that we may have to go beyond *Tum-Ra* to the still more archaic *Nunu* or Water-chaos as the Father of the Light-god. How far is this genealogy still to be carried? But if a generation of gods be ruled out as unproven, and the Holy Nine be looked upon as nine aspects or revelations of the "All-Sun-God", there is still the practical difficulty, that this idea of transcendence has been largely lost sight of. The entire theology of the Nile reveals a series of *independent* divinities, who however unified in the abstract, are to all intents and purposes separate divinities. This belief is neither pantheistic nor monotheistic, but rather polytheistic, with a strong monotheistic background,—a phase of belief analogous to that of ancient Mesopotamia. To this conclusion most of our authors seem to give their assent, the term 'Henotheism' expressing most probably its rather complex manifestation.¹³

¹⁰ Brugsch, *op. cit.* p. 502ff. ¹¹ *Idem*, p. 22, 148. ¹² *Idem*, p. 101. ¹³ Estimates on this question in Brugsch, *l. c.* p. 90-99. Sayce, *op. cit.* p. 127-152. H. Hyvernat, Article "Egypt" (*Cath. Encycl.* Vol. V. p. 329ff.).

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

But is not *Osiris* identified with the sacred bull, *Osiris-Apis*, (Serapis)? Is he not a dying and murdered god, a mere mummy, incapable of satisfying even the most elementary definitions of deity? The strong animal-worship of ancient Egypt is a glaring fact that cannot be explained away any arbitrary theory of symbolism. The ox, the crocodile, and the serpent, are unquestionably the objects of a cult even in the earliest times. But the important point to consider is this: The lingering vestiges of totemic ideas are only to be expected in this region, but of the institution of totemism itself there is so far no direct evidence. Men are not descended from animals, there is no exogamy but rather endogamy in the clan, and of fasting and taboo the monuments are equally silent.¹⁰ The incarnation of the divinity in the form of a bull or a beetle, of *Horus* in the form of the hawk, of *Isis* in that of the sacred Corn, is one which leaves the personality of these deities unscathed, they are still transcendent, they speak to us in the language of superhuman demigods. This is evident from the *Osiris*-legend alone, in which the triad speaks and acts as Father, Mother, and Child, whatever be the outward form in which they appear. That this legend may be very ancient in Egypt is revealed by the neolithic graves, where the custom of dismembering the corpse and then burying the fragments with trinkets and food-stuffs "for the journey" recalls the dismemberment of the body of *Osiris* and its re-union in the form of a mummy, the feeding of the corpse being paralleled by the feeding of *Osiris* with the Corn-fruit libations of Egypt,—one of the earliest and best authenticated examples of Egyptian sacrifice.¹¹

But the nature of *Osiris* is more clearly revealed by the *Ka-Ba-Khu*,—the body, soul, and spirit—"double", which like the Sumerian *zi*, (*lil*), and the Semitic *kabittu* (liver), describes the invisible, the spiritual part of man,—his ghost or "luminous spirit". For whatever be the fate of the *Ka*, the *Ku*-spirit of man follows *Osiris* through the limbo of darkness, and rises with him to the Paradise of *Alu*, there to be judged by him and his forty-two assessors. "Praise be to Thee, *Osiris*, Lord of the twofold Truth! Praise to Thee, great God, Lord of the twofold Truth! I come to Thee, my Lord, I draw near to see thine excellences!" . . . such was the greeting of the soul to the Great *Ka-Ho-Tep*, the "Shining Spirit". The repudiation of every form of sin on the part of the penitent proves that *Osiris* is a lover of charity, chastity, and self-sacrifice. "I am pure! I am pure!"—such was his repeated exclamation.¹²

¹⁰ See J. Capart, in *Compte Rendu of the Louvain Congress*, (Paris, 1913) p. 274ff.

¹¹ De la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, (1905), I. pp. 214-240. ¹² Comp. Sayce, *op. cit.* p. 46-70, 153-180. Maspero, *op. cit.* I. p. 166ff.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

It is evident that the character of Egyptian religion cannot be appreciated without taking into consideration the meaning and function of the *Ka*,—the philosophy of the “double”. That it embodies an immaterial concept seems certain, it is an abstract for “life”, yet as the double of the body it is subject to limitations, nay it is in need of food and sustenance, and as such it partakes of a material nature, it is but a rarified body, a “ghost”. This is shown by the fact that the *Ka* of a dead man can only communicate with his entombed mummy by means of a pictured door, through which the *Ka* passes in entering the tomb. It is living in a world of shams and pictures, and these for it are as good as the reality. Nevertheless real food-stuffs are offered to the *Ka*, and in this it is distinguished from the *Khu* or pure “light-soul” which has got beyond the stage of earthly necessities.¹³ This is illustrated by the following address which the dead man makes to his *Ka* on the day of resurrection:—

“Hail to thee, who wast my *Ka* during life! Behold I come to thee, I arise resplendent, I labor, I am strong, I am hale. I bring grains of incense, I am purified thereby, and I thereby purify that which goeth forth from thee . . . I am that amulet of green feldspar, the necklace of the god *Ra*, which is given to them that are on the horizon. They flourish, I flourish, my *Ka* flourishes even as they. The scale of the balance rises, Truth rises high unto the nose of the god *Ra* on the day on which my *Ka* is where I am. My head and my arm are restored to me where I am. I am he whose eye seeth, whose ears hear. I am not a beast of sacrifice. The sacrificial formulæ for the higher ones in heaven are recited where I am.”¹⁴

Now it is a noteworthy fact that the Egyptian sign for the *Ka*  corresponds to some extent with the Babylonian ideogram for “life”



(Sum, *zi*, Ideogr. ) , not so much in their external

form, as in the context in which they are found.¹⁵ In both cases we are dealing with a flowering reed, whether single or double, which is clearly symbolical of a disembodied form, as there is a sharp distinction between the *Ka* or *zi* of a god and the god himself. This affects such forms as *En-zi*, (*En-ti*), *En-lil*, *zi-an-ki*, *zi-kum*, *zi-kura*, etc., the *zi* of Eridu being the *lil* of Nippur, and both the equivalent of the Assyr. *nišu*, the *niš ilani* being the “life” or spirit” of the gods, paralleled by the Egyptian *ka-chepra*, *ka-Tum*, *ka-Ra*, *ka-Hotep*, *Osiris-ka*, the life-double, the picture, or the similitude of the divine.¹⁶

¹³ A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, (Edinburgh, 1903) p. 56-70.
¹⁴ *Book of the Dead*, ch. 105. Sayce, l. c. p. 55. ¹⁵ Sayce, l. c. p. 58, 276ff. Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, 23, No. 91. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, under *nišu*. ¹⁶ *Cun. Texts*, IX, l. 6. Erman, p. 102. Brugsch, op. cit. p. 420, 306. Virey, l. c. p. 231ff.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

But *Ka* is not the highest expression of the divine nature. There is *ba*, the less material soul, and above all things, *khv*, the completely emancipated spirit, the "spark" of the divine intelligence, symbolised by the Phoenix, the mythical fire-bird. This expression is the most subtle that can well be conceived for conveying the notion of rarified light as the most appropriate picture of what is essentially spiritual, of its nature immortal and godlike. The four *Khv* of *Horus*, the Sun, are the four major stars of the Great Bear, and they became the "Manes" or Guardian-spirits of Manetho, the semi-divine dynasty which intervened between the dynasties of gods and men.¹⁷ Their Babylonian equivalent was the *zi* of the gods, the *zi* of heaven and earth, the *zi* of all things, the invisible life-power concealed in all being. It was essentially personal, even if it worked through inanimate objects.¹⁸

This sublime and apparently advanced concept could only be kept pure, however, in so far as it was separated from the lower *Ka*, the needy or carnal double, which as the *lil* or hobgoblin of the Euphrates, wandered about from tomb to tomb, seeking rest and finding none. But this was only partially to be the case. The confusion of *Ka* and *Khv*, of hungry ghost and heavenly spirit, was often such that the whole system degenerated into a demon-worship with the most baneful moral consequences to the race. "The double did not allow its family to forget it, but used all the means at its disposal to remind them of its existence. It entered their homes and their bodies, terrified them, waking and sleeping, by its sudden apparitions, struck them down with disease and madness, and would even suck their blood like the modern vampire".¹⁹ Phallic symbols, both in Egypt and Babylonia, testify to the perverted nature of this influence. It is even on record that *Tum* begat *Shu* and *Tefnut* by means of a solitary act,—surely the limit of a distorted notion,—even if it be looked upon as aberrant phenomenon, an isolated case.²⁰ Throughout the attribution of personal spiritual powers even to lifeless objects of whatever kind, while it broadened the sphere of divine action in its better manifestations, entailed a correspondingly dangerous tendency, whenever the *Ka*-worship took exclusive possession of the field.

We are here in presence of what is commonly called "animism",—belief in a spiritual power emanating from countless life-centers. "As in Egypt, so in Babylonia, animism was the earliest shape assumed by religion, and it was through animism that the Sumerian formed his conception of the divine".²¹

¹⁷ Sayce, op. cit. p. 61. ¹⁸ Idem, p. 58. ¹⁹ Maspero, Dawn of Civilisation, p. 114. ²⁰ Brugsch, op. cit. p. 423, founded on Pyr. Text. Unas, 467ff. (Maspero). For similar stories of *Horus*, etc., see idem, p. 309, 407. ²¹ Sayce, op. cit. 276.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

(N, 3) ASHUR-ISHTAR-ADAD—(ASSYRIAN TRIAD)

“As far back as we can trace the history of Semitic religion, whether in Babylonia, Canaan, or Arabia, its fundamental conception is always the same, the gods are human, and men are divine”.¹ These words are meant to imply that divinity is always personal, that humanity has been elevated to a likeness with the divine. Whether this can be proved by evidence that is strictly suasive, remains to be seen. Certain it is, that by contrast with Egypt, India, and early Greece, Semitic religion shows comparatively few traces of animal-worship, though animal or astral symbolism has rarely, if ever, been rejected. This is evident from the fact that *Ashur*, the High God of the Assyrian pantheon, though distinctly human, military, and aggressive, is symbolised by the winged orb of heaven, that *Ishtar* is the morning or evening star, (Venus), that *Adad* is the lightning-flash, that the *Cherubim* are winged figures with the heads of eagles. But, even admitting that these divinities are garbed in the nature-symbolism of the totem-age, the point is that they are each independent, self-directing personalities, revealing themselves in nature, yet not identified with her. Thus *Ashur*, though of solar form, is the great god of battles, he is sexless and childless, and though he produces all things, he is not linked with inferior divinities, he admits of no rivals, he is unique, personal, supreme.²

COMBINATIONS WITH *Ilu*—*Ayil*—*El*

It will be difficult to prove that the Semitic-Babylonian *Ilu*, (goal, apex meeting-point?), was ever used as more than an appellative, that is, for divinity in general, (Lat. *numen*). Only among the Aramaeans and Phoenicians can the forms *El* and *Ilu* be certified as proper names for individual deities. Nevertheless an absolute *Ilu* cannot be excluded, and is indeed quite probable in view of the similar use of *Anu* in Sumerian antiquity. In any case *Ilu* occupies the same place on the Euphrates that *Ra* occupies on the Nile, and divine combinations are at least equally frequent. Thus we have *Ilu-šuma*, *šangu-Ilu-Asir*, “Servant of God, High-Priest of Ashur”, one of the earliest authenticated rulers, (ca. 2300 B. C.),³ *Sumula-Ilu*, *Iluma-Ilu*, early Babylonian kings, another *Ilu-šuma*, *šangu-Ilu-Ištar*, builder of the temple of Ishtar, etc., not to speak of the later Aramaic combinations with *El*, now well known. The antiquity of *Ashur-Ilu* as a person is thus supported by good monumental evidence, but how far these early Semitic ideas extend into the prehistoric past, it is impossible for the existing records to determine.

¹ Sayce, op. cit. p. 351. ² Idem, p. 366-372. ³ See L. Pinches, The Cappadocian Tablets of Liverpool, in *Annals of Archaeol. & Anthropology* (Liverpool, 1908), Vol. I. p. 49ff. for early Assyrian inscriptions in Cappadocia (ca. 3000, B. C.).

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

The development of Ashur-worship can be traced in outline from the above remote period through the times of Tiglath-Pileser down to the age of Sargon and Sennacherib. From the fact that the earliest temple at Ashur was dedicated to *Anu* and *Adad* about 2400 B. C.,⁴ and not to the national god whose temple dates from the time of *Samsi-Adad*, (ca. 1800),⁵ it has been inferred that the Ashur-cult was originally imageless, which is indeed quite probable, though of little importance. Tiglath-Pileser I. (1100), places *Ishtar* side by side with *Anu-Adad*, with whom *Ashur* is also invoked, and from that time the Assyrian triad became more and more prominent, until by the time of Sargon, we find the following concatenation:—⁶

“To Shamash, who grants the victory,	(Names inscribed on the
To <i>Adad</i> , who gives the overflow,	Eastern gate of the palace)
To Bel, who lays the foundation of my city,	(On the Northern gate
To Belit, who gives fertility to the land,	of the palace)
To Anu, who completes the work of our hands,	(On the Western gate
To <i>Ishtar</i> , who brings thrift to the people,	of the palace)
To Ea, who conducts the waters,	(On the Southern gate
To Belit ilani, who multiplies the posterity,	of the palace)
To <i>Ashur</i> , who gives years to the king	(On the inner wall
and protection to his troops,	of the palace)
To Ninib, who founds the city for eternity,”	(On the outer wall).

Now the fact that Ashur occupies the inner wall of the palace, while *Ishtar* stands at the Western, and *Adad* at the Eastern gate, seems to show that preferential positions are assigned to the distinctively Assyrian divinities, the Northern and Southern gates being inscribed with the common Assyrio-Babylonian names,—*Bel*, *Ea*, *Belit*,—though *Shamash* is coupled with *Adad*, and *Anu* with *Ishtar*, precisely because these are the oldest and best known divinities of the entire Mesopotamian plains.⁷

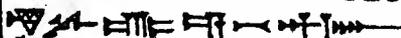
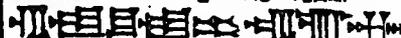
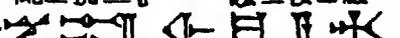
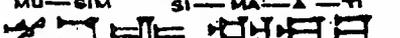
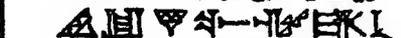
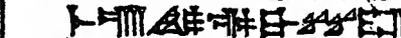
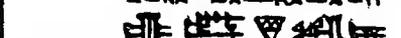
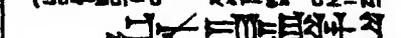
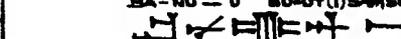
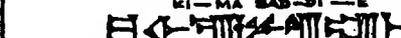
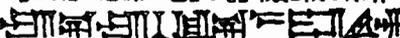
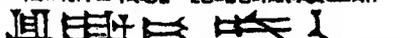
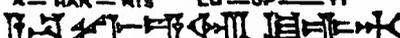
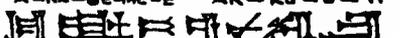
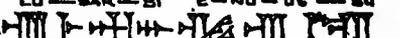
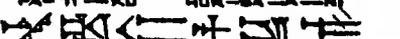
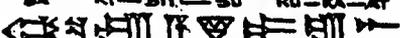
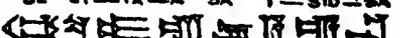
We are thus brought to the conclusion that the Assyrian pantheon is so closely interlaced with that of Babylonia, that for all practical purposes they form a unit. Hence the religion of the Northern kingdom may be safely interpreted by that of the Southern in its more advanced form, the Assyrian belief being revealed by the Semitic-Babylonian. (See under N, 1). If however we would trace the development of *ilu* in its highest form, we must turn to the land of the Hebrews, where we find the early Semitic ideas of God represented in their greatest purity.

⁴ Andrae, *Der Anu-Adad Tempel*, (Leipzig, 1909). ⁵ Rawlinson, I. 6, No. 1. ⁶ See M. Jastrow, *Rel. Babyl. u. Assy.* (Giessen, 1905) Vol. I. p. 244ff. for texts and references.

A HYMN OF PRAISE TO ASHUR

"LORD OF LORDS ALL-KNOWING"

K. 3258 OBV.

1	 SUR-BU-U E-TIL ILANI  KAS-TU KU-TU-KU (ILU) BEL ILANI  (ILU) ASUR BEU SUR-BU-U  KAS-TU KU-TU-KU (ILU) BEL ILANI	 MU-DU-U  MU-SIM SI-NA-A-TI  MU-DU-U  MU-SIM SI-NA-A-TI
5	 (A)BI (ILU) ASUR DAN-DAN-NU  NIR-BI E-SU  ASUR LU-A-TI XI-KIR-SU  (S)IB E-HAR-GAL KURKUR-RA  LU-UT-TAS-KAR  E-HAR-RA  (ANA)KU-LU-ME AB-ZA-A-TI  TAI-SIB-TU  A-NA DA-RA-A-TI  (SUR-BU)U RAY-SA UN-NE  BA-NU-U BU-LU (S)IB  BA-NE-U ILANI  (S)IBU RU-U-KU  MUT-LIL-LU-U  NI-SU (ILU) ASUR  KI-MA KAS-BI-E  (KI)MA SI-TIR BU-RU-UM-ME  KA-RU XI-KIR-SU	 E-TIL ILANI BE-EL MA-TA-A-TI  TA-NIT-TA-SU LU-UK-TAR-RA-AH  LE-GA-TI BI SUM-SU  TA-NIT-TA-SU LU-UK-TA-RA-AH  KUR-US-SU LUB-LEL  (ILU) ASUR MU-SIM SIMATI  A-HAR-RIS LU-UP-TI  A-NA-GE-ME-E ARI-KU-U-TI  LU-KAR-BI E-NU-UG-SU  AB-KAL ILANI MUT-TAL-IT  PA-TI-KU HUR-A-A-NE  MU-AL-LID (ILU) SI-TAR  KA-RAE NIK-LA-A-TI  KA XI-KUR-SU KAH-TU  SA KI-BIT-SU RE-KA-IT  UL UT-TA-A-BA I-SIB-TI  UL UT-SID-BA A-DAN-TA  KI-BIT-SU KI-NA-AT
10		
15		
20		

SEE CRAIG, ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN RELIGIOUS TEXTS, (LEIPZIG, 1895) I, 32, AND FR. MARTIN, TEXTES RELIGIEUX, (PARIS, 1908) P. 120 JASTROW, RELIGION BABYLONIENS AND ASSYRIENS, (GIESSEN, 1905), I, P. 530.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

But we cannot leave the banks of the Euphrates without calling attention to the lofty tone, the almost Palestinian ring, of many of the hymns and prayers addressed to the two highest members of the Assyrian pantheon:

1, "Mighty Lord of Lords, all-knowing! 2, Prince of the gods! Master of Destiny! 3, O Ashur! Mighty Lord, all-knowing! 4, Lord of the gods and Master of our fate! 5, Father Ashur! the Almighty! Lord of Lords, and Lord of the lands! 6, I will praise his greatness, I will make known his majesty, 7, I will exalt his memory, I will glorify his name! 8, I will reveal the splendor of him who dwells in his holy temple, 9, I will praise his power, I will extol his virtue,—10, heavenly Ashur!—Lord of our fate! 11, That I may reveal his greatness to all nations,—12, that generations to come may hear of his name—13, I will praise his dominion for ever and ever—the wise one—14, Him of great Understanding, Arbiter of the gods, 15, Creator of the heavens, Former of the mountains, 16, Source of all gods, Father of Ishtar, 17, mighty Heart, subtle Intelligence, 18, Glorious one! Whose name evokes fear, whose word travels to the ends of the earth. 20, His spirit is like the mountains, his foundations cannot be seen, 21, he shines like the firmament—22, From all eternity is Thy Name".^a

Though the hymn exists only in fragments and requires much inter-linear reading, the analogy to Psalm 29 (28) is obvious. Again—

1, "I pray unto thee, Lady of Ladies, divinest of all divinities! 2, O Ishtar! Queen of all people, Directress of mankind! 3, O Irnini! Thou art raised on high, Mistress of the spirits of heaven! 4, Thou art mighty, thou hast sovereign power! Exalted is thy name! 5, Thou art the Light of heaven and earth, O valiant daughter of the Moon! 6, ruler of weapons, arbitress of battles, 7, framer of all decrees, wearer of the crown of dominion! 8, O Lady! Majestic is thy rank! Over all the gods is it exalted!—40, Where thou lookest in pity, the dead man lives again, the sick is healed. The afflicted is saved from his affliction, when he beholds thy face. 42, I, thy servant, sorrowful, sighing, and in distress, cry unto thee. 43, Look upon me, O my Lady, and accept my supplication! 44, Truly pity me, and hearken unto my prayer! 45, Cry unto me "It is enough!", and let thy spirit be appeased. 46, How long shall my body lament, which is full of restlessness and confusion? 47, How long shall my heart be afflicted, which is full of sorrow and sighing?"^a

^a Craig, Assyrio-Babylonian Religious Texts, Vol. I., Plates 32-34. (K. 3258). (Leipzig, 1895). Retranslation from Jastrow, i. c. (new germ. edit.) Vol. I., p. 520. Comp. Martin, Textes Religieux (Paris, 1903), p. 126. ^a King, The Seven Tablets of Creation (London, 1902), Vol. I, p. 222-237 (Transcription and translation), Vol. II. Pl. 75-84 (Text). Comp. Jastrow, i, c. Vol. II, pp. 66-68. Dhorme, Choix de Textes (Paris, 1907), p. 356 ff.

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Again, though Adad is the god of storms and represents the fearful, the terrible side of divinity,—the idea of justice—, he is yet capable of acts of mercy, he listens to the cry of the penitent,—

“Merciful Lord among the great gods, I turn to Thee, I supplicate Thee! Be merciful unto me, O Lord, and hear my prayer. Destroy my enemies, Dispel my antagonists, Let not the venom of the sorcerers come near! Have compassion on me and grant me thy grace! My god and my goddess—(patron-saints)—procure for me tranquillity. May thy heart be pacified, may thy spirit be softened, grant me thy peace! Grant me thy favor, grant me thy mercy, grant me thy grace! Then will I praise thy majesty, proclaim thy glory, acknowledge thy rule”.¹⁰

Now in reproducing these passages in the English vernacular, we must be careful not to read a meaning into the text which cannot be found; we must beware of carrying our own psychology into an age in which animism and nature-worship existed side by side with a higher vision of divinity, an age in which theory and practice were often as violently opposed as they are commonly said to be in all the ages of man. Thus the expression “Lord of Lords” and “God of Gods”, however suggestive of Jewish-Christian ideas, differs essentially from the latter in that the *en-lil ilani* or *ilu ilani* is the first among many deities of the same nature, each of which is described in very similar terms, a “lord of the lands”, a “father of all the gods”. Ashur is simply the greatest of great ones, not the unique Jehovah, the “I AM” of Israel. In like manner, the exalted character of “Our Lady of Niniveh” should not blind us to the numerous corruptions to which her worship was destined to give rise, corruptions which were too constant and uniform to be put down as mere accidentals. Finally, although the High Ones are invoked against sorcery, they are themselves the object of divination, it is the *kabittu* or liver of the sacrificial animal that reveals the heart, mind, or purpose of the deity,—omens are his divine “will”.

Yet with all this the verdict of the tablets is decisive on the subject of a lofty, comparatively pure cult of divinity. Phallic signs in the alphabet were the most natural means for the differentiation of sex, and probably meant no more than indications of gender. From the penitential formulas it is quite certain that high and noble ideals were in the air, and perhaps it is not too much to say that this early Assyrian faith represents with the Iranian the nearest approach to a supernatural religion.¹¹

¹⁰ King, *Babylonian Magic*, (London, 1896), No. 21, lines 61-71. Jastrow, I. p. 484.

¹¹ Comp. Dhorme, *La Religion Assyro-Babylonienne*, pp. 210-241 (*La Loi morale*).

THE TRANSCENDENCE OF THE GOD OF ISRAEL

AS ILLUSTRATED BY THE 24TH PSALM, DOUAI, PS. 23

1 ליהוה הארץ ומלואה תכל וישבי בה :

THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S AND THE FULNESS THEREOF
THE WORLD AND THEY THAT DWELL THEREIN

2 ליהוה על-ימים יסדה ועל-נהרות יכוננה :

FOR HE HATH FOUNDED IT UPON THE SEAS
AND HATH PREPARED IT UPON THE RIVERS.

3 מי-יעלה בהר-יהוה ומי-יקום במקום קדשו :

WHO SHALL ASCEND INTO THE MOUNTAIN OF THE LORD,
OR WHO SHALL STAND IN HIS HOLY PLACE?

4 נקי כפיים ובר-לב אשר לא-נשא לשוא נפשו

THE INNOCENT OF HANDS AND THE CLEAN OF HEART,
WHO HATH NOT TAKEN HIS SOUL IN VAIN. NOR SWORN

ולא משבע למרמה : 5 ישא ברכה מאת יהוה וצדקה

DECEITFULLY TO HIS NEIGHBOR. HE SHALL RECEIVE A BLESSING
FROM THE LORD, AND MERCY FROM GOD HIS SAVIOR.

מאלהי ישעו : 6 זה דור דרשו מבקשי פניו יעקב

THIS IS THE GENERATION OF THEM THAT SEEK HIM,
OF THEM THAT SEEK THE FACE OF THE GOD OF JACOB.

טלה : 7 שאו שערים ראשיכם והנשאן פתחי עולם

LIFT UP YOUR GATES, O YE PRINCES, AND BE YE LIFTED UP, YE
EVERLASTING DOORS, AND THE KING OF GLORY SHALL ENTER IN.

ויבוא מלך הכבוד : 8 מי זה מלך הכבוד יהוה עוז

WHO IS THE KING OF GLORY? THE LORD STRONG AND MIGHTY,
THE LORD MIGHTY IN BATTLE.

וגבור יהוה גבור מלחמה : 9 שאו שערים ראשכם

LIFT UP YOUR GATES, O YE PRINCES, AND BE YE LIFTED UP, YE

ושאו פתחי עולם ויבא מלך הכבוד : 10 מי הוא

EVERLASTING DOORS, AND THE KING OF GLORY SHALL ENTER IN.

זה מלך הכבוד יהוה צבאות הוא מלך הכבוד :

WHO IS THE KING OF GLORY? THE LORD OF HOSTS, HE IS THE KING OF GLORY!

V. 7. E. V. "LIFT UP YOUR HEADS, O YE GATES", A LITERAL TRANSLATION OF
THE MASSORITIC TEXT: "EVERLASTING DOORS", DOUAI, "GATES." PITCHÉ LIT.
OPENING DOORWAY, ENTRANCE (GESENIUS-BROWN, P. 835)

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

(N, 4) THE DIVINE NAMES AND THE TETRAGRAMMATON,—HEBREW FORM

In the treatment of the divine names as used in the Old Testament it is important to distinguish between the occurrence of a parallel root in prehistoric antiquity and its use by the inspired author in exactly the same sense as that which characterised its prehistoric signification. While a borrowing of roots is unquestionable, a borrowing of ideas is more and more difficult to maintain, especially in view of the unique position occupied by *Jahwe*.

(1) *Elohim* IS THE UNIVERSAL CAUSE OF EXISTENCE, THE "ALMIGHTY"

Whatever be the root-meaning of *ilu*, *alah*, *el*, *eloah*, there is a general consensus of opinion that the idea of power, cause, origin, destiny, is vaguely concealed in their symbols or in the context in which they are found. Thus *Ilu* is the Sumerian *Anu*, the eight-ray star or sun, which is the source of life and the goal of human destiny and divination. It is the equivalent of *qadmu*, (*qadam*), to be "the first", to be "in front of",⁸ also of *digiru*, *dimmeru*, Sum. *dingir*, (perhaps *tin-gir*), "Life-Power" (?),⁹ as well as of *hilibu*, (*-kuzbu*), a rare ideogram for "productive power" "splendor" etc.¹⁰ also of *malku*, *šarru*, *baal*, *lugal*, "king" "ruler".¹¹ The Western-Semitic *El* is possibly connected with *a-yil*, or *a-ul*, to be "first", to be "strong", and in prepositional form motion is clearly implied.¹² With *El* the intensitive *Eloah*, and the majestic plural *Elohim* are closely connected. It is significant that the author uses the abstract *Elohim*, already in circulation for "gods" in general, for "divinity", in order to bring out the spirituality and transcendence of the Divine Being, One who is not necessarily identified with any local god, but who is Himself the "septesence" of all the gods, in a unique sense the "Almighty". (*El Shaddai*).

(2) *Jahwe* (*Adonai*) IS THE REVEALING "LORD" OF THE SUPERNATURAL ORDER

The indiscriminate coupling of *Jahwe-Elohim*, or their equivalence, shows that *Elohim* is unquestionably singular and unique, quite apart from the use of *bara* in the singular number ("created"), a word which is used only of divine action.¹³ But, unlike *Elohim*, *Jahwe* ("He is"), cannot be certainly traced to non-Jewish parallels, the Babylonian *Jau* is hardly a divinity but rather an appellative or pronoun (as it lacks the determinative), and there is every reason to believe that the Tetragram was directly revealed to the great Lawgiver as related in Exod. 3, 14. This means that *Elohim-Jahwe* stand for "Power" and "Subsistence", two deeply metaphysical concepts, which raises them far above the astral and half-naturalised divinities of their time.¹⁴

⁸ Brit. Mus. Cun. Texts. XXV, 16-18. Rawlinson, Inscriptions, II. 9ff. K, 21000. ⁹ Ibidem.
¹⁰ Ibid. & Texts, XIX, 19, 28. Inscr. II, 48, 26. ¹¹ Texts, XVIII, 29, 1ff. Ins. V. 30, 8.
¹² Delitzsch, Assy. Handwörterbuch, p. 32. ¹³ Is. 45, 7, 48, 7, 65, 18. Jer. 45. Amos, 4, 13.
¹⁴ Compare Hehn, Die biblische und babylonische Gottesidee, (Leipzig, 1913), pp. 150-271ff.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

The physical and ethical attributes of the "Lord of Hosts" are sufficiently well-known to be summed up in a few remarks.¹⁵

That we are dealing with a single personal Creator is evident from the above analysis and from the general cast and color of the creation-narratives. At the very beginning *Bara Elohim eth hashammayim we-eth ha-aretz* "God created the heaven and the earth",—the strongest and widest expressions that can well be used in the language. Moreover *Elohim* "speaks", He commands in the imperative mood, He forms man "out of the dust of the earth, He "breathes" into him "the breath of life", He "blesses" the work of His hands and declares it "good", He "plants a garden eastward in Eden", and there He "places" the man whom He has made. In the Paradise-story the "voice" of *Jahwe-Elohim* is heard, He "walks" in the garden "in the cool of the day", He issues the solemn decree whose violation cost humanity their life,—"In the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die!"—He pronounces the three-fold curse, He promises a Redeemer,—one that shall crush the serpent's head.

Again, the institution of sacrifice is traced to the very gates of Eden. It is the offering of Cain which is the first unbloody *mincha*, the first latreutic action offered by man to the Creator, and demanded by Him as an acknowledgment of his supreme dominion. Like the institution of marriage, it is one of the first precepts of God, it is a divinely ordained act of worship. With the ages of man the nature of this sacrifice becomes more severe. It is only the unblemished firstling that can now atone for his sins, the ritual becomes more and more bloody, more and more protracted, till finally the Lamb of God Himself comes down from Heaven and offers His life for the redemption of many, while the *mincha* survives in the Holy Eucharist. Throughout the ritual is founded on that of Babylonia, while the ideas have been purged.¹⁶ The *ruach Elohim* has no connection with ghosts, while magic, sorcery, and witchcraft, together with the violent and unnatural crimes that so often accompany them, find no sterner rebuke than in the opening pages of the Torah:—

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord!"¹⁷ . . . "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth you a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, . . . you shall not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams".¹⁸ "You shall not suffer a witch to live".¹⁹ "He that sacrificeth unto any god, save unto the Lord only, shall be utterly destroyed".²⁰ "I AM THAT I AM".²¹

¹⁵ Comp. Oehler, *Old Testament Theology*, (London, 1903), a general synopsis. ¹⁶ Haupt, *Babylonian elements in the Levitical Ritual* (*Journ. of Biblical Literature*, 1900, pp. 55-81), and see below under "Sacrifice", p. 355ff. ¹⁷ Deut. 6, 4. ¹⁸ Id. 13, 1. ¹⁹ Ex. 22, 18. ²⁰ Id. 22, 20. ²¹ Ex. 3, 14.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

THE QUESTION OF TRINITARIANISM

While the divine Unity is thus conspicuously safeguarded from the very beginning, there are nevertheless indications that such a unity of nature is not inconsistent with a plurality of manifestations,—whether as message-bearing angels, (*maleachim*), or as cryptic insinuations of a plurality of persons concealed in the structure and phraseology of certain passages which have long been a serious difficulty to critic and apologist alike. To what extent are they of any serious dogmatic import?

We pass over the interpretations of some of the Fathers, who see in every combination of divine attributes, in every description of the divine operations, a direct reference to a mystery which was not to be revealed until the fulness of time. Thus *bereshith* was taken as the Logos, the divine "Son", *Elohim* as the "Father", *ruach Elohim* as the "Holy Ghost", and in the later Wisdom-literature every allusion to the "Word" of God, whether as the *memra* or *dibra* of the targums, was at once applied in the full hypostatic sense to the Redeemer, the "Wisdom" of God being reserved for the "Holy Spirit", which expression is actually found in the Greek text of the same passages a few verses below.²² But quite apart from the very late redaction of the Book of Wisdom, a verdict of "not proven" is the only safe one in the present case. "All these ideas which do not denote concrete hypostases of the Deity, but abstractions, originally served the single purpose of guarding, during the reading of Scripture in the synagogues, against sensible representations of God, such as the Bible-text might have aroused among the common people".²³ At the same time it is quite permissible to read a deeper meaning into these terms, and there are other considerations which show that such an interpretation may still be regarded as a plausible one.

Among these are the almost deliberate changes to the first person plural in certain "majestic" passages, where a plurality of persons seems to be wilfully insinuated and yet a unity of essence as mysteriously emphasised. "And God said" (in the singular), "Let *us* make man" (in the plural) "in *our* image and likeness",²⁴ "Behold, Adam has become as *one* of *us*",²⁵ "Let *us* go down and confound their language",²⁶ etc. and yet "*I* have commanded"²⁷ "*I* will put enmity"²⁸ "*I* will destroy",²⁹ etc. and Abraham's adoration of the three men whom he addresses as "My Lord" (*Adonai*), followed by a singular construction, has always been a difficult crux for those who see in them nothing but three angelic messengers.³⁰

²² Wisdom, 9, 1, (Word). 9, 17. (Holy Spirit). Comp. Irenaeus, Adv. Haer. II. 30, 9.
²³ G. Dalman, The Words of Jesus, (Edinb. 1902), p. 230. ²⁴ Gen. 1, 26. ²⁵ Id. 3, 22.
²⁶ Gen. 11, 7. ²⁷ Id. 3, 11. ²⁸ Id. 3, 15. ²⁹ Id. 6, 11. ³⁰ Gen. 18, 1-3. Cp. Irenaeus Adv. Haer. IV. 20, 7-11. S. August. De Trinitate, II. 19-20.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

Again, the symbolism of the Jewish liturgy is suggestive of tri-une conceptions even if it fails to be a rigid proof. The priestly benediction, with the triple invocation of *Jahwe* is somewhat striking, inasmuch as protection, mercy, and peace may be fittingly applied to Father, Son, and Spirit as their respective *propria*. "The Lord bless thee and keep thee: The Lord make His face to shine upon thee and be merciful to thee: the Lord lift up His countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!"⁸¹ This is also illustrated by the vision of Isaiah, in which the Seraphim intone the Trisagion, *Kadhosh, kadhosh, kadhosh!* and the voice of the Lord is heard: "*Whom shall I send, and who shall go for us?*"—a mysterious utterance.⁸²

But whatever be the interpretation of these obscure texts, it is quite certain that the Trinitarian notion was not derived from pagan, more especially Babylonian sources. *Elohim, bereshith, memar, dabar, ruach*, etc. have absolutely nothing in common with Heaven, Earth, Underworld,—Sun, Land, Ocean,—or any other artificial contrivances that are commonly known as triads. We are moving in a different world of thought. These are not cosmic but personal, if not metaphysical, appellations, and the marvel of it is, *how* the Jewish nation arrived at such a lofty notion of divinity without the help of a philosophy, of an organised system of speculative thought.

If then the idea of God as a personal Word or an invisible Spirit is in such marked advance upon the religious ideas of the times,—it is rather surprising to find the notion of Judgment and a Life to come by comparison weakly developed. The *Sheol* of the Jews is hardly more hopeful than the *Aralu* of the Babylonians, and the outlook is almost equally sorrowful:—

"The dead praise Thee not, O Lord, neither any that go down into silence".⁸³ It is quite true that the translation of Enoch,⁸⁴ the salvation of Noah,⁸⁵ the assumption of Elias,⁸⁶ the prophecies of Job,⁸⁷ and the vision of Ezekiel,⁸⁸ are clear indications that retribution is swift and decisive, that the dead shall "see God" in both natures, that He is clearly a Judge. But the detention of souls in the region of "limbo" is nevertheless too striking a feature not to demand some explanation. Even the patriarchs are in "Abraham's bosom", they do not seem to enjoy the vision of God. Now this is only to be expected, and can only be explained on the principle that the hour of deliverance has not yet come, that they are still waiting for the redemption of Israel, that they are "sleeping". It is this paradisaic "sleep", with the hope of resurrection, that binds the Hebrews with the prehistoric past.

⁸¹ Numbers, 6, 23-25. ⁸² Is. 6, 1-8. ⁸³ Ps. 115 (113), 17. ⁸⁴ Gen. 5, 24. ⁸⁵ Gen. 6, 8. ⁸⁶ 4 Kings, 2, 11. ⁸⁷ Job, 19, 25-27. ⁸⁸ Ezekiel, 37, 1-14.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

(N, 5) AHURA—MITHRA—HAOMA—(INDO-ARYAN DEVELOPMENT)

The reconstruction of the Aryan religion is now well under way.¹ Apart from conclusions which are largely speculative, the results of linguistic "palaeontology" have only confirmed what has long been suspected, the existence of a prehistoric root, *div*, (to shine), from which most of the nominal Indogermanic forms seem to have been derived,—sanscr. *dyaus*, Iran, *diva*, Greek, *zeus*, Lat. *deus*, Old-High-Germ. *tiu*, Old-Norse, *tyr*, Esthon. *taeva*, Lith. *dieva*, etc. Moreover the personal prominence of the hypothetical *deva*, (proto-Aryan form), is shown by such combinations as *Dyaus-pitar*, *Zeus-pater*, *Ju-piter*, the heavenly Father, the Father-in-heaven, etc. With Him are associated the Mother-earth, the sun, moon and stars, dawn and fire, wind and water, in fact nearly every department or force in nature, generally personified. But was *deva* a person from the very beginning? It is argued from the root-meaning "to shine", and from certain Aryan symbols,—the star, the triangle, the trifolium, or the swastika—, that *div* is identical with the orb of heaven, that no personality can be proved for what was originally an astral symbol. After what we have learnt of symbols and what they stand for, this argument is not conclusive. The fact is, we have no linguistic or archaeological means for deciding the question; we can only say that the existing evidence point to a divine "Fatherhood", which was no doubt associated, and perhaps identified, with the sun-light, but which was certainly the belief of our ancestors before the dispersion (about 4000 B. C.). If, however, the cradle-land of our race be placed on the Western-Asiatic tableland,—a theory which is again coming to the front—, it is not impossible that we have in Iran the earliest stream of undivided tradition.² Here we find a deep and decidedly abstract concept of divinity in the forms *Ahura* (*Asura*)-*Mazda*, "Life-Spirit-Lord", and the *Soma*-sacrifice, with personal prayers to the great Maker of all indicates a high state of theistic feeling.³ On this subject Schrader remarks: "The Persians have preserved the original Indo-germanic ideas of God with great fidelity",⁴ and elsewhere he speaks of "the extremely primitive Persian sacrificial rite, the only one essentially connected with prayer".⁵ While this is consoling in view of the animal and even human sacrifices of the Western-Aryans, the priority of these beliefs is still to be demonstrated. The subject opens out an interesting field of discussion, and although such a discussion would be out of place in these pages, we cannot refrain from pointing out a few of the reasons that are urging scholars to look to this quarter for inspiration.

¹ Compare O. Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Alterthumskunde*, (Strassburg, 1901). L. Von Schroeder, *Altarische Religion*, (Munich, 1918, in the Press). ² Ed. Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums* (Berlin, 1913) Vol. II. pp. 901-903. ³ L. H. Mills, *The Gathas of Zoroaster*, (Leipzig, 1900). Idem, *Zoroaster, Philo, the Achaemenids, and Israel* (Leipzig, 1906). Idem, *Our own Religion in ancient Persia* (Chicago, 1913). ⁴ Schrader, 1. c. p. 599. ⁵ Idem, p. 605.

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

THE CASE FOR *Ahura-Mazda*—(IRANIAN FORM)

It will be seen that the revival of the old Asiatic theory of migrations tends to make the Iranian position increasingly plausible. When acknowledged experts, like Schrader and Eduard Meyer, are once more looking to the East for the common radiating center of the Aryan stock, the matter is surely worth reconsidering. While the former leaves us on the South-Russian steppes, the latter would carry us to the highlands surrounding the Pamir-Plateau (!) as the earliest scene of Aryan activity. Apart from the fact that a mountainous region seems to be postulated, it is the narcotic *Soma*-trance, whose *Soma*-plant grows only in high altitudes and is associated in Aryan lore with the Himalayan and Bactrian ranges, that seems to Meyer to decide the question.⁶ In this he is largely followed by Roth, Pishel, Geldner and others, and recently Oldenberg has given expression to the same opinion.⁷

As to the linguistic evidence, a few specialists, like Hincks and Langdon,⁸ are beginning to trace Sumerian roots to proto-Aryan originals, and the parallelism is certainly suggestive. Thus we have *Apsu* and *Tiamat* (*Apsu*-*Temah*) *Ansar* and *Kisar* (*Ashra*-*Khshatra*), *Anu*, *Adar*, *Asur*, *Asmu* (close homophones), *Mush* and *Mummu* (early serpents), *Tabu*, *Tebeth*, *Tin*, *Tishri* (sacred fire-symbols), as well as *Prat* (*Prathu*), Euphrates, *Hu-Prathu*, (the "well-flowing"), and such common designations as *Patesi* (*Patish*), "father, king, priest, ruler", whose very sound is familiar to Aryan ears.⁹ On the other hand, similarities, and even identities are no proof of direct dependence on either side, many of the Sumerian roots are still largely irreducible, and the fact that this Mesopotamian race was as non-Aryan as it was non-Semitic, and that the earliest Persian petroglyphs do not carry us beyond the famous Behistun-inscription of Darius the Great (about 500 B. C.),—an age incomparably younger than that of Mesilim and the early kings of Kish (about 3000)—, all this suggests the conclusion that Iran was not the originator but rather the borrower of Sumerian civilisation, but that Persia is as fair an exponent of this early Caucasian theology as any of her Semitic or Egyptian rivals. This makes the figure of *Ahura-Mazda* as a personal Creator, spiritual, bountiful, merciful, yet inexorable, stand out in bold relief,—with whom are associated *Mithra* as "Friendship", and *Haoma* (*Soma*) as "Life, Health, Immortality".¹⁰

⁶ Meyer, loc. cit. supra. ⁷ Evidence in Meyer, Schrader, Mills, Weissbach, l. c. ⁸ See F. H. Weissbach, *Die Sumerische Frage*, (Leipzig, 1898), for a full discussion of the linguistic problem. Langdon, *Babyloniaca*, Vol. I. 225, 230, 284ff. ⁹ L. H. Mills, *Zoroaster, Philo, the Achaemenids, and Israel*, pp. 445-453, entitled, "The immemorial antiquity of the Aryan race", with suggested derivations and Sumerian equivalents. ¹⁰ Texts and Translations by Mills, *Gathas*, (supra) and Idem, *The Zend-Avesta*, Part III. *Yasna*, *Visparad*, *Afringans*, *Gahs*, etc. being Vol. XXXI. of the *Sacred Books of the East*, edited by F. Max Müller (Oxford, 1887).

THE TRILINGUAL BEHISTÛN-INSCRIPTION OF DARIUS THE GREAT

ACCORDING TO THE TEXT OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, (LONDON, 1907), COL. I. § 9.

PERSIAN

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But the most characteristic feature of the Zoroastrian faith is its dualism and the doctrine of the seven spirits. At the very outset we find two personal principles at work, each of which brings forth two antagonistic worlds, the one essentially good, the other essentially evil.¹¹

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Ahura-Mazda</i>	<i>Asha</i>	<i>Vohu-Manah</i>	<i>Kshathra</i>	<i>Aramaiti</i>	<i>Haurvatat</i>	<i>Ameretatat</i>
Life	Truth	Love	Law	Energy	Health	Immortality

These are opposed by an opposite series corresponding to each member:—

1	2	3	4	5
<i>Angra-Mainyu</i>	<i>Druj</i>	<i>Akem-Mana</i>	<i>Dush-Kshathra</i>	<i>Taramaiti</i>
Evil	Falsehood	Hate	Anarchy	Insolence
		6	7	
		<i>Avaetat</i>	<i>Merethyu</i>	
		Dejection	Death	

Whether the seven *Ameshas* of the first series are seven aspects or attributes of divinity, of which *Mazda* is one, or whether they are to be looked upon as dependent spirits after the manner of the Jewish-Christian archangels, cannot be determined with certainty, though the original number, six, favors the latter supposition. In any case, whether as a "septade" of attributes or a sevenfold hierarchy, they figure very early both in Avesta and Rig-Veda, but there is no necessity of deriving the "seven spirits of Zekariah *directly* from the Amesha-Spentas. There is ample evidence for a "Holy Seven" or a sevenfold division of divine manifestations in the Babylonian and perhaps even in the Egyptian system, the "septessence" of divinity surviving in the Sabbath and Hexahemeron of the Jews, while the Hebrew Cherubim, Seraphim, Maleachim, etc. are clearly of pre-exilic origin, being closely paralleled by the Assyrian *karubu* and other protecting divinities. However, a comparison of the Ameshas with the Heb-deads or Enneads of the Euphrates or the Nile reveals at a glance that, while the former are abstracts, the latter are cosmic designations and stand for an entirely different circle of ideas. (Compare the Babylonian and Egyptian lists).¹²

As to the nature of *Ormazd*, (*Ahura-Mazda*), it is revealed in the *Gathas*, or "Hymns," which, as the *Yasna*, or "Sacrifice", represent the oldest documents of the moral idea and of subjective religion, the esoteric faith:—
"I will announce and complete my sacrifice to Ahura-Mazda, the Creator, the radiant, the glorious, the greatest, the best, and the most beautiful. Whose body (?) is all-perfect, whose Order is supreme, who disposes our minds aright. Who sends His joy-creating grace afar. Who made us and fashioned us, who has nourished and protected us, who is the most bountiful Spirit".¹³

¹¹ L. H. Mills, *Avesta Eschatology compared with the Books of Daniel and Revelations* (Chicago, 1908) pp. 67-83: "God and His Immortals". Idem, *Our Own Religion*, p. 18, 105ff. Also *Gathas*, *passim*. ¹² See under "Creation", p. 175ff. where this subject is treated with more detail. ¹³ *Yasna*, I, 1. This is a free translation, based upon the combined Avesta and Pahlavi texts.

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He is thus declared to be a Spirit,—*Manah*—, a good Spirit,—*Vohu-Manah*—in fact a “holy” Spirit,—*Spenta-Mainyu*—He is unique, He is the Truth, He is the supreme Goodness. He is also omniscient,¹⁴ omnipotent,¹⁵ and all-provident.¹⁶ He is Creator of heaven and earth, of men and of all the “gods”.¹⁷ He is a Teacher and Lawgiver,¹⁸ an unchangeable Friend, Protector and Strengthened,¹⁹ the Founder of a kingdom that is to be for the poor,²⁰ the supreme Judge of man at the end of the world.²¹ As nearly all these expressions are found in the Gathic Avesta, their high antiquity seems assured, (700-900 B. C.).

Furthermore, there is the Paradise of *Airyana-Vejah* in the Himalayas, where *Ahura-Mazda* has stationed the first man, *Yima*, and where *Mithra*, Friendship, and *Haoma*, the sacred *Soma-Tree*, impart health, life, immortality. In the sequel *Yima* falls into the power of the Serpent, *Azhi-Dahaka*, through an act of prevarication, through telling an untruth,—a characteristically Iranian touch.²² Nevertheless Redemption is promised, there are echoes of a Savior, to be born of a virgin, though the Bundahish tradition is very late and disfigured by unworthy details.²³ In the meantime salvation may be purchased and forgiveness obtained by a blameless life “in thought, word, and deed”, by offering up the *soma*-sacrifice, by tending the sacred fires (*Atar*) by abstaining from heresy, violence, untruthfulness, perjury, and sexual sins, by practicing charity, generosity, philanthropy. At death the soul is judged by its own conscience before *Ahura*'s throne in presence of *Mithra*, *Sraosha*, *Rashnu*, it is rewarded or punished by a heaven or hell of “thoughts, words, and deeds”, and at the end of time will come the last prophet, the resurrection of the dead, the general judgment, and the final triumph of *Mazda* over the evil spirit, who will be destroyed for ever.²⁴

I do not intend to handle the difficult question of the origin and antiquity of these beliefs, nor to propound any theories on the nature of *manah* or *fravashi* as the “soul” or “spirit” of a person, and their possible connexion with the Latin *manes* or the Hindoo *pitris*. Suffice it to say that the exorcism of demons is a pronounced feature from the earliest times, and seems to reveal a strong belief in spiritistic influences,—not simply personified forces, but personal agencies.²⁵ But if the entire system be branded as comparatively late, as surviving in its hellenistic form in the “Mysteries of Mithras”, we answer that the Aryan race was a late arrival on the field of the world's activity, that Egypt and Babylon both preceded her by many centuries, but that she was the first to adore at the crib of the Redeemer.²⁶

¹⁴ Yasna, 31. 13, 14. ¹⁵ Y. 43, 6. ¹⁶ Ibid. ¹⁷ Behistun. ¹⁸ Y. 31. 5, 11. ¹⁹ Y. 31, 7. ²⁰ Y. 28, 4. 34, 3. ²¹ Y. 43, 4ff. ²² Vendidad, 1ff. ²³ Yasht, 13. 62, 142. 19, 92. and Bundahish, 144ff. ²⁴ Details in Yashts (13, 19, 22) and Vendidad (19) etc. ²⁵ See the Yasna and Vendidad passim. ²⁶ as the Iranian magi(?). See under “Redemption” below.

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BRAHMINISTIC DEVELOPMENT

The common impression that the Aryan invaders of India were the originators of a more or less pantheistic nature-worship, culminating in the later Brahminism, is one that needs to be considerably modified.

THE EARLY VEDIC FAITH IDENTICAL WITH THE AVESTIC-IRANIAN

There can no longer be any doubt that the equations *Ahura-Asura*, *Mithra-Mitra*, *Haoma-Soma*, etc. hold good, and this not only as verbal identities (under Grimm's law), but also as theological expressions for "Spirit", "Friendship", "Immortality" (?), even if as nature-symbols they can also be read as "Heaven", "Sun", "Earth", etc.—relics of the totemic age.¹ This does not destroy their personality, but only the manner of its expression, the form in which it is clothed, as there can be no doubt that, with *Varuna* and *Indra*, they were worshipped as persons from the remotest, historical antiquity (about 2000 B. C.).

BRAHMINISM AN ARYAN-DRAVIDIAN COMPOUND

But in the subsequent intermingling and partial fusion with the Indo-Kolarian aborigines, it was unavoidable that this comparatively lofty theology should be soiled by the prevailing totemism and reincarnation-doctrines of Central India, even if the rigid caste-system is something entirely new.²

Brahma-Vishnu-Siwa

take the place of the older pantheon, in which personal creation recedes more and more into the background, the new triad being simply a theogony of divine manifestations, first as Thought-power, (?), second as Sun-power, and finally as Storm-power, which in still later times were worked up into the more refined concept of "Creator", "Preserver" and "Destroyer", three aspects of the one undefinable, illimitable Being.³ In modern Hindooism we find a few faint vestiges of the true light struggling through the mists of a belated naturalism.

TAOISTIC DEVELOPMENT

The existence or parallel ideas among the Mongolian races is a fact that should here be noted. In the *Yi-king* or "Book of Changes" (perhaps 1500 B. C.), all things are the result of two opposite principles, the *yang* and the *ying*,—in which the great triad "Heaven, Earth, and Man" is symbolised by the trigram. ≡ (*Khien-Khwan-Kan*), called "Father-Mother-Son", and over which *Shang-Ti* rules as the Lord of creation. The same to some extent in the *Shu-King* or "Book of History".⁴ In the age of Confucius and Laotze (6-500) it is the doctrine of the *Tao*,—the "vital monad"—, that leads to strong ancestor-worship.⁵

¹ Oldenberg, *Vedic Religion*, p. 103ff. Mills, *Our own Religion*, pp. 77-78, 93ff. ² Cf. S. Iyengar, on the origin of Aryan culture in India, *Anthr.* IX. p. 1-15. ³ Cf. *Rig-Veda*, I-X, with the later Brahmanas and Upanishads (S. B. E. I-XLVI). ⁴ S. B. E. Vol. XVI. (*Yi-king*), p. 50. III. (*Shu-King*), p. xxiiiiff. and compare Paul Carus, *Chinese Thought* (Chicago, 1907) p. 25ff. ⁵ S. B. E. Vol. XL. (*Tao-Teh-King*).

WESTERN-ASIATIC AND RECENT FORM

SHINTOISTIC DEVELOPMENT

In the Shinto system of Japan three Creators are prominent from the earliest times. They are called *Ameno-minaka-nushi*, *Takami-musubi*, *Kami-busubi*, the first of whom existed immovably at the time of creation, while the latter were agents in the creation. They are followed by seven generations of heavenly spirits, several other groups, and finally by the fathers of Japan from whom the emperor, or Mikado, is directly descended. It is instructive to notice how the early ideas of a transcendent Being are, as in China, gradually fused with those of the ancestor,—it is the “Way of the gods!”⁶

WESTERN-ARYAN DEVELOPMENT

Homer and Hesiod are the classic sources for the Graeco-Roman religion. (ca. 1000 B. C.). It has already been shown that the linguistic evidence establishes with some certainty the existence of the common Indo-germanic root *div*, to “shine”, from which our own word “divinity” has been derived. In the Greek *Zeus* and the Latin *deus* this root is particularly clear, and the combination *Zeus-pater*, *Deus-pater*, *Ju-piter*, tells its own story, it is a “Heavenly Father” that is here intimated. Nevertheless in the works of the above authors there is apparently a “theogony”, *Zeus* being the son of *Chronos* (Time), which makes *Jupiter* the son of *Saturn*, while the position of *Uranos*, *Oceanus*, and other elemental deities, is strongly suggestive of a rise of divinities out of nature-powers, even if the latter be treated as “personifications” rather than “personalities”, a point which can never be settled. The main features of the Graeco-Roman belief are sufficiently well known. I would however call attention to the generally lofty tone of the father of Greek literature, to the absence of deliberate obscenity, to the delicate portrayal of social and family life in the character of his heroes, and to the unbloody sacrifices or “libations” (*spondai*) to which he bears witness.

Much the same may be said of the Germanic religion as revealed in the Eddas and the Niebelungen Lied. The germanic gods have given their names to our days of the week,—*Tiu's day* being next to Sun and Monday, the most important ferial. In both religions, however, there is a strong spirit-cult known as “manism” among the Latins, and the practice of divination, spirit-feeding, ghost- and demon-hunting, of caricaturing the gods by clothing them at times with the basest of human passions, shows that even the offering of priceless hecatombs and the sacrifice of human life is unable to redeem a world which is gradually speeding to its own inevitable dissolution.⁷

⁶ Papinot, Dict. d'histoire et de géographie de Japon, (Yokohama, 1906). ⁷ See the Classics passim, and Ed. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums, II. 1-242, and compare in general A. Schmidt, Gedanken über die Entwicklung der Religion auf Grund der Babylonischen Quellen. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, (Leipzig, 1911), pp. 1-136.

LATER OCEANIC AND RECENT FORM

(N, 6) AUSTRONESIAN DEVELOPMENT, (SOUTH SEA ISLANDS)

From the preceding evidence it is clear that archaeology alone cannot settle the question of neolithic religion. The inscriptions carry us back to the fourth or fifth millennium before Christ, and then they desert us. Luckily there are large groups of peoples that are still on the neolithic level, and that can give us some picture, however vague, of the early conditions of neolithic worship. Among these are the natives of the South-Sea Islands, who are living in the advanced stone age, and mirror to some extent the conditions of the earlier lacustrian and the later megalithic periods. What light can they throw on the question of a supreme personal divinity? Is this being ultimately of astral origin?

(a) BATARA—INDONESIAN RECENT—(N. W. BORNEO)

As to *Batara* (or *Petara*) of the Bornean Sea-Dayaks, (lacustrian), there is no direct evidence of his solar character. The name is the sanscrit *Bhattara* ("Lord" "Master"), and he is described as the Maker of heaven and earth and of all things, including sun, moon, and stars. The Creation legend appears in two forms, in the first of which *Batara* occupies a prominent position:—

"Batara first expanded the heavens,—thick as the crest of a red rooster.

Batara first created the earth,—thick as the fruit of the Horse-Mango.

Batara first poured forth the waters,—great as the fibres of the rattan.

Batara first cleft the clay in two parts,—and it became man".¹

In the other version greater details are given. In the beginning there was a huge expanse of water, over which two creative spirits, *Ara* and *Irik* hovered in the form of birds. They dived under and brought forth two solid substances of the size of a hen's egg. Out of these *Ara* made the heaven and *Irik* the earth. By comparing heaven and earth, it was found that the earth was too large. So they pressed it together, and mountains and valleys were formed. Trees and plants then sprouted out of their own accord. The two spirits then essayed the creation of man, first as a red-sapped tree, and finally as a figure of clay, who as male and female, became the ancestors of the race, known as *Tanah-Kumpok*,—the "earth-formed".² Nevertheless "all spirits came from *Batara*, who made them all".³

The native origin of these legends is stamped on the very wording, even if the hatching-theme and the waters are suggestive of Western-Asiatic influences. *Batara* "works", though his creation is largely automatic.

¹ H. Ling-Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), Vol. I. p. 165ff. ² Mgr. E. Dunn, *Prefect Apostolic of British Borneo*, in *Anthropos*, I. (1906)-pp. 11-24ff.—a series on the Iban Dayaks. Comp. W. Schmidt, *Grundlinien einer Vergleichung der Religionen u. Mythologien der Austronesischen Völker*, (Vienna, 1910), pp. 4-7. ³ Dunn, *op. cit.* p. 177.

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Of the nature of *Batara* we have considerable information. He is often addressed as, *Patu nadu apai, Endang nadai indai*,—an “orphan, without father—ever without mother”.⁴ He is an *antu*, or invisible spirit, and has neither temples nor pictures, though he demands prayer, he requires sacrifice, he is the stern guardian of morality. Perham’s estimate is worth considering. He says in substance, that although the concept of *Batara* is by no means a lofty one, yet he is nevertheless a “good” being. Although he lets men die as a sign of his displeasure, evil is not attributed to him. He is always on the side of justice and right. *Batara* cannot be unjust, cannot be unchaste. *Batara* approves of industry, honesty, cleanliness of tongue, integrity in word and action. He admonishes men to harbor the stranger, feed the hungry with rice, give drink to the thirsty, console the afflicted, guard their fingers from theft and their hearts from contamination. Unchastity is believed to be punished by *Batara* with heavy rain, and can only be atoned for by fire and sacrifice. Every locality trodden by an adulterer is cursed by the gods, until the deed has been expiated by a suitable sacrifice.⁵

This is an attractive picture, but must be offset by other considerations which tend to make the above precepts largely theoretical. In the first place *Batara* is the name for any god or *antu*, even for the demon of the underworld, though there is admittedly only one supreme *Batara*, the creator of them all. Yet he requires two *antu*-spirits to make the world, the *antus* are continually invoked in the hour of sickness, they are fed with libations and sacrifices after the manner of ghosts, they are the sources of divination and bird-augury, they inflict diseases, and the formerly universal practice of cannibalism and head-hunting, with pronounced sun and moon-worship, shows that *Batara* is not the unique Lord of creation that might otherwise be suggested by the above data.⁶ Again the possibility of Hindoo influence is not altogether ruled out in this case, though there is no clear proof. If however the concept be native and the interpretation correct, it seems highly probable that *Batara* is a supersolar, relatively supreme being,—personal, beneficent, uncompromising,—but sharing his authority with innumerable *antus*, and perhaps with another *Batara* of the Underworld, (*Pulang Gana*),—which again points to dualism. Divinity is thus possibly multiform, but there is no consciousness of any *physical* relationship with the divine. This is the chief point to be noted in dealing with this stage of belief.⁷

⁴ Perham, apud Ling-Roth, op. cit. p. 169. ⁵ Ibid. p. 179ff. ⁶ Compare however Schmidt, op. cit. p. 5-6. Perham, p. 177. ⁷ The Sea Dayaks have outgrown totemism.

LATER OCEANIC AND NEOLITHIC FORM

(b) QUAT-MARAWA—MELANESIAN TRANSITION (BANKS ISLANDS)

In the figure of *Quat-Marawa* we have elements of extreme antiquity,—the “Lord Spider”—, fused together with ideas of a later age,—totemic taboo, spiritism, skull-cult, and above all things “*mana*”,—the doctrine of secret spiritual force. Though he is *Quat*, the “Lord”, and has made light and darkness, storms and rains, winds and seasons, men and women, he is nevertheless born or evolved from a stone, he has a wife and eleven brothers, he is a *vui* or disembodied spirit, he is associated with *Marawa*, the “Spider”, and though his influence is mainly for good and his character spotless, he has sunk to the level of a national hero, being little more than a “Don Quixote”.⁸ Sacrifices are made to *Quat* as to other spirits, of first-fruits, meat-offerings, money, and even human life, though the latter practice is rare and confined chiefly to the minor spirits.⁹ Prayer is addressed to the couple as follows: “*Quat! Marawa!* look down upon me! Prepare the sea, that I may go on a safe sea. Beat down the waves, that I may come to a safe landing-place!”¹⁰ which shows that he is a living divinity, however facetious, however humanised.

But it is *mana* alone that can interpret this figure. What then is *mana*? “This power, though in itself impersonal, is always connected with some person who directs it. All spirits have it, ghosts generally, some men, etc”.¹¹

“No man, however, has this power of his own: all that he does is done by the aid of *personal beings*, ghosts or spirits”.¹² Again, “This *mana* is not fixed in anything, and can be conveyed in almost anything; but spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have it and can impart it, and it essentially belongs to *personal beings* to originate it, though it may act through the medium of water, stone, or bone. All Melanesian religion, in fact, consists in getting this *mana* for one’s self, or getting it used for one’s benefit,—all religion, that is, as far as religious practices go, prayers and sacrifices.¹³ Now the point is that *mana* is no mere occult material force, but a personal, spiritual power proceeding from the *vui* and imparted to men. Though it terminates in matter, it is initiated in mind. “What is a *vui*? It lives, thinks, has more intelligence than a man; knows things which are secret without seeing, is supernaturally powerful with *mana*, has no form to be seen, has no soul because itself is like a soul”.¹⁴ If then *Quat* is himself a *vui*, possibly supreme, it follows that he is the source of *mana*, a spiritual being. In practice, however, he is hardly more than a ghost, and the strong demon- and ancestor-worship of this region shows that *mana* is essentially spiritistic.¹⁵

⁸ R. Codrington, *The Melanesians, their anthropology and folk-lore* (Oxford), p. 154ff.
⁹ *Idem*, p. 128ff. ¹⁰ *Idem*, p. 148. ¹¹ *Idem*, p. ii9. ¹² *Idem*, p. 191. ¹³ *Idem*, p. 119 note.
¹⁴ *Idem*, p. 123. ¹⁵ See Codrington *passim*, esp. Chapt. XII.

LATER OCEANIC AND RECENT FORM

(c) RANGI-PAPA-TANGAROA—POLYNESIAN ADVANCED, (SAMOA)

This is further illustrated by the Polynesian mythology in which the idea of *mana* has been brought into connexion with the chief deities of the pantheon, *Rangi*, the Sun, *Papa*, the Earth, and *Tangaroa* the Moon. The leading idea of this system is the creation of the world by sexual genesis. Originally *Rangi* and *Papa* (heaven and earth) were so closely united in wedlock that no ray of light could penetrate the eternal darkness. This darkness is called *Po*, the primaeval night, with which *Tangaroa*, the lunar orb, is identified as the child of heaven. During the battle between Light and Sound on the one hand and Night and Silence on the other, the former conquer, and through the union of Light and Dawn there issue the minor divinities, and finally mankind in the full light of day, each being the "parent" of the higher couple.¹⁶

While a divine "parentage" is sufficiently common,—*mana*, as developed in the Polynesian Islands, has led to a strongly sexual polytheism, in which the forces of nature are not mere "mysteries", but intensely human personalities, human generators. This excessive anthropomorphism is clearly a degeneration, it substitutes pro-creation for simple creation, but it brings out the idea of personality in a manner that is quite unmistakable. It shows that the forces of nature in the mind of neolithic man are represented as *human beings*, not as blind agencies, inorganic or lifeless powers. And while there is an intimate connexion between the heavenly bodies and their divine hypostatisations, a sun- or star-worship in the purely material sense is not thereby implied, as the above divinities control human life and destiny in a very realistic manner, they act like guardians, they demand justice, they require heavy, at times human sacrifices.

Taken all in all, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the application of *mana* to everything in heaven and earth, while it has expanded the old totems and made them personal spirit-centers, has been the occasion of secondary developments which are far from pleasing. If the totemic divinities are frequently married, they conceal the relation in its coarser forms. Here however the sexual act is made the mainspring of creation,—with what consequences to morality may be well imagined. The existence of phallic worship in large sections of Oceania recalls the similar rites of India and Western Asia, and while manism and phallism have no direct connexion, it is a singular fact that both are apt to flourish among populations that are chiefly agrarian, and to whom the sexualised "sun" is the great source of fertility.¹⁷

¹⁶ A. Bastian, *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier*, (Leipzig, 1881), pp. 29ff. ¹⁷ Comp. W. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, pp. 134ff. "Die Entstehung der phallischen Zauberriten in Austronesien".

PAN-AMERICAN RECENT FORM

(N, 7) CORDILLERAN EXTENSION,—NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA

If in conclusion we say a few words of the neolithic divinities of the New World, it is chiefly to bring out the main point of our present contention,—the fact, namely that there is an essential difference between the late-glacial and the more recent animistic theology, that while the former is in part a corruption of the primitive notions, the latter is in some sense a return to those notions, but with the strong marks of a nature-emergence on the one hand, and of animistic multiplicity on the other. For this purpose it will be sufficient to select four typical divinities, one from the plateaus, two from the plains, and one from the South-American Andes, all of which belong to the late-megalithic and copper culture which is appropriately called Pan-American or "Cordilleran",—the last of the prehistoric waves that was destined to affect the two continents.

(a) AWONAWILONA,—ZUNI-PUEBLOS—, (COLORADO BASIN, NEW MEXICO)

That the Pueblos regard the Supreme Being as in no sense evolved, but rather as an Evolver, may be gathered from the opening lines of a hymn which is jealously guarded from profanation, and never sung in presence of the Mexican Spanish:—

*"Before the beginning of the New Creation, Awonawilona, the Maker and Container of All, the All-Father, solely had being . . . He then evolved things by thinking himself outward in space", etc.*¹

This has been called an "Hegelian" notion, but the description is hardly a happy one. A precosmic, personal Creator is clearly more than an immanent, He is a transcendent Being, and the expression, to "think himself outward in space", is a naive attempt to trace the objects of nature to their divine archetypes. But apart from this, a creating *Awona* is here distinctly expressed, and the divine Fatherhood is again prominent. Nevertheless a closer inspection of Zuni mythology and practice will reveal the fact that this divinity has but lately emerged from the nature-connexion. The snake- and sun-dances are still in evidence, the clan-totems are at least "descriptive", and the sun-priests invoke all the powers of nature personified in their efforts to control the climate as weather-doctors. At the same time the magical fraternities are no longer totemic, there is no evidence of reincarnation, and the strongly astronomical setting of the mythology recalls nothing so much as the famous Aztec Sun-Calendar, with the twelve signs of the Zodiac.²

¹ F. H. Cushing, *Outlines of Zuni Creation-Myths*, 13th. Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington, 1891), p. 379. Comp. Lang, *Making of Religion*, pp. 247, 251. ² See J. W. Fewkes, *Tusayan Snake Ceremonies*, 16th. Rep. B. A. E. p. 307. Also Mrs. M. C. Stevenson, *The Zuni Indians*, 23d. Rep. do. (1904), *passim*. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. III. pp. 215-241.

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(b) TIRAWA,—PAWNEE—, (PLATTE VALLEY, NEBRASKA)

This connexion with the early Mayan culture of Central America is rendered increasingly plausible by the figure of *Ti-ra-wa*, the "Spirit-Father" of the Pawnee, who are generally credited with showing strong Aztec affinities.³ He is the Maker of the Pawnees, the "power above that controls the universe and moves all things". This power is evidently transcendent and ubiquitous. He is addressed as *A-ti-us-ta-ka-wa*, "Our Father in all places", though it must be added that the whole universe is peopled with *ra-was* or *spirits* who are hungry for sacrifice, not stopping short of human life. The Skidi, or Wolf-Pawnee, occasionally offer up a captive man, and this to the morning-star(!)⁴ With *Tirawa* it is different. "Through corn, deer, buffalo, and the sacred bundles, we worship *Tirawa*". Moreover at death the soul is not reincarnated, but returns to *Tirawa*,—"We see ourselves living with *Tirawa*"—, while the wicked simply cease to exist. To this cycle must also be referred the *Nappa*-deity of the Blackfeet, and the *Ahone*-divinity of the Virginians,—now well known,—the former having distinctly solar associations.⁵

(c) MANITOO,—CHIPPEWA—, (MINNESOTA-CANADA)

It seems quite certain that the famous *Kitchi Manito* or "Great Spirit" of the Chippewa must be distinguished from the common Algonquin *manitoo*, which is the ordinary designation for the totem. "*Ke-che-mun-e-du*", writes Warren, "is the name used by the Objibways for the being equivalent to our God. There is nothing to equal the veneration with which the Indian regards this unseen being. They seldom even mention his name except in their religious rites and sacrificial feasts, and every address to him, however trivial, is always accompanied by a sacrifice of tobacco or some other article deemed precious by the Indian. They never use his name in vain, and there is no word in their language expressive of a profane oath, or of profane swearing, as is the case with their more enlightened white brethren. Instances are told of persons enduring almost superhuman fasts in order to gain a vision of him in their dreams. In such instances the Great Spirit invariably appears to the dreamer in the shape of a beautifully and strongly-formed man, and it is a firm belief among them that whoever has once been blest with this vision is fated to live to a good old age and in enjoyment of ease and plenty".⁶ The appearance of the *Manitoo* as a "perfect man" differentiates this being *toto caelo* from the totem-gods, but the conflicting evidence leaves his nature largely problematical.

³ G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales*, (New York, 1889). Compare Lang, *Making of Religion*, pp. 233-236. ⁴ Alice C. Fletcher, "The Hako, A Pawnee Ceremony", in 22d. Am. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology. ⁵ Comp. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (N. Y. 1892) and Lang, l. c. pp. 230, 236ff. ⁶ W. Warren, *A History of the Objibways* (St. Paul, Minn., 1885), pp. 63-65.

PAN-AMERICAN RECENT FORM

As the Great *Manitoo* is the best known of all the numerous designations for divinity on the North American continent, it may be worth while to bring forward the chief points upon which the controversy concerning his theistic nature may be said to turn. Under the heading "Popular Fallacies", Mr. H. W. Henshaw thus dismisses the question:—"Among the many erroneous conceptions regarding the Indian none has taken deeper root than the one which ascribes to him belief in an overruling deity, the 'Great Spirit'. Very far removed from this tremendous conception of one all-powerful deity was the Indian belief in a multitude of spirits that dwelt in animate and inanimate objects, to propitiate which was the chief object of his supplications and sacrifices. To none of his deities did the Indian ascribe moral good or evil. His religion was practical. The spirits were the source of good or bad fortune whether on the hunting path or the war-trail, in the pursuit of a wife or in a ball game. If successful he adored, offered sacrifices, and made valuable presents. If unsuccessful he cast his *manitu* away and offered his faith to more powerful or more friendly deities".⁷ Under the article "*Manito*", A. F. Chamberlain writes in a similar strain:—It stands for "the mysterious and unknown potencies and powers of life and of the universe. As taken over from the Algonquian into the vocabulary of the white man, it has signified spirit, good, bad, or indifferent; Indian god or devil, demon, guardian spirit, genius loci, fetish, etc."⁸ Tylor also speaks of the vague nature of the idea, and yet he attributes the *Kitchi Manitoo* to missionary influence,—“it belongs not to the untutored but to the tutored mind of the savage, and is preserved for us in the records of the tutors themselves, the Jesuit missionaries of Canada.”⁹

Now in so far as *manitoo* is the common designation for taboo or totem, it is quite true that it has a vague, mysterious sense, analogous to *orenda*. Nevertheless Warren's report fits in very badly with the above dogmatic conclusions, and the Jesuit Relations to which Tylor appeals seem to refute the notion of borrowing rather than support it. In one passage we read: "They believe in a god, so they say, but can only name him by the name of the sun, *Niscaninou*, and know no prayers, nor manner of adoring him." And yet,—“they put on robes, turn to the east, and say, "*Our Sun, or our God! (?) give us to eat!*"¹⁰ "Here", says Andrew Lang, "are prayers, vestments, and turning to the east", and these are certainly not imported features. While these reports cannot be always directly verified, we have no reason to suspect their genuineness, as their authors are proverbially accurate and painstaking."¹¹

⁷ H. W. Henshaw, in Hodge, *op. cit.* Vol. II. p. 284. ⁸ A. F. Chamberlain, *ibid.* I. p. 800. ⁹ Tylor, *The Limits of Savage Religion*, *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.* Vol. XXI. p. 284. ¹⁰ *Relations des Jésuites* (Quebec Edition, 1858), p. 20. (collected since 1611). ¹¹ Lang, *Magic and Religion*, (London, 1901), p. 295.

PAN-AMERICAN RECENT FORM

But this is not an isolated case. The same writer has collected numerous other examples, in which a transcendent *Manitoo* is clearly implied, even if the title *Kitchi Manitoo* be looked upon for argument's sake as a recent nomenclature, which is not impossible. Among the neighboring Blackfeet of the Yellowstone region *Natos* is the equivalent of "holy" or "divine", and is also the name for the sun. "To *Natos* prayer and sacrifice are offered, and the cruel rites of the *Natos*-dance are performed. Tongues of cattle are served out to the virtuous,—the rite partakes of the nature of a sacrament. Youths sacrifice a finger, in recognition of prayers answered by *Natos*. Prayer is made to *Natos* only, and everything in the *okan* (or ceremony) is sacred to him alone."¹² Again, there is *Napi*, possibly the same divinity, as he is pictured as the Sun, and yet addressed as a person,—he is *Na-pi*, "Old Man", the Immortal One, who was before death came into the world, who made man and woman out of clay, who gave them the arts, who brought them fire, who punished them for their sins, who still chastises them for their disobedience. Here also the finger is occasionally sacrificed, and *Napi* is addressed in prayer in a high ethical strain:—"Pity me, Sun! You have seen my life. You know that I am pure!"¹³ From other sources we know that the natives believed in immortality, in rewards and punishments in the life to come.¹⁴

Now the important point to be noted is that the reporters, missionaries, and others, to whom we owe the above data, did not carry these ideas to the natives, but *found them already existing*, and the only question that arises concerns their interpretation,—what do they mean? In this connection I venture to say, that, whatever be the idea concealed by *mantoo* in general, it seems quite clear that the idea of a "Great Spirit" existed side by side with that of the totem, that it was by no means strange to the mind of the savage, that an all-creating invisible Agent was already acknowledged, even though he manifested himself in solar form, and was surrounded, as indeed he might be, by a host of *rawas* or minor spirits. This is rendered increasingly certain by the similar position of *Awonawilona* and *Tirawa* above. In each case we have a native "Spirit-Father", associated more or less with the sun, but whose personal character is distinctly revealed by his role as Creator and Governor of the human race, and by his worship under the form of the "Sacred Corn", a singularly beautiful and suggestive rite. Moreover at death there is no return to the animals, but the Great Spirit shows himself in the form of a man, "*We see ourselves living with Tirawa!*"

¹² Lang, *Magic and Religion*, p. 295. ¹³ *Idem*, *Making of Religion*, p. 236ff. ¹⁴ Jesuit Relations, loc. cit. supra. Comp. under "*Tirawa*" above.

PAN-AMERICAN RECENT FORM

(d) PACHACAMAC,—INCA-YUNCA—, (PERU)

Of the extinct civilisations of Mexico and Peru we have considerable monumental and literary remains, but there are no means of dating these remains with anything like security. While much of the architecture and ornament finds a striking parallel in ancient Egypt, India, and even Java, it seems equally certain that the high grade of Mexican sculpture postulates a source within historic times, and the entirely recent character of Inca-Aztec civilisation makes its value as an exponent of prehistoric conditions of faith and practice of very little importance. Hence the numerous biblical and even Christian allusions, real or fanciful, culminating in the mysterious figure of *Quetzalcoatl*, are far too late to be of any practical value in the present place, some of them being demonstrably of Christian, Islamic, or possibly Buddhistic origin.¹⁵ If, however, we mention the name of *Pachacamac* it is simply to note the character of a typical Cordilleran divinity.

Pacha-camac is the "World-Soul", the *anima mundi*, in the literal meaning of the term. The high qualities that are assigned to him are revealed by the data furnished by Garcilasso, a Spanish-Inca writer of the sixteenth century, who testifies that the original people of Peru were totemists, worshippers of all the powers of nature, but that a new sun-cult was established by the first Inca, himself a child of the sun.¹⁶ This new religion, while it retained much of the external trappings of the old, yet recognised a power behind the sun,—*Pachacamac*—, the "sustainer of the world", the being who "advanced the Sun so far above all the stars of heaven". This being had no temples, but "they worshipped him in their hearts", and he seems to stand for an advanced, almost philosophical concept of divinity.¹⁷

There is no reason to doubt the authenticity of this report, which fits in well with the parallel tradition of *Wiracocha*, the pre-Inca Sun-god, whose two sons are *Pachacamac* and *Wichama*. The latter obtains from his father three eggs from which princes, females, and plebeians spring forth. There is also the legend that the boneless *Kon* was forced to yield to the growing power of *Pachacamac*, to whom he delivers his kingdom.¹⁸ This shows that Garcilasso's theory is correct. All the evidence tends to reveal that *Pachacamac* was formerly a nature-god, who under the new Inca empire was raised to a position of supreme importance and stripped of his cosmic features. He represents the highest and latest development of pre-Columbian theology.

¹⁵ See Camillus Crivelli, S. J., Article "Mexico" in Cath. Encyclop. Vol. X. p. 251ff.
¹⁶ Garcilasso de la Vega, Royal Commentaries of Peru, (London, 1688) Engl. Transl., Comp. Lang. 1. c. p. 239ff. ¹⁷ Garcilasso, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 101ff. ¹⁸ Lang, p. 242. P. Ehrenreich, Die Mythen und Legenden der Süd-amerikanischen Urvölker, p. 33.

PAN-AMERICAN RECENT FORM

To sum up, the leading features of the American Neolithic are in striking accord with the parallel development in the Old World. In both cases the transition to a higher stone culture, followed by the copper or bronze age, has been accompanied by a more advanced form of social and political organisation, in which the "Priest-King", whether in Babylonia, Polynesia, or Peru, forms the center of authority, the divinely appointed "son of heaven". The tendencies of the age are generally conservative, there is a desire to revive the old notions of a Father in Heaven, at the same time to develop and deepen the concept by bringing it into harmony with a more expanded knowledge of nature and man. For this purpose the more refined notion of "spirit",—whether as *zi*, *dingir*, *ka*, *choper*, *ruach*, *bruwa*, *manah*, *mana*, *manes*, *manitoo*—, was already at hand, and needed only to be welded on to old notions of a great Generator, of a paternal First Cause, in order to bring out the idea of a Universal Spirit,—one who was not only a Person, but in a more philosophical sense the invisible source and interior of all being, a universal essence,—a "World-Soul".

In the application of this new idea it was inevitable that many of its developments should be in the wrong direction. From the earliest times, ghost competes with god, ancestor with the living Creator, and in every case we have a Pantheon, more or less evolved, in which the divinities are largely independent, even if in theory these are held together by a supreme Spirit, a "father" of the immortals. But more than this, the further we advance into the metal ages, the more conspicuous is the figure of the disembodied "double", the more baneful is the influence of the demon-god, who, disguised as an angel of light, as an alluring Venus or Astarte, seduces the faithful by his promise of hidden pleasures, a practice which reaches its climax in the temple-prostitution of later times.

Yet with all this there is no direct evidence that the megalithic architecture was associated with a phallic cult, even if phallic symbols occur very early, and are characteristic of the megalithic belt. Nor can we be sure that they meant the same things in those ages that they would in ours. The high and noble thoughts preserved in the earliest hymns show that *Ishtar* and *Ninni* diffuse a good odor, even if their symbols are not of the choicest. Perversions of the noble are common to all ages, and while such perversions are undoubtedly prominent throughout this period, they do not affect the statement, that, with all its distortions and degenerations, it is grasping out for a higher mental and social life than was ever known to the mind of primitive man.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE OF THE RELIGIOUS DATA

Our analysis up to this point has aimed to bring out the chief items in the concept of the supreme being as far as they can be expressed in the most general and summary manner. We are simply making the first of a series of surveys, in which the divine being, as such, forms the principal object of study, the immediate aim of our searchings. It will readily be conceded that such a hasty and generalised picture cannot but leave much to be desired in the way of detail, in the way of further corroborative evidence, more exact definitions, more abundant illustrations. It is impossible to speak of the nature of God with anything like scientific precision without going far deeper into this matter than is possible within the compass of a hundred and twenty pages; we require more explicit information on the practical side of the cult, its exterioration in ritual and sacrifice, and above all its relation to the moral code and to the ideas of a future life,—in short, we require the entire religious complexity of faith and practice if we would pass any final judgment as to its character,—for which see our concluding chapter.

For the present, however, we are in possession of a sufficient number of *essential* points to establish certain broad tendencies in the domain of religious thought which seem to be characteristic of certain broad eras of human development. We had set out in our Introduction to discover, if possible, some interconnexion between culture and religious belief, to examine the validity of the Kulturkreis when applied to religious phenomena, to see how far the schedule is supported by the different eras of belief as we actually find them. Needless to say, this subject is too immense to be exhausted in the few cultural and religious items that we have so far noted as distinctive of the various epochs of human expansion. Only at the conclusion of this treatise will it be found that the combined cultural phenomena present such an astounding homogeneity for the different cycles of man that a universal or collective "unity" is the only solution. At present we can only pave the way for a consideration of these cumulative facts by calling attention to the more important phenomena in the religious field in so far as they concern the idea of the being and nature of God as such, and the priority of the monotheistic belief in general.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE FATHER-NOTION BELONGS TO THE EARLIEST TIMES

Contrary to the prevalent notions of sympathetic magic as being the ultimate foundation of all religion, we have already collected sufficient examples to show that the idea of "personality" is anterior to that of charm-power, that the so-called spells of the primitive savage are in most cases referred to a supreme spell-worker from whom they derive their efficacy. If we return to the opening pages of this chapter, we shall be surprised to find that the idea of a Sky-Father seems to be uppermost in the ritual as in the beliefs of these people. The bamboo-inscriptions alone, not to speak of the mythology, reveal at a glance that the celestial superman is back of the cult, that He is operating under the "charm". This would seem to exclude, or at least to modify to a large extent, the summary statement that magic is the origin of the cult and most of our authorities agree in rejecting it. But more than this, the same Sky-Father is also a Creator, He "makes" originally everything, either directly, or by his creating demiurge, and this, with the strong consciousness of a lawgiver, ruling the world by his rewards and punishments, is the most glaring fact that confronts us in the very earliest period of man to which we have access. Can this be explained on any theory so well as that of a primitive monotheistic belief? How can we otherwise account for the equally striking phenomenon that the lowest and least sophisticated tribes are invariably the ones that exhibit the belief in its greatest purity? "*Our Father who art in Heaven*",—such is the formula that seems to be at the foundation of the primitive cult, as is quickly suggested by the most cursory inspection of our data. In every case "Sky-Being" is the uppermost thought in the mind of the native, no other being having exactly the same importance.

AND THIS IS ACCOMPANIED BY A GENERAL SIMILARITY OF THOUGHT AND
PRACTICE OVER VERY WIDE AREAS

But the most interesting point in this connection is the newly discovered fact that this simple and unique idea, though everywhere to be found, is *essentially interwoven* with the earliest beginnings of man as far as we have been able to follow them. Re-examine the material on this head, and you will gradually be converted to the idea that these very primitive peoples in Australasia, Central Africa, and South America, are bound together by so many points of similarity, material and mental, that you are almost forced to conclude that the All-Father notion is part and parcel of their combined inheritance.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE PRIMITIVE CULTURE

It is impossible to appreciate this subject unless we descend into particulars which in the present place can only be given in their barest outline. In the first place we have the physical and biological evidence that these races form an archaic group which, though divided into numerous subtypes, are very probably the nearest approach to the original ancestor. In the East-Indian area this is especially the case. Furthermore,—they are for the most part herbivorous or vegetarian peoples consigned to the tropics, whose manner of life is primitive to a degree. They roam the equatorial forests with practically no clothing, they live in trees, caves, or windshelters, simply gathering the wild produce of nature, and they never hunt game until their supply of vegetable food begins to fail them. Fire-making, if it exists at all, is still in the rubbing, not yet in the twirling or “pumping” stage, and their only weapons are sticks, stones, bows, or blow-pipes, which in every case show an approximation to the crudest and least developed form. Flint-chips, flakes, bone or shell-scrapers, are their only implements, the highest cutting instrument being represented by the bamboo knife, the making of flint-chisels being very generally unknown to the natives,—they are living *before* the stone age! Arts and industries show a corresponding simplicity of development. The palm-leaf and the bamboo tube furnish the chief materials of ornament, net-work or pottery being very rare accomplishments. The sounding-stick and the monochord represents the crudest musical instruments, and as to navigation, it can hardly be said to exist, unless we describe under such a title the use of rafts or tree-floats, or the occasional hewing of a dug-out with sharp shells.

THIS MUST BE SUPPLEMENTED BY THE MENTAL AND SOCIAL COMPLEXITY

But we would be missing the main point of our argument were we to stop short with the purely material aspect of this question. The similarities go considerably further, they ascend into the mental and social sphere. They cover such details as the use of simple straight-line patterns in art, of the five-finger system in arithmetic, of the five-tone scale in music, of simple, uninflected nature-sounds in language. They imply that these peoples are entirely destitute of an advanced social organisation, in that each family governs itself by its own father-right and has an extremely loose relation to the community, which community is for the most part temporary and insignificant in numbers. How far all this is removed from the elaborate art, music, language, and government, say, of the North-American Indian!

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

AND THIS AGAIN BY THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS COMPLEXITY

Yet even this might be regarded as indecisive were we not in possession of facts still more fundamental in nature. The almost universal practice of monogamy and the general respect for the sanctity of human life is the most surprising feature of all. The general absence of wars and inter-tribal fighting, including the disgusting habit of feasting on human flesh, is something that has only lately come to our notice, and the high ethical standards of most of these tribes, in which adultery, blasphemy, lying, contempt of elders, is sometimes punishable with death, reveals a picture which many of the higher peoples might well envy. It is more especially the absence or the rarity of divorce and infanticide that differentiates these equatorial races from all their successors. *And it is they precisely who are most conspicuous for the belief in one God alone*, a superhuman, unbribable, ethical being, who, though he cannot be seen, is yet everywhere present, and can do everything he wishes. Does it not seem as if this was an essential concomitant of this rudimentary grade of culture, its most distinctive characteristic?

THE CONVERGENCE IS TOO STRONG TO BE RESISTED

If we descend into further details and note the general agreement on many other practices, on purification-ceremonies, initiation-rites, unbloody sacrifices, on the law of primogeniture, on the simple non-totemic marriage, on the earth, tree, or river-funeral, together with the general absence of all the more violent and revolting customs, such as the deformation of infants, the amputation of fingers, the tampering with the sexual organs, the cutting into the skull or entrails, the offering up of human life, the marriage by elopement or capture, the pyre-funeral, the institution of slavery, the organisation of phallic dances, etc. and the conclusion is positively forced upon us, that such an enormous convergence, not upon a dozen but upon at least fifty points, cannot be accidental, but that it postulates *a unified development of mankind* during the earliest period of its existence. Nay more, the fact that the belief in One God overshadows that in any other wind or sky-spirit and is vitally connected with the entire material, mental, and moral conglomerate, shows that this is evidently

The Age of Monotheistic Illumination,

it is the period in which the heavenly Super-man occupies the principal attention of mankind. Whatever be the secondary issues involved in this matter, our analysis has brought at least this much to the front. A further and more explicit proof of this thesis will be found in our final summary.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE SUCCEEDING AGE EMPHASISES THE NOTION OF GERM-POWER

Compared with this all-important fact, the later developments of the idea are of minor interest. A single glance at the graphic symbolism of the totem-peoples is sufficient to assure us that we have entered a different era of human thought, and one accompanied by a more complex system of life and culture. The cross-symbol of the earliest times is now replaced by the circle, more commonly by the spiral, and the twisted designs of this period reveal the fact that the serpent-theme is in the ascendent, the divinity is pictured as motion, or as sun and serpent combined. True, the ancient idea of fatherhood is still to be found; but we have noted that the concept is no longer as pure, the Sky-father is either a married divinity, as in India-Australia, or he is simply an undefinable power, associated more or less with the occult forces of nature, as throughout the entire zone, and especially in Africa and North-America. We have discovered that these peoples are living under an equally distinctive cultural horizon,—they have the fur-blanket, the buffalo-hunt, the conical round-house or wigwam, the fire-drill, the elaborate face and body-paint, the finished bow, the flint-headed spear, the chipped palaeolith, the carved mortar, the wooden figurine, the bone-whistle and the polyphonic flute, the birch-bark canoe or the built-up boat,—which, though occasionally wanting by reason of climatic differences, are yet sufficiently prominent in most of these areas to point again to a unified progress.

BUT THIS PROGRESS IS ACCOMPANIED BY A RELIGIOUS DECADENCE

Yet in spite of an advance to a higher numeral system, a more complicated language, a more expressive musical art, we have several additional items which, in combination with the social and religious features, suggest however a case of collective moral degeneration. The laxity of the marriage tie, the growing infanticide, the hazing and circumcision-rite, the fertilisation-sacrifice, the cruel medical craft, and above all the highly involved matrimonial system, based upon a *reputed descent from animal ancestors*,—all this, with the platform and cremation-funeral, the fire-walk, and the extraordinary doctrine of a *rebirth under lower forms of existence*, cannot be passed over without calling forth some serious philosophical reflexions.

This is an Age of Religious Degeneration;

in which, as we are beginning to see, the divinity is more often identified with impersonal forces. He is the germ or potency of the world rather than its all-sufficient cause, though glimpses of the latter notion are still to be found in extenso,—it is a double picture.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE RECENT PERIOD DEVELOPS THE NOTION OF SPIRIT-POWER

But if the cross represents the personal, and the spiral the cosmic side of the divinity, the star brings out His all-pervading psychic force inasmuch as it is allied with the magic flower, the symbol of life. The prominence of astral and spiritistic themes is the one distinctive feature of the more recent stage of religious belief, as is evident from the migration of the zodiac and the swastika from Babylonia to Mexico. But apart from this it is revealed with sufficient clearness in the general mythology of this age, in which the wandering ghost or the "astral body" plays such a prominent part. We have seen that this idea is just as characteristic of the early neolithic and bronze culture as that of mystery-force is of the preceding glacial. It accompanies the settled agricultural life, the domestication of animals, the weaving of flax garments, the branding or tattooing of the body, the pile-dwelling and the stone-constructed house, the fire-pump and the flint and pyrites method, the compound bow and the round shield, the perfected and polished flint and the spindle-whorl, the making of finished pottery, the use of blow-horns, drums, xylophones, or rudimentary pianos, the construction of elaborate galleys and plank-constructed ships,—which, with the re-establishment of father-right, of kingship and aristocracy, of the original ideal of monogamy, of the dignified tomb-burial, are all so many indications that we are dealing with another grand epoch of harmonised progress, another cultural unity.

THE MENTAL AND MATERIAL PHENOMENA ARE PARTICULARLY CONVERGENT

Such a unity is brought out with additional force by the astronomical or sexagesimal system, by the highly inflected grammatical language, by the more advanced polyphonic musical expression, and more especially by the eschatology or latter-day beliefs. That which separates these peoples most fundamentally from their immediate predecessors is the doctrine of the future life as a real, personal existence, *independent* of nature or of a mythical animal ancestry,—the soul is sharply defined from the body, and even if wrongly defined, it has severed its connection with the old-time totems, it has become the image or the spark of the divine intelligence.

THIS IS AN AGE OF RELIGIOUS RECONSTRUCTION

However short our preceding study may fall of a complete scientific analysis, it is sufficient for the present to establish this outstanding fact. For neolithic and recent man, the idea of personal spiritual force, independent of the totem, is the one prominent feature of his religious beliefs, and with it the definition of God as the "soul" of the universe.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE ORIGIN AND FORMATION OF THE IDEA

Coming now to the philosophical questions opened out by the preceding material, it will only be possible for us to indicate in a general manner a few of their more important bearings. And first,—as to the origin of the idea,—we have considerable evidence to show that the notion of “soul-double”, whether as ghost or guardian, is altogether secondary in the mind of the primitive savage, and that this therefore is hardly likely to have been the immediate source of a theistic belief. On the other hand

The idea of God as such is entirely natural,

it need have no connexion with any extraordinary channels of communication. Not only have we definite dogmatic statements on the natural knowledge of God, already considered in our Prolog, but any reasonable person can soon convince himself that the notion of an all-transcending Personality, the maker or creator of all things, is a necessary demand of reason as such, and is obtained by a series of natural logical processes.¹¹

THE ARGUMENT FROM MOTION

*“It is certain that some things in the world are moved or changed.
Now whatever is moved or changed is moved or changed by another.
But an infinite cycle of moving causes is a contradiction in terms.
Therefore there must be a single first Cause, itself immovable”.*

This is the first of the Thomistic proofs, and it may well be called the preliminary basis of this reasoning, if not for the savage, for the philosopher. It aims at simply demonstrating a first Cause, regardless of the nature or character of such a cause. That a potency can only be reduced to act by a power which is already in act, is an analytical judgment of the mind, for a potency *ceases to be* a potency the moment it flies into act,—it vanishes. And as to an infinite series, an actually infinite number of finite causes is unthinkable, because we would get a greater or lesser infinite, which could be divided into fractions,—more or less of the infinite!

THE ARGUMENT FROM EFFICIENCY

*“We find in the realm of nature an order of efficient causes.
Now nothing can be its own efficient cause, but is caused by another.
But an infinite chain of efficient causes is a contradiction in terms.
Therefore there is a primary efficient Cause, itself uncaused”.*

This second step in our reasoning is very similar to the first, but it emphasizes the genetic relation of a group of causes. It shows that the fact of generation in nature requires the existence of a supreme Generator.

¹¹ Main points in S. Thom. I, qu. 2, a. 3. Hontheim, Theodicaea. Regnon, Metaphysique des Causes.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE ARGUMENT FROM CONTINGENCY

*“Generation and decay show that some things can or cannot exist.
Now that which can or cannot exist is not self-existent,
And if all things can begin to exist, there was once nothing at all.
But nothing can begin to exist without something that does exist,
And as it is impossible to multiply the existent ad infinitum,
Therefore there must be a primary being which necessarily exists”.*

This is a more subtle argument in that it starts with the notion of the indetermination or indifference of things with regard to space, time, motion, nay, to their own existence. But once the idea of contingency has been grasped by the mind, the notion of necessary being is unavoidable.

THE ARGUMENT FROM DESIGN

But all these syllogisms prove only the existence of a single, supremely perfect and necessary first Cause, an infinitely pure Act. A further logical step establishes the rational character of this Act.

*“We see irrational causes in nature cooperating for a rational end.
But that which is without reason cannot operate for a rational end without the guidance of a knowing and intelligent being.
Therefore a knowing and intelligent being is the director of all things”.*

This is the easiest and commonest mental process by which the idea of a designing intelligence, a supreme governor of the world, is arrived at. The fact of order and symmetry in the world is as evident to the mind of the primitive as it is to our modern thinkers, but with this difference, that it is a simpler and in some respects a clearer notion. Though the forces of nature are commonly personified, their *limited* power implies their subordination to a supreme Intelligence, and thus pantheistic immanence has no part in it. Even if nature be endowed with reason, this is all the stronger proof that the first Cause of nature is itself *infinitely* rational.

THE ARGUMENT FROM MORALITY

*The moral conscience of mankind reveals the notion of responsibility.
But responsibility has no meaning except to a Person, and supreme responsibility requires the existence of a supreme Person.
Therefore the moral conscience reveals the existence of a supreme Person.*

Here we have the final stage, by which, in union with the above, the existence of a supreme Lawgiver of the human race is demanded as the only ultimate sanction of human conduct. The fact that I *must* do a thing, though I have the power of doing the opposite, this implies a supreme Commander.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE ARGUMENT FROM THE GRADES OF PERFECTIONS IN NATURE

But if the preceding deal directly with the idea of causation, there are other arguments which point to the fact of gradation, to the different *orders* of being as connoting conformity with a divine original.

"There are things in nature which are more or less good, true, and noble. But these grades of perfection argue for the existence of an all-perfect being, in that a more or less points to a greatest or supreme Good. Therefore the gradations in nature point to a supreme or perfect Good".

It cannot fail to be seen that the very fact that one thing is better than another presupposes a *tertium quid* of comparisons, some ideal standard by which the beauty of perfection of a thing is measured. Good and better would have no meaning except when referred to an Absolute Best.

Moreover it should not be forgotten that man is incapable of forming an adequate concept of God, he must bring home to himself the fact that a being may be infinitely real, and yet surpassing anything that he can ever imagine. To our poor human fancy nature comes to a timely assistance and offers her own wonders as defying anything that can ever be pictured. If the lightning is immeasurably rapid, it prepares the mind for omnipotent force, if the flower grows by immanent action, it shows that a living divinity is above the powers of chemistry, if the animal is endowed with the faculty of cognition, it will follow that a knowing divinity is more than a life-principle, if man is in possession of reflex reason and the free control of his will, it is just as certain that these higher faculties form an apex or crown of perfection, which is as far above the lower forces of nature as it instinctively points to their still higher consummation in the eternal mind and conscience of God. In each case the lower mystery paves the way for the higher, and thus we have a powerful sanction in nature herself to look for the supersensible.

THE POSITIVE CONCEPT OF GOD

If then we take the shining cross or the globe of light as the most appropriate symbol of God, it is because they suggest in the simplest way the personality, simplicity, and spirituality of the divine Being. Man naturally fell upon this symbol in the earliest ages because it was the safest, the least open to possible perversions suggested by the serpent- or the star- and swastika-theme. From this all-pervading Superman in the clouds the whole of his theology is derived,—he has in fact a positive concept of God, not a mere bundle of negations. And if it is soiled by the human, the imperfect, the anthropomorphic, we must remember that what we see is not the absolute primitive but his immediate and more or less corrupted successor.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE MEETING-POINT OF SCIENCE AND METAPHYSICS

This is not the place to enter into all the modernistic objections to our present thesis, objections which are prompted partly by a wholesale denial of an objective order of reality, partly by the doctrine that nature is self-sufficient and contains the idea of necessity, order, symmetry in her very being. The first is refuted in the name of "science", in that she presupposes an objective order to be *discovered*, the second is reduced to a vanishing-point, in that a functional necessity has nothing to do with an *absolute* or *existential* necessity, and that even if reason is part and parcel of things, this makes the first Cause all the more reasonable, we cannot evade a transcendent Reason. As to the objection on the score of pain, evil, imperfection, and so on, we all know that these things have an important disciplinary and educational value, nor have we any logical or moral basis whatever to look for an ideally perfect universe, a "best of all possible worlds". In the meantime it will be interesting to note how the more refined branches of modern science illustrate our own principles, how close they come to the borderland of metaphysical truth.¹²

HIGHER PSYCHOLOGY AND PERSONALITY

Among the more startling revelations of modern psychology is the mysterious persistence of personality even in abnormal and subnormal conditions of consciousness. From a purely material standpoint one would have thought that any violent shattering of the system in the shape of a brain-wreck or a hypnotic trance would entail a corresponding change or destruction of personality. Nevertheless a transfer of personality from one subject to another is a figment wanting in any solid proof, there is no evidence whatever that personality as such has ever been destroyed. The philosophy of the subconscious or the subliminal self shows on the contrary that even when stripped of its normal faculties, it is the same ego which persists from beginning to end, we cannot divide personality. We may justly withhold our assent to the "phenomena", the supposed power of rapid movement, of bridging the chasms of space and time, of acquiring extraordinary knowledge, of speaking in different tongues, of seeing things at a distance(?). Little wonder, however, that our modern psychologists are inclined to see in personality something altogether unique, a "*substantia sui juris*". And for primitive man this is precisely the uppermost intuition,—God is an Infinite Person, He claims an undivided moral dominion.

¹² On the Philosophy of the Subconscious see among others Sir Oliver Lodge, F. R. S. *The Survival of Man*, (N. Y. 1909), (personal identity, immaterial telepathy). Also Idem, *On Life and Matter, Electrons, The Ether of Space*.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

POTENTIAL ENERGY AND PURE POTENCY

In like manner the ancient scholastic doctrine of potential being, of forces which are latent or concealed, receives a new impetus now that such forces are positively required by the commonest of natural phenomena. The definition of coal as "bottled sunlight" and of electric currents as "high potentials" is not a mere play upon words, it implies the existence of forces which have not yet been reduced to act, of germinal forces; they *tend to act*, and are brought into play by the introduction of *outside* forces. I pass over the definition of prime matter as "pure potency", of the substantial form as the "actuating principle", noting, however, its approximation to the current teaching on evolved matter and evolving forms. One of the most recent acquisitions on this head is the doctrine of the instability of prime-forms, of the change of one element into another, of the change of one substance into another without a corresponding change in chemical constitution, of the wonders of polarised light, of isomeric substances, of electric ions and sub-atoms,—all of which show that the mediaeval alchemy was not the far-fetched thing that some would imagine.³

ETHEREAL PHYSICS AND SPIRIT-FORCE

Coming more closely to the ultimate nature of things in their last analysis, it is certainly a remarkable fact that modern science brings us face to face with a marvelous power which she is bound to recognise as the ultimate basis of all her more subtle phenomena. The hypothesis of an infinitely continuous, yet infinitely elastic fluid, present in all places, permeating all forces, compenetrating all substances, the source if not the essence of light, heat, electricity, magnetism, mental telepathy or psychic power,—all this points with unmistakable emphasis to a still more subtle nay to an *infinitely pure substance*, which contains all the lower perfections of nature in a supreme or supereminent degree. If creation itself is so wonderful, what must the Author of that creation be? If science loses herself in a world of ethereal perfections, where is the guarantee that she holds the last word on the subject? She does not. For God is a *super-ethereal* substance, He is the metaphysical light of the world, He is present in all things, yet not identified with any one of them, He is that pure, un-created Light, which is everywhere felt, but which can only be seen in the *super-natural* state of ecstasy. Here then we have that final aspect of divinity, which, falsely defined as world-soul or "psychic absolute" is yet the nearest approach to the doctrine of God as "Universal Spirit".

³ Sir E. Rutherford, F. R. S. *The constitution of matter and the evolution of the elements*, (S. R. 1915-1916), pp. 167-202. Frederick Soddy, *The Interpretation of Radium*, (London, 1909).

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

THE QUESTION OF THE SUPERNATURAL

It seems therefore unnecessary to reiterate that human reason can arrive at a knowledge of God which is absolutely or metaphysically certain, and that as far as He is simply the source and the ultimate end of all things, this knowledge is purely natural and common to humanity as such. As to the further question whether the full notion of deity as we actually find it does not entail some influx of the supernatural, we must be careful to eliminate those elements that savor of an "elevation" of man or a "triune" nature of God, if we would exclude such an influx. But upon one point we may for the present rest assured with a sufficient degree of confidence.

NO TRIAD HAS EVER "DEVELOPED" INTO A TRINITY

We have taken special pains to show that the triple theme of heaven-earth-underworld is as natural to man as that of three dimensions in space, that a father in heaven, a son or mother on earth, and a mysterious spirit under the ocean, need have no connection whatever with three Persons in one God, and are as a fact miles apart from it. The father-mother-child-nation is simply the projection of the human family into space, the three members are in no sense equal, much less consubstantial, and they reveal their earth-begotten nature by nothing so forcibly as their alliance with cosmic, and in later ages with vital and sexual force. We have thus exploded the Babylonian, Egyptian, and Polynesian "trinities" to the four winds.

BUT THIS MAY BE THE VESTIGE OF A SUPERNATURAL LIGHT

At the same time there are here and there a few expressions which do occasionally appear surprising. The very prominence of the number three, and the frequent hints of a generation or spiration of one divinity out of another cannot be passed over without forcing the conclusion that, however crude in presentation, some of it must be attributed to a higher source.

ONLY IN PERSIA-PALESTINE IS GOD PURE AND A TRINITY ADUMBRATED

But how far all this is removed from the great Lord-God of Israel and from His triple hypostatic manifestations. We have seen that here only is the concept entirely free from the nature-connexion, it stands for power and subsistence, the great I AM, while the triple theophanies prepare the mind for three coequal and coeternal Persons, though they do not pretend to reveal it. They are more than allegories, they are adumbrations.

AND THIS DEMANDS A PRIMITIVE REVELATION

And so we see that the Tetragram and the Trisagion must be ultimately traced to a divine revelation, given to man in the earliest days of the race.

CHAPTER THE SECOND

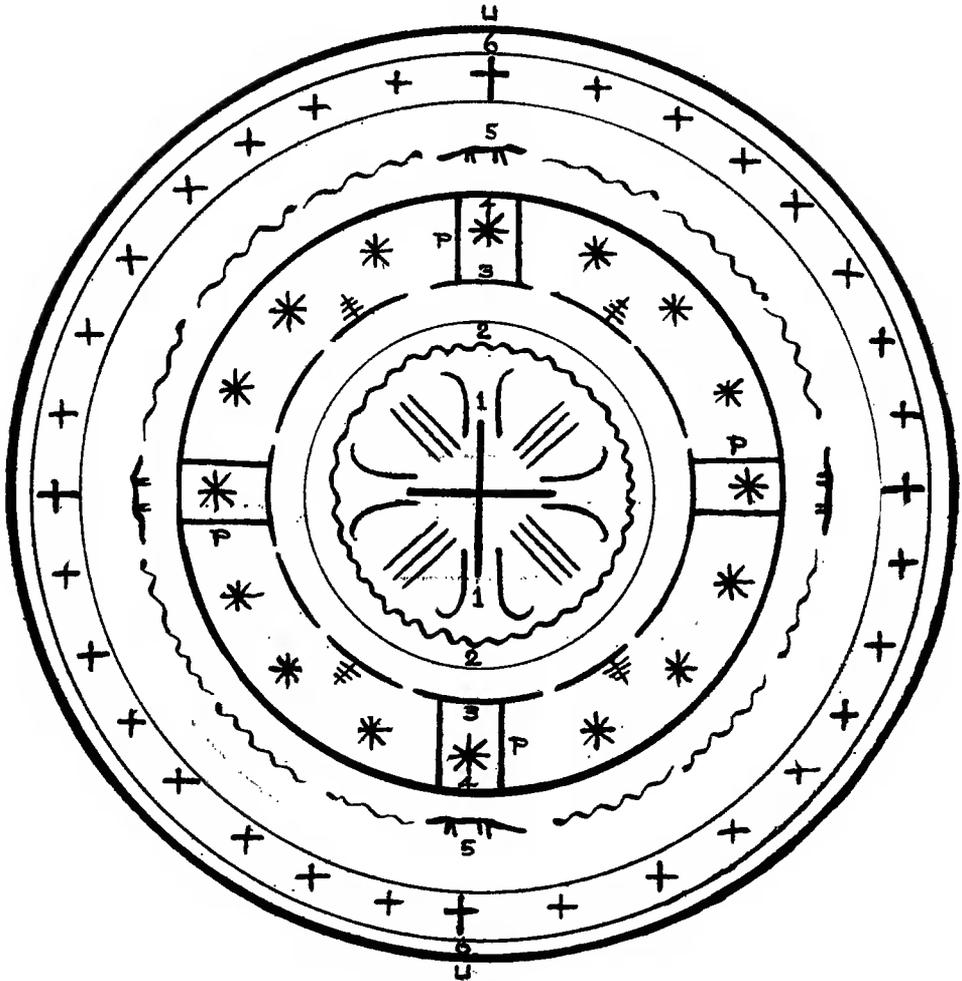
DE DEO CREANTE

The History of the idea of Creation

A PRIMITIVE PLANISPHERE

SHOWING THE SIX CYCLES OF CREATION
AS PICTURED IN THE MIND OF THE SAVAGE

(ZENITH ORIENTATION)



CYCLOGRAPHIC PROJECTION OF THE EARLIEST CREATION-THEMES AS REVEALED IN THE MYTHOLOGIES AND BY ATTESTED PICTOGRAPHS, WHERE + IS FUNDAMENTAL FOR SKY-FATHER, FROM WHOM ARISES—

- (1) LIGHT.—CRYSTAL PALACE OR SHINING-PLACE—HEAVEN
- (2) WATER.—BROODING-CLOUDS—HUSKS OF THE AIR—WIND-SPIRITS
- (3) EARTH, AS RISING LAND, CELESTIAL ARCHIPELAGO—FRUIT-ISLAND
- (4) SUN, MOON, AND STARS AS LIGHT-SPIRITS, WITH PARADISE-BRIDGE (P)
- (5) ANIMALS.—SNAKES, SERPENTS, AND TIGERS—POPULATING THE FINISHED EARTH
- (6) MAN, AS LORD OF CREATION, DOMINATING THE UNDERWORLD (U).

With this general survey of the origin and successive development of the idea of supreme Being there arises a demand for greater detail. To what extent is this being a maker or producer of things? What has He produced, and how has He produced it? An answer to this question cannot fail to shed additional light on the problem of a personal creator. Not that this proposition is wanting in solid evidence. It has already been seen that the idea of personality is strong from the remotest times, that the role of creator in the sense of "maker" is practically universal. But with all this, there is still some doubt as to the *modus operandi* of this "creation", as to the precise degree in which it was immediate, personal, and direct, or rather of the nature of a long, indefinite process of evolution, with secondary and impersonal forces chiefly to operate. It will stand to reason that in the early, unspeculative stage of human existence the problem of the "how" of creation had probably not yet dawned on the human mind, it was a matter of secondary importance, of little or no interest, compared with the great central fact that the All-Father had "made" man, had spoken to him face to face. The question must therefore be approached with an impartial spirit, with sole desire of understanding if possible,

WHAT WAS THE EARLY CONSCIOUSNESS OF MAN ON THIS SUBJECT?

How did he picture the great "Amaka" to have acted? Was this action personal or impersonal, mediate or immediate, direct or by means of a demiurge? A sufficient number of data on this subject ought to incline the evidence more or less perceptibly to one or other of two possibilities, both of which are conceivable,—

- (1) The hypothesis of direct creation,—or by personal demiurge.
- (2) The hypothesis of indirect creation,—or by evolutionary force.

Let it be understood that this is not a *quaestio juris* but a *quaestio facti*. The power is admitted, the manner of its operation is not clear. Let us hear the voice of primitive man on this subject. Let us see, what his earliest impressions are, quite apart from any theory as to how they were obtained, or upon what principle they are to be interpreted.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(A, 1) MALAY PENINSULA,—SEMANG NEGRITO, PROV. OF PERAK

The main outlines of the Malakkan cosmology have already been sketched in the preceding chapter. The following points, however, deserve to be emphasized, as they bring out the role of creating divinity in a manner that is typical for a large section of the aboriginal group:—

ORDER AND MANNER OF CREATION

(1) *Kari* lives in the high heavens. These consist of three tiers or layers, the two highest being the Garden of Fruits or *Seng-Paradise*, guarded by a gigantic baboon, while the lowest is the heaven of "brooding clouds".

(2) He creates Sky, Wind, and Earth-spirits, inasmuch as they are associated with his "breath", his helpers, servants, or archangels,—dependent beings.

(3) Among these *Ple*, the fruit-god, occupies a unique position. He is a kind of logos, as he creates the material world,—sun, moon, and stars, etc.—but only at the command of *Kari*, "who ordered him to complete the work".

(4) The "Paradise-Bridge" is believed to span from earth to heaven, and is guarded by a monster being, (*Berhala*), whose nature is not quite clear.

(5) *Ple* creates the earth and the underworld, (*belet*), the latter a vast cavern or boiling lake, (hell, purgatory), presided over by a black being called *Kamoj*, and the abode of wicked spirits and demons,—lost souls.

(6) Finally, the first man and woman, "created", and apparently not evolved from animal forms. These are fashioned by *Ple*, but the soul is infused by *Kari*, for "*Kari* himself gave them souls". This points to some degree of transcendence on the part of the chief divinity. Moreover the soul is "red like blood" and "as small as a grain of maize",—the first attempt to express spirit-qualities in child-language, reminding of the mediaeval "soul-making", the modern "astral body"(?). The soul grows on the "paradise-tree", known as *Kari's* "Soul-Tree", whence it is carried by the Conception-bird, here the Argus-Pheasant, to the womb of the mother, which bird is then eaten by the mother during pregnancy. "She has eaten the bird"—, such is the expression used of the expectant mother. Is this creationism or generationism? It is in any case an interesting find.

Here we find fairly vivid creation-story in rude outline. All things are made by the direct action of a single divine personality, who however delegates a part of this power to a subordinate being or demiurge, who is himself of limited power, as he cannot "create" the soul. Totemism and evolutionism are alike wanting in this simple picture.¹

¹ For the main points consult Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II. pp. 177, 178, 207, 208-210, 213, 215ff.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(A, 2) MALAY PENINSULA,—SENOI-SAKAI, PROV. OF PERAK AND SELANGOR

Among the Senoi tribes of Central Malakka we find practically the identical system, for, according to our best authorities, the "Father", *Peng*, "occupies the same position in the Sakai cosmogony as is occupied by *Kari* and *Ple* in that of the Semang, and the real difficulty in treating the Semang and Sakai religion will be to discover their points of difference". More accurately it ought to be stated, however, that *Peng* takes the place of *Kari*, while *Ple* is represented by a female mediator, called *Lan-yut*,—a gigantic woman, who, though not a creator, is at least a collaborator in the work of divine government. The main thoughts are as follows:—

(1) *Peng* has made all things and lives in a far off fruit-island, whence he governs the whole of the universe and man,—his "Heavenly Palace".

(2) His Wind or Sky-spirits are "breathed" by him alone, for he has the power of annihilating them, which seems to imply the opposite power of creating though this not distinctly stated. They are in any case his messengers,—the wicked demons cannot afflict humanity "without his permission", which shows that they are "under" him, and incapable of acting without him.

(3) Foremost among these is the "Granny *Lan-yut*", the so-called "Queen of Hell", who is a helpful and benevolent mother, as she brings all recalcitrant sinners to repentance, and watches over their conduct.

(4) There is a "Paradise-Bridge" connecting the earth with sun, moon, and stars, over which the Queen-mother pilots the souls of the dead or dying.

(5) The earth, the sea, and the underworld are the abodes of the lower spirits and demons. The latter is a huge river of hot water, (*Neraka*), into which the "queen" plunges the souls of the unregenerate.

(6) The first man and woman are called *Ba-lut* and *Wa-lut*,—"young-man", "young-woman", they are apparently created or ready-made, as nothing is said of an animal ancestry, and there is no hint at descent. Their souls are evidently a distinct creation, as the death of the body leaves the soul to wander from tomb to jungle, and finally to paradise-bridge, where it is purged and prepared for admission to *Peng's* fruit-island.

This is a clear-cut creation-system, even if some of its links are wanting. We have no information of the "soul-bird", but in want of more exact knowledge as to all the details, we are justified in inferring that here too creation is an immediate, personal, and supernatural process.²

² Each of the above statements may be either verified or inferred from Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II. pp. 234-242. For alleged totemism among the Sakai, see *idem*, p. 258, from which it appears that animal names are strictly eponymous, and have no relation to marriage or ancestry.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(A, 3) MALAY PENINSULA,—MANTRA-JAKUN, PROV. OF SELANGOR

The same ideas are found among the wild Malays at the southern end of the peninsula, with this difference, that the growing importance of spiritism has made the chief figure of the mythology no longer the Lord of heaven, but the Spirit of the Underworld,—a kind of ghost-god.

(1) *Tuhan-di-Bawah* has made the earth, and lives beneath it, and even below the land of *Nyayek*,—the underworld. (sic).

(2) He is surrounded by innumerable spirits or *hantus*, who are evidently dependent, though a distinct creation cannot be proved from the data.

(3) Among these a being called *To-Entah* occupies a high position. Though described as the son of the first humans, his title of "Lord-knows-who" and his subsequent exploits shows that he takes the place of a demiurge.

(4) Sun, moon, and stars, with the traditional paradise-bridge, all are fixed or in some sense appointed by *To-Entah*, he arranges the divisions of time, the succession of day and night, and even the seasons.

(5) The earth is supported by an iron staff, which is strengthened by iron cross-bars, and beneath these is the land of *Nyayek*, which is inhabited by a race of fiends or demons. The Lord of the Underworld dwells beneath this land, and by his power supports all above him.

(6) The first humans are called *Ayer* and *Tanah*—, "Water" and "Earth"—, they came from a place called "Rising Land" in the sky, but the sky was "originally very low and near to the earth", and it was here that the creation-drama took place. Though *Tuhan* and *To-Entah* are regarded as its principal actors, there are reasons for believing that they have lost much of their producing power. Man is apparently a unique being, but according to another version (recorded by Borie), the Mantra were all descended from two white apes. These, having reared their young ones, sent them forth into the plains where for the most part they developed so rapidly that they and their descendants became men. Those however who returned to the mountains still remained apes. Others say that apes are degraded men(!).

While there is ample evidence in these legends for the role of a creating "Lord", it is clear that this action is no longer as direct and universal as in the preceding instances. Though the soul is divine and migrates to *Tuhan's* Fruit-Island, the body of man is evolved from lower forms, it claims kinship with the apes—, the first suggestion of an animal ancestry.³

³ Points in Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II. pp. 336-342. For the quotation from Borie, see *idem*, p. 344, and translation by P. Bourien, *On the wild tribes of the interior of the Malay Peninsula*. *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N. S. Vol. III. p. 72ff.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(B, 1) ANDAMAN ISLANDS

Among the Andamanese the creation-legends assume a very similar form, though there is evidence of an incipient dualism, of a tendency to recognise the evil creation as in some sense eternal, self-subsistent. This, however, is only partially the case, as the following sequence of events will show:—

(1) *Puluga* lives in a large stone house in the sky and rules all things.

(2) He has a wife, whom he created for himself, (sic). By her he has a large family, all except the eldest being girls; these last are known as *morowin* or sky-spirits, (angels), and are said to be black in appearance, and, with their mother, amuse themselves from time to time by throwing fishes and prawns into the streams and sea, for the use of the inhabitants of the world.(!) As these beings are “generated”, they are hardly co-eternal.

(3) *Puluga's* son is called *Pijchor*. “He is regarded as a sort of arch-angel and is alone permitted to live with his father, whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *morowin*”,—a possible demiurge.

(4) Heaven and earth, sun, moon, and stars, all things are created by *Puluga*, including the Paradise-Bridge, which spans the eastern sky, connecting the earth and heaven with purgatory, which is beneath it (sic).

(5) The underworld is tenanted by evil spirits of all kinds, and these alone are said to be self-created, to have existed from time immemorial. But even if this be granted,—which is not altogether clear,—the final triumph of *Puluga* and the annihilation of evil implies their limited duration.

(6) This is further evidenced by the paradise-legend, in which the evil spirits do not appear,—certainly not as creators. *Puluga* alone creates the first man and woman,—*Tomo* and *Chana*—, and this directly, there is no hint at evolutionism. However simple the wording of these stories may be, they reveal at least that the supreme divinity is in this respect unique, that he admits no creating rivals. Moreover the description of the soul as “red” like blood, and though of “human form” “invisible to human eyes”, together with the migration of the good soul to *Puluga's* Fruit-Palace, all this tends to show that goodness and spirituality are in the ascendant.

It has already been pointed out that the idea of a married divinity belongs to a later circle of ideas, as does that of the *Puluga*-“spider”. If this element is eliminated, it will be seen that the above items furnish a fairly readable, comparatively pure creation-legend, and one closely paralleled in the Malakkan region.⁴

⁴ For each of the items consult Man, Andaman Islands, pp. 89-90, 94-95ff. For a non-married, non-animal divinity, see above, pp. 15-16.

CREATION

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(B, 2) THE VEDDAS OF CEYLON

With the Veddas as we now find them the idea of creation has been largely obscured. This is owing to the fact that many have intermarried with the Sinhalese, and have come in contact with Hindoo and Brahminical notions of spontaneous generation, evolutionism and so on. It is therefore not surprising that in spite of the unique position of the great *Yaka*, and of his son, or brother, *Bilindi Yaka*, the distinct record of a series of creative epochs should be apparently wanting.

I have already pointed out, that the phraseology of certain invocations is difficult to reconcile with a purely ancestral deity, that such petitions as "*Cause Rain!*" seem to imply some power of controlling the universe, the seasons, the climate, in a manner that is hardly proper to a finite being. In any case the following points seem to be clear:—

Though described as the "Lord of the Dead", *Kande Yaka* is invoked as the "*Great Master, whose place is on the crest of the hill, on the highest place of the hill, who causes the rain-drops to burst from the dense cloud*", etc. which accords well with the character of a quondam heaven-god. It is true that all men are descended from him after the manner of a human father, but such anthropomorphisms are not unknown in other very primitive regions, and are of little import when compared with the immense, almost transcendent power that he wields over the lives of the natives and apparently over the forces of nature. Again, a Lord of the departed is not inconsistent with a creating divinity, as is clear from the similar position of *Tuhan-di-Bawah* in Southern Malakka, the role of *To-Entah* being paralleled by that of *Bilindi Yaka* above. He also causes rain, fixes the seasons, rides on the clouds, etc. though always in subordination to the great Sky-Father. If then some creative action is provable for the Malakdan divinity, it may at least be remotely inferred for that of the Veddas.⁵

(C, 1, 2) PHILIPPINE NEGRITOS

For the Philippine islands the reports are as yet very scattered and far from complete. Mention has been made of the "supreme being" of the Alabat Aetas, who is addressed as "Our Maker". If this report is correct, it will seem that the *Anito* or Sky-Lord of the Zambal Aetas is very probably a creating spirit, as they stand on a very similar level of culture. Unfortunately I have not been able to find any distinct creation-legends for these islands, which is regrettable in view of the promising field that appears to be opening out for the religious data. An enormous amount of work still remains to be done in this region, but for the present we must be satisfied with the bare indications of a creating God sufficiently attested in one instance, at least, to show the continuity of the idea.⁶

⁵ Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 284ff. ⁶ Reed, *Negritos*, p. 65, and compare p. 19-24 above.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(D, 1) CENTRAL BORNEO

The Bornean cosmology is by contrast particularly rich. To begin with the lowest forest-Dayaks of the interior, commonly called Orang Ukit or "Bakatan",—wild men of the woods—, it is certainly a remarkable fact, that the wilder they are, the more pure and simple is their theory of world-origins, the more free from sexual, animal, and animistic themes.

To take an illustration from these lowest hunting tribes, we have the simple statement that the Father in Heaven,—*Aba Lingo, Ba-lingo, Bali-Penya-long*,—is the supreme Governor of all things, regardless of how He made them, how He called them into existence. He simply dwells in the skies. He has neither wife nor family, and not even the hawk or the crocodile, which are so popular in these regions, can interfere with their direct supplications to Him alone. As such He is above all stars, birds, winds, animals, or human ancestors, and is evidently their Creator, though details are as yet wanting.

A more definite thought is revealed by their neighbors, the Kenyahs. Here *Balingo* is the god of thunder, and *Bali Penyalong* is the Father in Heaven. But he is no longer wifeless, he has a female partner, *Doh Penyalong*, to whom the women pray for guidance. And, more important than all, He has a countless number of *bali*-spirits, who are believed to be present in every tree or animal, to vivify all nature. Among these the *Bali-Flaki*, or Hawk, is of primary importance. It is only "through the spirit of this bird" that the Father above can be approached, though he is still only a "messenger", a mere intermediary between themselves and the chief divinity.

A still more complete version has been preserved by the Kayans, among whom the *Laki Neho* appears under the form of the hawk, but he is a personal demiurge, and is addressed as a man, not as an animal. In the parallel *Amaka*-tradition we find a fairly well-rounded creation-story:—

(1) *Amei-Tingei*, lives in the *Apu Lagan*, or highest heaven of immortals.

(2) He is surrounded by innumerable *To-bruwas*, or Light-spirits.

(3) A spider comes down from heaven on a thread, and begins to spin out the earth, through which stones, shells, and banana-trees gradually appear.

(4) Sun, moon, and stars are looked upon as simply shining and non-creative.

(5) Worms, crabs, and other animals begin to make their appearance, and

(6) Finally the first human pair,—*Adja* and *Djaja* (or *Amei* and *Ine*)—, who, though apparently descended from semi-humans, take their place as real men and women in the *Apu Kayan* or terrestrial Paradise.¹

¹ Hose and McDougall, in J. A. I. (1901), Vol. XXXI. pp. 177-213. for forest tribes. Nieuwenhuis, Centraal Borneo, I. 141-143. Quer durch Borneo, I. 98-99, 129ff. for Kayans, etc. (Leyden, 1904). See also Hose-McDougall, Pagan Tribes, (1912), Vol. II. p. 1-27, 136, 185ff.

CREATION

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(D, 2) CELEBES

In the creation-story just considered we have elements of extreme antiquity, combined with slightly later touches,—the spider-theme,— and this welded on to a more recent animistic belief, in which the *bali* or soul pervades all being, even the lifeless creation. This is only to be expected from the far higher cultural state of the Kayans when compared with the Punans and other jungle-folk of the interior,—an instructive example.

When we pass to the neighboring island of Celebes, we find a very similar stratification of beliefs. It is very probable that the Toradjas, as being geographically and culturally nearest to the Toalas, have preserved the ancient belief in its greatest purity, as witness the simple story of the beginnings of the universe and man.

According to them *Ilai* and *Indara* are father-mother deities, the former of whom lives in heaven, and the latter on earth. They appear to have a divine child, or demiurge, known as *Samoa* among the Poso-people. This being came down from heaven on a high mountain, and “hewed” two beings of the same name out of stone. In order to put life into them, he brought them up to the mountain, caused the wind to blow, and they began to breathe. There is the tradition that when the deity went back to heaven, the wind ceased to blow, and with it man ceased to breathe and had to die,—a plain intimation that life and existence have come in some way from the “breath of heaven” (!).

A similar though less vivid tradition is preserved among the Makassars and Minnehassa tribes. *Adji-Patoto* has a son, *Batara*, who descends from heaven on a bamboo and a rainbow. He converts order out of chaos and fixes the seasons, but instead of creating man, he is himself the ancestor, and the father of numerous children. In like manner *Kalangi*, though distinctly eternal and supramundane, has been too much mixed up with sexual and astral themes to be looked upon as unadulterated, and this is in harmony with the higher material and social civilisation of these peoples.²

(D, 3) THE SOUTHERN MOLUKKAS

In the Ceramese-Amboina group the legends show signs of a similar manipulation, but the archaic traits are still distinguishable. *Amaka*, (or *Apo*), lives in a “place where the wind has its rise”,—evidently heaven,— as He is above all stars, clouds, thunder and lightning. He plants the *Kanari*-tree, from which human beings spring forth, but his creative power is no longer direct. Secondary and solar causes are his chief agencies, there is a growing tendency to see in nature herself a sufficiently powerful cause of her own operations.³

² Kruyt, *Het Animisme*, (Hague, 1906) p. 467ff. Wilken, *Idem*. (Leyden, 1885) p. 232ff.
³ F. Riedel, *op. cit. supra*, (Hague, 1886), pp. 7, 51, 106ff.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(E) NEW GUINEA AND MELANESIA

(1) In the Aru Islands we find the triad of sun, moon, and earth clearly developed. But I have already shown that the Sky-Father is above and beyond the heavenly bodies, that the *Abuda*, or Ancient One, has no immediate connexion with a stellar cult. This will suggest that He is the author of all the visible world, and of the spirit-beings as well, though this is not definitely stated in the few fragments that have come to hand. In any case, the title of *Dyabu*, "Lord", shows that it is not the material sun, but the personal cause of the sun that is worshipped, that He is behind the stellar phenomena.¹

(2) For the Tapiros we have not as yet any definite information. But the data furnished by the neighboring region will help to illustrate this subject with sufficient clearness.

(3) Among the Karesau-Islanders the supreme position of *Wonekau* leaves no room for doubt that He is the direct cause of the world. For—

(1) *Wonekau* lives in the heavens, in a shining palace above the stars.

(2) All other spirits are ancestor-gods, who live in the *marea* or spirit-house, and are differentiated *toto caelo* from the heaven-god.

(3) Earth, plants, and trees have no secret or divine properties.

(4) Of Him alone is it said that "He made the Pleiades and the stars".

(5) Animals are eponymous ancestors, they have no connexion with Him.

(6) Though creation-myths are wanting, the personal invocations to His name reveal the fact that He is the Father of humanity, and this in a supernatural, not in a lower, sexual, or anthropomorphic sense. For it is nowhere stated that He is the ancestor of man, rather the opposite,—He is so far off and exalted in His sphere of operations that no record has ever been kept of His earthly actions,—He is in this respect a "deistic" god. In every other respect, however, He is a living divinity. He is appealed to for help and blessing, and is indeed nearer to man than many of the Sun-fathers of later times, who have an elaborate host of rival divinities.

This is the nearest approach to a pure creation-scheme that I have been able to discover in the Papuan region. It is true that all these peoples are comparatively advanced, but here and there we find isolated patches, as in the present instance, where a more simple culture reflects a more simple view of existence. The interior of New Guinea is still largely unexplored, but the few materials that have been collected should be a stimulus for further research.²

¹ Fr. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 252. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, p. 89ff. ² Items in Schmidt, *l. c.* pp. 117-119, at present our only authority on this region.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

(4) The Mafulus of British New Guinea have not as yet been studied with sufficient thoroughness to reveal any of their ideas on the origin of the world or of man, though a teacher "of immense power" is suggestive.

(5) In the Banks Islands of Melanesia the figure of *Quat-Marawa*, the "Lord-Spider" is a faint reminder of *Amaka* above. "It is certain", says Codrington, "that Quat was believed to have made things in another sense from that in which men could be said to have made them. To the present day a mother chides a sleepy, fractious child, or one crying with hunger, with the words, 'Do you think you are going to die? *Don't you know that Quat made you so?*' If a pig comes indoors to sleep in bad weather, the man who drives it out says to it, 'Quat *made* you to stay outside'. These are not serious sayings, but it was believed he had made some creatures and fixed the natural condition of things in the world". This means that he arranges light and darkness, storms and winds, rains and seasons—, even if he is himself evolved from a stone, and has a female collaborator, *Marawa*, the spider. Moreover he makes men out of clay, and women out of twigs, which reveals some notion of transcendence, though his character is too facetious to be taken seriously. There can be no doubt that we are here in presence of a lunar myth, which can be paralleled in other regions.⁸

(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

(F, 1) *Baiame's* name is associated by Ridley with a verb, *baia*, to "make". But apart from this, his role as Creator is now well established, and the following items may be of some interest:—

(1) *Baiame* is seated in heaven on a throne of transparent crystal, with beautiful pillars of crystal on each side,—the *Ballima*-Paradise.

(2) He has several sons or sky-spirits, and one especially, *Gregorally*, who watches the actions of man, and takes the place of a mediator.

(3) He has also made the earth and the underworld, the latter being a fearful place filled with fire, the so-called *Oorooma* or Purgatory.

(4) This is tenanted by the wicked spirits, who punish the wicked souls, or possibly purge them in preparation for paradise.

(5) He has created the first man, *Moodgegally*,—apparently without demiurge or secondary causes, and it is through him that he has given the first laws to the human race.¹

It is to be noted that throughout the more primitive Australian zone there is hardly a single case in which man leaps out of lower animal forms in nature. He seems to come into existence ready-made, fully equipped by the deity.

⁸ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 154-158. Compare Borneo and the Andaman Islands. ¹ For the name see Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 135, and compare Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 4-5, who translates "Great One", though "Creator" is also admitted. For mythology, see Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 501-502, and Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 121ff. both relying on James Manning, *Notes on the aborigines of New Holland*, (Royal Society of New South Wales, 1882).

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

(F, 2) That *Narrun-dere* has made all things, can no longer be questioned. How and what he has created, is not so clear. He is said to live in the sky, and to have made the rainbow. Definite creation-myths are wanting, but his paternal relation to man is well established.²

(F, 3) *Bundjil* lives in the heavens, and is now identified with a star,—*Altair* or *Fomalhaut*(?). He has a numerous progeny, including one, *Binbeal*, the rainbow. He is the maker of the earth, trees, and men, and the latter were fashioned as follows:—

“*Bundjil* made two men out of clay. This was long, long ago. They breathed in a land of the North-West (sic). *Bundjil* cut off two strips of bark, and placed a lump of clay on each of them, from which he made two black men,—one very black, and the other not quite so black, more like dark-red tiles. The first one was made with frizzly hair, and the second one with smooth or lank hair. When *Bundjil* had formed the bodies, he was pleased at his work, he looked upon the bodies for a long time, and danced around them. Then he took fibres from the Eucalyptus-tree and made hairs out of them, for the first frizzly, for the second smooth hair. His work pleased him again, he admired it, and danced around it once more. He then gave them both a name,—the frizzly-haired one he called *Kookinberook*, the smooth-haired one *Berookboorn*. Then he polished them all over with his hands, laid himself upon them, and breathed his breath into their mouths, noses, and navels. And as he blew very heavily, they moved. Then he danced around them a third time. Then he caused them to talk, and they rose up as ripe men, not as children”. After that *Bundjil* brought them to *Paliyan*, his son or brother,—a possible demiurge—, but the exact relation of these persons is uncertain, and *Binbeal* and *Paliyan* are probably identical.³

This native legend is given at full length, because it clearly brings out:

- (1) The idea of a direct, personal creation, without mediators or helpers.
- (2) The fact that man's body was made out of previous material,—clay, etc.
- (3) The direct inflation of the soul of man, making it the “image” of God.
- (4) The essential goodness of creation, for the divinity is “pleased” at it.

This must be pronounced as one of the most striking accounts that we possess of the origin of the soul and body of man in the entire Oceanic region, even if its crude anthropomorphic setting leaves much to be desired. It is for this reason all the more valuable.

² Howitt, *Native Tribes*, pp. 88-489. Taplin, *The Narrinyeri*, pp. 55-58. ³ These legends have been collected by Brough-Smith, in his “*Aborigines of Victoria*”, Vol. I. p. 423ff. and are also to be found in “*Letters from Victoria Pioneers*” (Melbourne, 1899) (anonymous). Also in Van Gennepe, *Mythes et Legendes* (supra) p. 12-13, 178ff. Comp. Howitt, l. c. pp. 491-492. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, pp. 296-297ff.

EARLY OCEANIC SYSTEM

For the remaining sections of South-East Australia, our materials become increasingly scanty.

(F, 4) Though *Daramulun* once lived upon earth, he is now in heaven, where he reigns and rules mankind. His creative power is attested in one instance and implied in many others,—He “makes things, he can go everywhere and do anything”. The creation-stories speak of the earth as originally bare,—“there were no men and women, but only animals, birds, reptiles. Then he placed trees on the earth” etc. but nothing is said of the direct fashioning of man, though *Daramulun* has taught them all they know, and outlived them all.⁴

(F, 5) Still more meagre is the information we possess of *Mungan ngaua*. His role as Father and Lawgiver is strong, that of Creator only inferential. However, he has a son, *Tundun*, (Adam?), who is evidently the first ancestor. Like *Daramulun*, he was once on earth, but is now in heaven, where he still remains. His quasi-divine qualities and his proximity to *Daramulun* render the conclusion probable that he shares with this being the attributes of Creator, as he does those of Father, Master, Lawgiver, etc., for it will appear increasingly evident that all these “deities” are in reality different denominations for one and the same divinity, and that in cases of extreme parallelism, an attribute of the one may be safely transferred to the other, when direct testimony is not forthcoming.⁵

(F, 6) TASMANIA

Of the Tasmanian cosmology nothing but fragments have survived. If Milligan's reading is correct, *Tiggana-Marra-Boona* stands for “Spirit of great creative power”,—a suspiciously high-sounding phrase. But even as “High-One-Exalted” or “Great One” (as in the case of *Baiame*) his creation of man, if not of the world at large, can be inferred from the sources already given in the preceding pages. Moreover it is a “beneficent being” who has formed the first man, who was with tail but without knee-joints, when another being(?) came down from heaven, and, full of sympathy for the sufferers, cut off their tails and lubricated their knee-joints with fat! Though this has the ring of a belief in animal ancestors, it is to be noted that there are no signs of totemism among these people, a point upon which our author lays particular stress.⁶

This completes the Oceanic cycle of beliefs in their earlier form, and throughout it is sufficiently evident that, although we find here and there a few ugly and ridiculous touches, the great majority have a decent and religious flavor. An evolution out of lower forms in nature is the great exception; man is to all intents and purposes a *unique* being.

⁴ Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 490-495. Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 156. ⁵ Howitt, 1. c. p. 490-499. ⁶ Ling-Roth, *The Aborigines of Tasmania*, p. 53ff. where all the sources are given. Compare Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 216ff. for the lexical analysis, which, however, is not convincing.

CENTRAL AFRICAN SYSTEM

(G) CONGO REGION

To the question, *where* God resides and *how* He has produced the universe of mind and matter, the negrillos of Central Africa give for the most part short and evasive answers. Indeed, anything like a connected cosmogony seems to be entirely unknown among these peoples, which is but one more proof that they have not yet reached the speculative stage of mental development, they have not bothered their heads, so to speak, over questions which are as yet too abstruse and comparatively unimportant to engage their serious attention. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that they have no theory of world origins. From the combined material that we possess for three sections of this area,—eastern, central, and western—, it would seem that the essentials of a creation-story may yet be traced in the fragmentary reports that have been handed in.

(1) In each case the name of the divinity, whether as *Waka*, the Great one, (*wa* intensive, *ka*, man), or as *Indagarra*, He who is strong, (?), or as *Nzambi*, He who creates, (*amba*, to make)—, this implies a position above and beyond the visible world, which is brought into still clearer perspective by His description as a thunder-god, as “coming down from heaven”, and the like. Moreover as the equivalent of *Mu-lungu* of the east, He is a personal being (*mu*), who is in heaven, (*lungu*), a name never applied to lifeless objects.

(2) We have no information of minor spirits, sons and daughters are alike absent, except in the case of *Indagarra*, whose son, *Ryan-gombe*, is apparently a mediator, though he may also be taken as the first ancestor.

(3) In every case this being has made all, or is the Master of all, and “in His sight we are all very small”. He “causes to live and causes to die”.

(4) Except as the Father beyond the clouds, sun, moon, and stars have no relation to Him, they are not even mentioned, or at least quite unimportant.

(5) Still less is there any hint of an animal divinity, *Waka* is not a totem, but on the contrary the author of all,—plants, animals, and man.

(6) While there is no clear-cut paradise-legend, the universal creative activity of this being postulates also the “making” of man, and the fact that judgment is direct and immediate tends to show that the beginnings of things are of a similar nature,—“He commanded, and they existed”. For as the soul returns directly to God, it is to be presumed that it came directly from Him, it is of the same nature, and neither ghost nor *pepo*. This is a point which Mgr. LeRoy justly emphasises.¹

¹ Materials will be found in LeRoy, *Les Pygmées d'Afrique et de l'Inde*, pp. 175-180ff. Idem, *La Religion des Primitifs* (1911) p. 135ff.

CENTRAL AFRICAN SYSTEM

(H) KALAHARI DESERT

The same remarks apply to the Kalahari Bushmen, a southern offshoot of the same equatorial race, though here the invasion of Bantu and Hottentott influence has colored the mythology with many totemic and animistic traits.

As the cause of life and death, and as the giver or refuser of rain, *Kaang* is clearly the "Lord", who "cannot be seen with the eyes, but only with the heart of man"—a spiritual, invisible being. He has "made all things" and is the giver of daily bread; sun, moon, and stars alike acknowledge His sway. But in the so-called *Quing*-legend, obtained by Mr. Orpen from one of the Maluti Bushmen of that name, there is clear evidence that men and animals were believed to be closely inter-related, if not actually descended, the one from the other. The Baboon-dance was thus interpreted by *Quing*:—

"*Kaang* had a son called *Kogaz*, whom he sent into the woods to make bows. While he was doing this, the baboons caught him. They called all the other baboons to hear him, and they asked him who sent him there. He said his father sent him to cut sticks to make bows. So they said, "Your father thinks himself more clever than we are, and he wants those bows to kill us, so we will kill you". So they killed *Kogaz*, and tied him up in the top of a tree, and they danced around the tree, singing an indescribable baboon song, with a chorus, saying, "*Kaang* thinks he is clever". *Kaang* was asleep when *Kogaz* was killed, but when he awoke he told *Koti* to give him his charms, and he puts some on his nose and said the baboons have hung *Kogaz*. So he went to where the baboons were, and when they saw him coming, they changed their song, leaving out the words about *Kaang*. But at the suggestion of a little baboon girl (sic), they went on singing as before. At this slight upon his character, *Kaang* became so irate that he drove a peg through each of the performers, and banished them to the mountains to live on roots, beetles, and scorpions as a punishment. *Before that baboons were men*, but since then they have tails, and their tails hang crooked. Then *Kaang* took *Kogaz* down, gave him a canna, and made him alive again".

This is an instructive story. The human and talking baboons that are without tails reveal a growing confusion of the human with the animal nature, they are falsely believed to be of the same nature. Also, the placing of "charms" on the nose, etc. reveals some contact with magical and animistic notions. Nevertheless the fact that "*Kaang* thinks himself clever" and that he is able to raise *Kogaz* from the dead, this is just as clear a proof that his power is far beyond that of any finite being.²

² Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (1910) p. 117ff. for the legends, etc.

AMAZONIAN SYSTEM

(K) CENTRAL BRAZIL

The Brazilian cosmologies are no longer as simple and clear as most of the preceding. They have been mixed up with a variety of lunar and solar myths, in which gods and ancestors have been so confused, if not identified, that it is difficult at times to ferret out the original notions. I have already given the *Keri-Kame* legend as reported by a very trusted authority. Here I would only recall the main points of this legend in so far as they affect the question at present under discussion.

(1) *Kamushini* is clearly the old heaven-god, as may be inferred, partly from his name, (*kamu*, light, shining), partly from the fact he is said to "belong to a different people", and is thus differentiated from tribal ancestors.

(2) Heaven and earth were originally united, and formed a world of light and splendor. These were not self-created, but were spun out by *Kamushini* after the manner of a spider, as he is himself called "the heavenly Spider".

(3) Heaven and earth were finally separated, and the earth began to assume its present appearance, and to give birth to life. (Transmutation-theme).

(4) Sun, moon, and stars are propelled by two eagles, suggestive of angels.

(5) Animals take their place in the hierarchy of being, but with the exception of the spider, they have no mythical relation to the heaven-god.

(6) The latter "makes men out of arrows, and women out of maize-stampers". *Keri* and *Kames* are the first human twins, who address him as *Papa*, Father, which shows that he has a paternal authority above them, and yet is not a married divinity. It is through a moral failure of some sort on the part this couple or their descendants that heaven and earth were destined to be parted. *Keri* and *Kames* "slide off" to the earth, and heaven disappears upwards, and ever since *Keri* himself has had to make men out of arrows to replace the dying population.

This phantastic story has some elements of real greatness. The description of the chief divinity as "spinning the world out of his mind" is a by no means unhappy method of expressing the silent and mysterious nature of creative action, the spider being the symbol of what is hidden and yet productive. (Comp. Central Borneo and the Andaman Islands). The transformation scene is also suggestive. But throughout there is no very clear proof of the uniqueness of this divinity, his creative powers seem to be shared in part by his own creatures, and perhaps it is best to say that these are faded and fictitious editions of a once powerful original.³

³ Von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Central-Brasiliens, p. 364ff. Comp. Ehrenreich, Südamerikanische Mythologie, p. 39ff.

CREATION

AMAZONIAN SYSTEM

For the remaining portions of this area we have abundant fragments, but rarely a connected world-system. In nearly every case the language used of the supreme figure of the mythology seems too strong to apply to an ordinary "headman"—, he makes man out of clay, straw, or fibre-strings and this directly, without the help of intervening agencies. Such a notion seems to postulate a more than human power of production,—though the transfer of these qualities to some national ancestor tends to diminish if not to destroy its theological value. He whose dependent beings can also create has lost much of his unique position as the Creator of all.

(L) PATAGONIAN REGION,—TIERRA DEL FUEGO

The materials that come to us from the Fuegian archipelago are of the scantiest. This is not to be wondered at when we consider how far from accurate and consistent have been the reports of those who profess to have studied them, how difficult to ferret out the truth from the maze of contradictions. The following items seem, however, to be well substantiated, though they are absurdly small and incoherent in their nature.⁴

THE YAHGANS

All we know of the Yahgan theory of the world is summed up in one statement. They have a persuasion that in former times man and nature were more closely united, men were married to rocks, if they did not actually spring from them, and it seems that there is little or no consciousness of any interfering divinity, good or evil, that helped to bring things to their present perfection. Though the idea is by no means absent, nothing is said of the origin of *Oumoara*, the first man, and so we can only conclude that either this picture is incomplete, or the Yahgans have no distinct ideas on the matter.

THE ONAS

Hardly more satisfactory are the few points of Ona belief. Here also and perhaps to a greater degree, nature is apparently animated, sun and moon are husband and wife, and *Pimaukel* is the first man, who made all things (sic). The primaeval race was of white complexion and bearded, but owing to their increasing crimes of violence, sun and moon left the earth, and a giant came down from heaven in the shape of a red star and killed them all. This same being then made two mountains or clods of clay, out of which he formed the first Ona man and the first Ona woman, evidently a new creation. These ideas of a big man who "makes things" show at least that their origin is attributed to a personal power.

⁴ Rev. J. M. Cooper, in B. A. E. Bulletin 63, (Washington, 1917), p. 162-163.

PRIMITIVE WORLD SYMBOLS

Before passing on to the higher systems, it will be interesting to note how these primitive peoples express their ideas of creation *graphically*, that is, by more or less appropriate symbols, which are meant to convey some notion, however rudimentary, of the world-process. Among these the so-called "Charm-Patterns" of Malakka are the most important and furnish the long-sought key for the interpretation of the primitive hieroglyphs. It will be found that the Cross, the Zigzag, and the Lozenge, represent the three fundamental forms under which creative action is believed to have taken place, though other linear combinations are by no means wanting, and these may be found over nearly every section of the equatorial belt.¹

- (1) The Cross  for the "Father-God" (*Ab*).

This symbol is certified for Malakka, Andaman Islands, Ceylon, Philippines, Borneo, New Guinea, Melanesia, Australia, Central Africa, and South America. Though varying in form and even in meaning, it is the most universal of all cryptograms, and there can be no question that it stands primarily for "Great Headman", "Man above the Skies", "Creator", "Divine One", though in ordinary use it is simply the designation for man or woman indiscriminately. That the rays are more than mere sex-symbols is suggested by the fact that similar rays are found over divine persons of male or of neutral sex, though the divine "glory" is often expressed by the following ideogram:

- (2) The Zigzag  for "Wind-Spirit" (*An*).

Almost equally universal is the zigzag or chevron, certified as the productive Wind-Spirit for Malakka and Central Indonesia, and identified with the Creator's "Breath". As "lightning" it is the vindictive, as "water" the purgative, as "serpent" the destructive power of the universe.

- (3) The Lozenge  for "Thunder-Fruit" (*As*).

The lozenge as the Jungle-fruit or the magic Flower is the symbol of the divine fecundity, of the power of giving life to the inanimate creation. Though demonstrable as a hieroglyph only for the East Indies, it is found with similar meanings in Australia, Central Africa, and South America.

OTHER LINEOGRAMS

- (a) The Line and Dot:  for "distance".
 (b) The Square and Triangle:  for "enclosure".
 (c) The Circle is very rare, the spiral unknown. The preponderance of rectilinear designs is a striking feature in this region.

¹ See Skeat, 1. c. I. 450-472ff. Man, 1. c. 150. Seligman, 318ff. Reed, 49, and Pl. XXXVI. Ling-Roth (Borneo) II. 59, 185. Nienwenhuis (Centraal Borneo) I. Pl. X. XVII. Williamson (Mafulu), 209, and Pl. 36-42. Codrington (Melanesia), 329. Howitt (S. E. Australia) 499, 553, 628, 708. LeRoy (Prim. Africa), 169ff. Von den Steinen (Brazil). Comp. Th. Danzel, Die Anfänge der Schrift, (Leipzig, 1912), Pl. I-XI.

PRIMITIVE WORLD SYMBOLS

THE MYSTIC FLOWER-PATTERNS

As an archaeological curiosity, but one of some psychological interest, the so-called flower-patterns, discovered by Vaughan-Stevens, and verified by Skeat, should be mentioned in this place, as they promise to furnish an additional solution to the problem of Indonesian hieroglyphics as represented by certain "magic lines" appearing in regular order on the bamboo cylinders. On this system the different panels of the cylinder represent either different flowers or different portions of the same flower, according to the exact meaning that is assigned to the obscure terms by which they are described. Thus—

1st. Panel,— <i>Was</i>		the "smell" of the plant (?)
2nd. Panel,— <i>Pawer</i>		the pistil and stamens.
3rd. Panel,— <i>Salag</i>		the upper crown.
4th. Panel,— <i>Padi</i>		the lower crown.
5th. Panel,— <i>Tin-Weh</i>		the petals or "blossom".
6th. Panel,— <i>Ning</i>		the upper chalice.
7th. Panel,— <i>Bie</i>		the middle chalice.
8th. Panel,— <i>Mos</i>		the lower chalice.

As some of these terms do unquestionably stand for the portions or qualities of a flower, this interpretation is not as far-fetched as might at first sight appear, though the remark of the editors that they reveal the "extraordinary intellectual force of the primitive human race" is hardly justified. The discovery of the pistils and petals of a plant cannot be called an "advanced botany", though their graphic representation by the above crude lines is certainly interesting. It also shows that the above ideograms can be taken in a more concrete, visibly-descriptive sense.²

THE SYMBOLIC NATURE OF PRIMITIVE ART

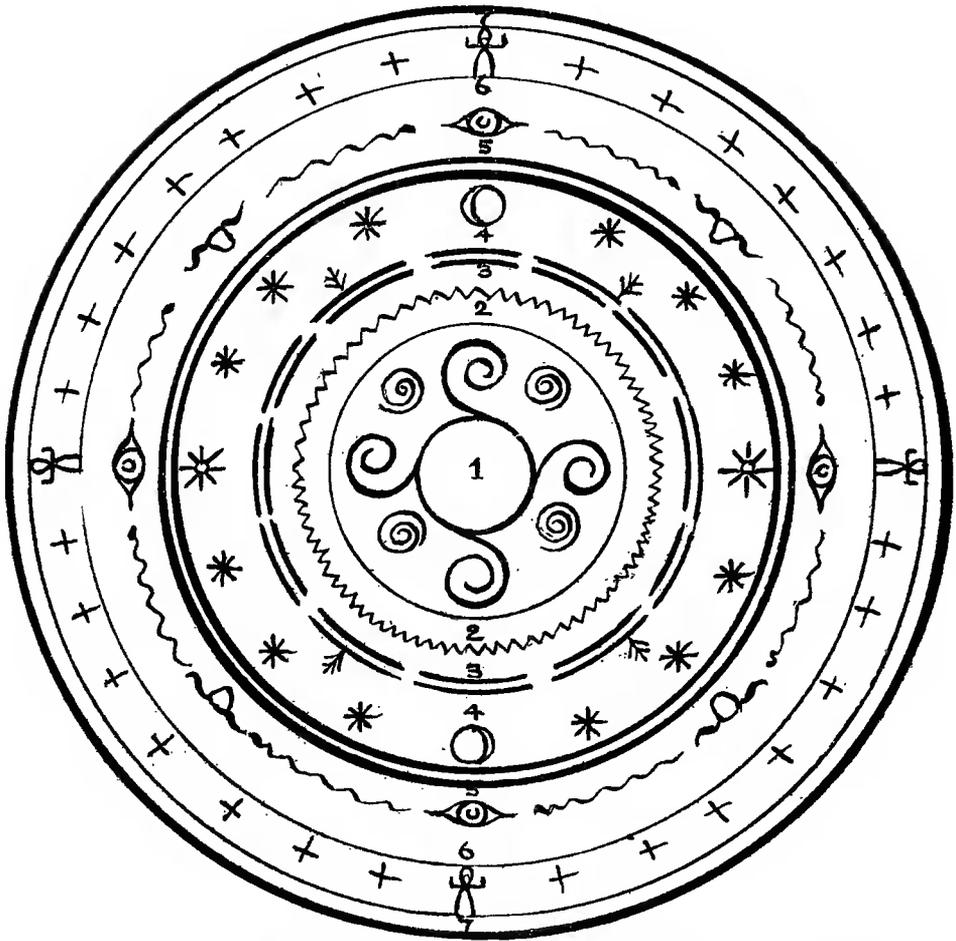
As many will feel an instinctive difficulty in accepting these lines as in any sense "imitative" rather than ornamental, I would like to call attention to the essentially symbolic nature of primitive art. The principle of *pars pro toto* is "one of the most important features of the art-work of these tribes", as they "represent an object by means of its chief parts or some closely associated idea" (*e. g.* a bat by a wave-line, a stag by a triangle, etc). Though capable of depicting entire objects, "they employ in the vast majority of cases patterns which are *purely geometrical*". This and the absence of sexual or phallic symbols is a very general characteristic.³

² Diagrams reconstructed from Skeat, I. 397-401, 426-436, and Martin, *Inlandstämme*, p. 831. ³ Skeat, I. 401-403, and compare the above authors *passim*.

A DEVELOPED PLANISPHERE

SHOWING THE SEVEN GREAT WAKANDAS
AS ISSUING FROM THE ALL-FATHER-SUN

(SOLAR ORIENTATION)



- (1) SUN-WAKANDA,—GREAT MYSTERY, MAGIC SNAKE, WORLD-EMBRYO.
- (2) THUNDER-BEING,—WIND AND WATER BURUS, INKARAS, MULUNGUS.
- (3) UPPER WORLD,—RISING LAND, MAGIC TREE, EARTH-INITIATE.
- (4) SKY-WAKANDA,—INCLUDING SUN, MOON, AND MORNING-STAR.
- (5) GROUND-WAKANDA,—HORNED SNAKE, BUFFALO, MYSTIC EYE.
- (6) WISEST MAN,—ISSUING FROM WORLD-EGG, SERPENT, OR BUFFALO.
- (7) DARKNESS,—UNDERWORLD, SPIRIT OF DEATH, RESTING PLACE.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

(M, 1) THE KOLARIAN ABORIGINES OF CENTRAL INDIA

If the Mundari peoples be looked upon as the earliest representatives of the totem-culture in its primary, unadvanced form, we must be prepared to find the creation-legends in a comparatively pure state, unaffected as yet by the growing tendency to bring the Creator more and more into touch with the material world, to make Him in fact part and parcel of the world. Such is found to be the case in the present instance. Here we have a being who is seemingly distinct from nature, though his cosmic character as the Sun-god is the first indication of impersonal concepts, of the growing practice of nature-worship. The following are the main points of this system in so far as they help to interpret the subject:—

(1) In the beginning of time the face of the earth was covered with water, and *Sin-Bonga*, the Sun-god, brooded over the waters. This is the hatching-idea which was destined to play such a prominent part in later ages.

(2) The first beings that were formed were a tortoise, a crab, and a leech, which were apparently evolved from the bosom of the deep.

(3) *Sin-Bonga* commanded these first-born of all animals to bring him a lump of clay from the depths of the ocean. The leech succeeded in fishing out this lump, and from this clay *Sin-Bonga* made this beautiful earth of ours.

(4) At his bidding the earth brought forth trees and plants, herbs and creepers of manifold varieties,—the vegetable creation.

(5) He next filled the earth with birds and beasts of all sizes, living things possessing the power of locomotion,—the animal creation.

(6) “And now happened the most memorable incident of all. The bird *Hur*, the swan, laid an egg. And out of this egg came forth a boy and a girl, the first human beings. These were the progenitors of the *Horo Hōnko*, or ‘sons of men’, as the Mundas style themselves. The legend goes on to relate how the first human pair were innocent of the relation of the sexes, but after obtaining from *Sin-Bonga* the secrets of manufacturing *Ili*, or rice-beer, they drank of the stimulating beverage and lost their innocence. Their names are *Tota Haram* and *Tota Buri*, the ‘naked male and female ancestors’ ”.¹

This is one of the oldest accounts we have of the creation of the world and man among the Kolarian races. It has nothing to do with the “Assur”-legends of *Lutkum Haram* and *Lutkum Buria*, which are considerably later and partly borrowed, relating the origin of the minor “deities”, here absent.²

¹ S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their country*, (Calcutta, 1912), p. V-VI, (Appendix), the first authentic account of this story. ² Roy, l. c. p. XIff. for the *Lutkum Haram* legend.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

This can be proved from the fact that the Assurs are "iron-smelters" who do their work in large brick-constructed "furnaces", which connects them at once with the metal ages. But as to the preceding legend, it is comparatively free from later touches, and reveals no traces even of Hindoo influences, the absence of *Vishnu* and the celebrated triads being remarkable. On the other hand, creative action is here no longer as direct or as vivid as in the preceding ages. For—

(1) The Sun-god is a married divinity, "engaged in happy converse with his heavenly consort", and therefore not the unique Lord of former times.

(2) There is no clear statement that He made the waters or anything else without some qualification. They are assumed as already in existence, the strongest expressions being "He commanded" or "At his bidding", and then only of formations, not of creations in the strict sense.

(3) It seems strange that the creation, or at least the stationing, of sun, moon and stars, should have been omitted, as they are such conspicuous objects. This suggests that they are looked upon as eternal or co-ordinate with the supreme divinity, and his very name as the "Sun-Spirit" seems to indicate that he is himself the sun, that the sun is the source of all being.

(4) The expressions, "brooding over the waters", evolving things "out of eggs" however metaphorical they may be taken to be, can hardly be passed over without revealing a strong analogy with the supposed "hatching-power" of the sun, and as he is himself the sun-god, the induction is not too remote, that he acts by solar power, that creation is largely immanent and evolutional.

THE BURU-BONGA AS A GERM-GOD

This is further illustrated by the fact that the term *buru* as a designation for the "mountain-spirit" has obtained a vague meaning analogous to "mystery" or "medicine" of the North-American Indian. It is applied to all the lesser divinities, here distinctly "totems", not full-fledged personalities, from which all the Mundas are descended, and into which they return at the hour of death. Of these there are no less than 339, among which *Sin-Bonga* is the greatest or the *Marang Buru*, while the *manita bongas* are good, and the *banita bongas* are bad *burus*, others again being neutral, like the "red earth",—merely elemental beings. This idea of metamorphosis is in fact the key to the whole system. Every unit in nature possesses the power of developing into a higher unit, and apart from the question of a personal Creator, already fully discussed above, it seems quite certain that the idea of a germinal development of being is here for the first time insinuated.³

³ Roy, op. cit. p. 468-671. Frazer, Totemism and Exogamy, Vol. II. p. 284-318.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

(M, 2) THE BANTUS OF EASTERN AFRICA

But if these were the only materials for establishing the proposition their convincing power might be regarded as weak, the facts not sufficiently numerous. When, however, we find a group of notions in a distant area which is closely parallel to them and accompanied by a very similar complexity of culture, we begin to feel that there may be some solid reasons for connecting these ideas with a definite stage of material development. Now among the Bantus of East Central Africa we have already seen that the position of *Mulungu* is to some extent analogous to that of the *Marang Buru* of India. In both cases we have an old-time heaven-god, who has been drawn into the sphere of nature with a greater or less degree of consistency, and the only point which now remains to consider is the extent to which this change has influenced the idea of creation. It will be instructive to note that here also the term for "divinity" may be taken in a double sense, one for the Father in Heaven, another for the mysterious forces of nature.¹ For—

(1) *Mulungu*, with a capital M, is etymologically the "Heavenly One", not only in Bantu, but, as we have seen, also in the Oceanic tongues. (Compare *Mu-untu*, *Ba-lingo*, *Ka-langi*, of Central Borneo and Celebes). As such He is a supreme Father, the particle *mu* being originally used only of personal action or subsistence,—“He who is in Heaven”. At the same time, *Mulungu*, (or *mu-longo*), is also the name for anything sacred or mysterious, and is applied in fact to nearly everything under the sun, including the latter.

(2) This being is said to have made all things, but in no single case is there a definite statement as to exactly what he has created, or how. We are left with the vague remark that He is the Ancient of days,—*Unkulunkulu*—, that “He makes the rain to fall, and the corn to grow”.

(3) The idea of a vegetation-deity is strongly suggested by the numerous taboos on food, especially on certain wild-fruits, which they may not eat for fear of consuming an ancestor. These also are *mu-longo*.

(4) Nothing is said of any creation of sun, moon, and stars. It is assumed that they already exist, and through large sections of the Bantu domain it has been shown that the sun is de facto the center of the cult, that the highest *mulongo* is invariably identified with the solar orb. This tends to show that *Mulungu* and the sun are identical terms.

¹ For *Mulungu*, the Heaven-God, see LeRoy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, p. 184ff. For *mulungu*, the totem, consult Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*. Vol. II. p. 402, and Rev. H. Cole, Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa, in *J. A. I.* Vol. XXXII. (1902), p. 317.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

(5) The close relation between sun, serpent, and hyaena, shows that *mulungu* may also reveal himself as an animal, and in some cases it has been proved that an animal cult is alone in evidence.

(6) The absence, or extreme rarity, of any account of the creation of man is a point that requires some explanation. In the few instances in which such a "making" is hinted at, man is invariably connected with the lower creation, he is the offspring of snakes, serpents, or hyaenas, into whose bodies he migrates at the hour of death. This a point of fundamental importance. For just as the soul of man as a rational supposit is not recognised as in any sense unique, as it may dwell in human, animal, or even astral body indiscriminately, the inference is irresistible that the great "Soul" of the universe is very much of the same nature, that *Mulungu* in the sense of totem is hardly more than a formative principle, an elemental deity. This of course does not destroy His original role as Creator, but it brings into bold relief the growing consciousness of secret forces in nature, that are not directly dependent on the influx of a higher power.

THE MULUNGU AS AN EVOLVING-FORCE

From what can be inferred from the combined material that has so far come into our possession, it must surely be admitted that the concept of *mulungu* is not so simple a one that it can be applied to any very definite being,—whether personal or impersonal—, to the exclusion of every other. Whatever may be thought of its linguistic application to the whole of the East-African area in the sense of taboo, there can be no doubt that sufficient examples may be collected to show that animal, vegetable, and even mineral forms are not regarded as fixed and stable, but that they have the power of *self-transformation* in the sense that the lower can become the higher, and the higher return into the lower by an immanent power which is frankly recognised as incomprehensible. That this is no mere metaphor is proved by the extraordinary practice of giving the bodies of the dead to the hyaenas to eat "in the hope that their spirits may share the occult powers of the animal, that they may communicate with their ancestors".² The Nandi imagine that hyaenas hold communication with the spirits of the dead and can talk like human beings. To imitate the cry of the hyaena involves banishment from the tribe, sometimes refusal of marriage, for it is the mouth-piece of the cherished ancestor. The same ideas are held in many parts of the serpent, the sun, and other *mulungus*. This can hardly be explained except on the basis of a transmigration of species.

² A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, (Oxford, 1908), p. 70ff. Frazer, 1. c. II. 442.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

(M, 3) THE ARUNTA TRIBES OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

The logical conclusion of these notions is reached in the Australian cosmogony, where we find a completely closed world-system in which the different links of an endless chain of causes may for the most part be recognised. These links are somewhat as follows:—

(1) *Altjira* is the "Ancient One", the quondam Heavenly Father, a big strong man of ruddy complexion and with long flaxen hair, representing the sun's rays. He is a married divinity whose emu feet and red hair connect him directly with the sun-totem. But though he sits in the high heavens, he no longer creates or governs the world, he has no relation to man, he is a mere mummy.

(2) All things are eternal, they were never made, they had no beginning. This is distinctly stated in so many words, it is not a mere inference. Instead of creation we have the famous *Alcheringa* or "Dream-Time", during which all things were gradually evolved from shapeless masses called *inapertwas* or *inter-interas*, and were subsequently brought to their present state of perfection by a series of lizard-gods described as *amunga-quinia-quinia*. These beings are known as *altjira-inkaras*, the "immortal" ones, and with these the Wind and Water-totems are directly connected.

(3) The same germinal power gives birth to the grass seed, the witchetty grub, the Hakea-plant, and other forms of vegetable and animal life, the yam-totem being particularly conspicuous, as one of the staple foods.

(4) In no case are the heavenly bodies looked upon as a later ornament, except possibly as the fire-totem, by which it is believed that the sun's power can be increased or diminished at pleasure. The sun is in fact identified with *Altjira* himself, and is the first and greatest *inkara*.

(5) A still higher development is reached by the frog, the lizard, the wallaby, and finally by the Emu-totem, the national bird of Australia. As to man himself, so far from being created or even formed by the supreme divinity, he springs out of the higher *inapertwas* of half animal half human shape, and is fashioned by the above lizard-gods in a manner that leaves no room for doubt that insignificant creatures of this class are believed to be endowed with powers that are otherwise assigned to a supreme Creator. Even if the lizard be looked upon as a demiurge, of which there is not a sign, he surely cuts a sorrowful figure in this "scheme of ascent".³

³ The entire sequence of thoughts may be found in Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 143-176, 176-319, though it is difficult to speak of a "sequence" in this matter.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

Such in short are the world-beliefs of the Aruntas. Taken as it stands, it cannot be said that such an idea of germinal development of being is *per se* incompatible with a creating first cause, a Maker of all. On the contrary, it reveals a wider grasp of the creative process, of a Being who by a single stroke of his omnipotence has endowed the first created germ with such a marvellous power of self-propagation and so on as to contain within itself the potentiality of giving birth to the whole universe of life and action. I say, it is not impossible, that is, not at all unthinkable,—but whether such a process has ever actually taken place, this is another question upon which I am not at present prepared to enter. Yet the manner in which this belief reveals itself among these peoples is inconsistent with any clear consciousness of an ever-acting Creator as the remote or proximate cause of the phenomena. Such a creation is not only explicitly denied by the reports, but the universe is described as actually coeternal, and, as we have seen, partly identical with Him. Moreover there is strictly speaking no sequence of things, no beginning or end to creation, no definite divisions of nature according to species. Every grade of being is a potential *inkara*, an immortal one, the highest being concealed in lowest, and *vice versa*. Even *Altjira* is brought into this connexion as the sun-spirit, then again as the Emu-totem.

This is pantheistic evolutionism,

in which creation in any proper sense can no longer be spoken of. Each unit of being is self-created, and has the potency of becoming anything in heaven and earth by its own intrinsic essence,—it is a “high potential”. This point deserves to be emphasised. There is no hint at polytheism in the above beliefs. The totems are neither personalities, nor “spirits”, nor “gods” in anything but a poetical or metaphorical sense. The totems are neither worshipped, nor invoked, nor prayed to. They are simply looked upon as magic centers of action, affording power and protection. Thus

the totems are protecting “mysteries”,

capable of developing into anything, but controllable for the most part by secondary and occult agencies. Wind, rain, and carpet-snakes, all are manufactured or multiplied by certain magical practices known as the *intichiuma* ceremonies, in which any recognition or invocation of a supreme Being is very generally absent. Even under the most favorable interpretation, totem is multiplied by totem, and by nothing higher, while *Altjira* sits in his chair and has fallen asleep.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

(M, 4) THE PRAIRIE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

In the North American region we meet with the same fundamental notions, but in still more elaborate form. Among the great Siouan family, which includes the Dakotas, Omahas, Ponkas, Kansas, Missouriis, and other tribes, there is such a striking similarity of beliefs on this subject that they may be said to form par excellence the totemic province of North America. Here also nature is divided into certain great "kingdoms", though there is the same vagueness as to the order and succession of phenomena.

THE SEVEN GREAT WAKANDAS

The seven principles of nature are commonly enumerated as Darkness, Upper World, Ground, Thunder-Being, Sun, Moon, and Morning Star. These are evidently given in reverse and partly confused order, as there can be no doubt that "the principal Wakanda is in the upper world and above everything." They are also incomplete, as they ignore the vegetable and animal creation which is at least equally important. Supplemented by these, however, they will reveal the following picture:—⁴

(1) The Sun-Wakanda: It has already been pointed out that the sun as the greatest Wakanda is the center and source of all life and the radiating point of the ritual. He is symbolised by the central pole in the tribal sun-dance, and is invoked in a manner that is almost personal, though I have already given the reasons why this statement must be largely modified. In any case, it is from this being that all things are ultimately derived, no other wakan having the same prominent position.

(2) The Moon by contrast is seldom invoked. He is dreaded and feared rather than worshipped, and is believed to be the cause of erratic notions, of hermaphroditism, and the like. It is interesting to see by what natural feelings the moon is associated with "lunacy" even at this early period of human history. Its midnight glitter over the waters produces a specially uncanny effect, and has become a mystic emblem of the later ghost-dance.

(3) The Morning Star is the symbol of hope; he is addressed in sympathetic language, and is believed to secure favors as with the other heavenly bodies. But throughout the stellar and lunar cult is comparatively undeveloped, and this marks it off from the strongly astronomical setting of the later cosmologies, in which the position of the stars and planets exert a direct and even a productive influence on the world of nature and man.

⁴ Materials in J. O. Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults*, 11th. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, 1894), pp. 371-403ff.

LATER TOTEMIC SYSTEM

(4) The Thunder-Being is another *wakan*, who, with the Wind and Rain, is the guardian-spirit of the sun- and thunder-men. These by throwing water into the skies, etc., are believed to control the climate, and even the seasons.

(5) By the "Upper World" is to be understood all the heavenly hierarchy united; it is a generic expression for everything exalted, everything divine.

(6) The "Ground" is another comprehensive term for all things that grow or live on the earth,—plants, animals, and man. Of these the ash, the cedar, the corn, and the buffalo are the most important, and are looked upon as possessing a secret power far beyond that of any other beings.

(7) Finally there is the Darkness, synonymous with the spirit of danger, the spirit of evil, the spirit opposed to the Great Wakanda, etc.

THE WAKANDA AS AN "AFFINITY"

Here we have a well-ordered arrangement or natural grouping of things, which seem at first sight well thought out, eminently suggestive. But apart from the grave question as to whether the Sun-Wakanda is in any full sense a personal Creator, for which there are arguments on both sides, it is no less evident that this being produces the world by a secret immanent process, in which he is in turn identified with nearly every object in nature, the sun, the sacred corn and the buffalo forming as it were the climax. With these same beings man has an essential, vital relation,—they are his "affinities". In the creation-story, men were originally "buffalos, who dwelt under the surface of the water. When they came to the surface, they jumped about in the water, making it muddy. Having reached the land, they snuffed at the four winds and prayed to them (sic). The north and west winds were good, the south and east winds were bad" etc. At death the departing souls are told that they are "going to the animals, the buffalos, they are going to rejoin their ancestors", which is sufficiently strong proof that there is no essential difference between man and beast.⁵ In other words each *wakan* has the power of spontaneously generating a higher *wakan*, and is symbolised by the dotted circle, the spiral or the "whorl" as the most appropriate expression of evolutionary force. The same symbols are found in India, Africa and Australia, and very probably with the same meanings.⁶

THE "SUN-SERPENT"

binds in fact four continents in the common inheritance of a great mystery-force, in which the totems are protecting "medicines", and *Wakanda* is the "Great Medicine", willing to save and to heal his people.

⁵ Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 3d. Rep. B. A. E. p. 229. ⁶ Dorsey, *Siouan Cults* (supra) p. 394ff. showing tent-designs. Comp. E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, (Madras, 1904), p. 290ff. and Pl. XXIII. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 182ff.

TOTEMIC WORLD-SYMBOLS

As against the simple straight-line patterns of earlier days, the cosmic forces are now represented by complicated curves and spirals, which are meant to portray the germinal or evolving power of the universe. Though many of these signs have in the course of time become purely conventional or ornamental, there is evidence to show that they were originally descriptive symbols, among which the circle, the spiral and the epicycle are fairly universal and stand for three different aspects of evolution, while the eye-pattern becomes the natural expression for higher animal life, and then for the soul of man.

(1) The Circle



for the "World-Embryo" (*Buru*).

This symbol enjoys a very wide distribution and is generally identified with the sun throughout totemic India, Africa, Central Australia, and North America. It very often appears with the central dot, which in combination with the peripheral rays makes its solar symbolism unmistakable. As the "Sun-Ancestor" it is the common expression for the chief divinity, as the "World-Egg" it is suggestive enough of the hatching-process of nature, and is de facto identified with the Emu-egg in Australia, which we know to be identical with the Sun-totem. This is its primary meaning.

(2) The Spiral



for the "Sun-Serpent" (*Muru-Muru*).

Certified for the above area in the sense of simple evolution, "vortex". As the coil of the serpent this theme will speak for itself.

(3) The Epicycle



for the "Great Whorl" (*Wuhunku*).

The action by which the sun-serpent projects the universe of matter, synonymous with "compound evolution", the dynamic differentiation of things. In a derived sense it may stand for the intestines of an animal(!)

(4) The Mystic Eye



for the "Sacred Buffalo" (*Warangu*).

This is a reasonable induction for those countries in which the buffalo is the staple animal of the hunt,—India, Africa, North-America. In Australia it is replaced by the Emu. The eye is believed to have wonderful mystical properties and to reflect in some sense the essence of the soul.

DEVELOPED CYCLOGRAMS

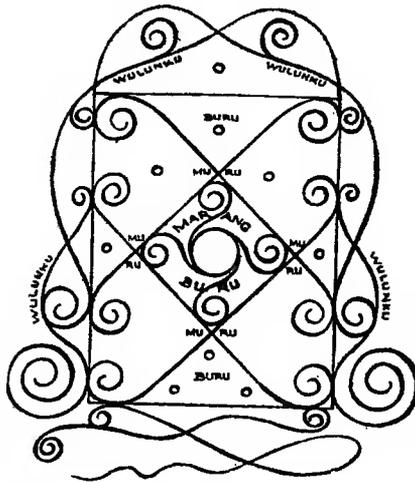
Of these the double serpent  is the most distinctive, and is supposed to represent the multiplication of totems by sun-magic. As a development of the circle pattern, this idea is easily suggested.

¹ Materials in E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, (Madras, 1906), Pl. XVI, XXIII, XXXVII. LeRoy, *Les Primitifs*, p. 126ff. Spencer and Gillen *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 177, 696ff. Dorsey, *Siouan Cults*, (A. B. E. 11th Report. Washington, 1894), p. 403ff. Danzel, *Die Anfänge*, Pl. XII-XIII.

TOTEMIC WORLD-SYMBOLS

THE EVOLUTION OF THE SUN-SERPENT

It must be understood that the above symbols are interpreted in their *primary* sense only, a meaning which can generally be inferred from the study of the mythology and the context in which they are implied, whereby some connexion between symbol and idea may be established with a fair degree of probability, sometimes with certainty. As an example in which the primary symbolism is still retained, we may take the following drawing in rice-flour which is meant to represent the world-serpent as issuing from the sun and giving birth to the entire universe of being. It is used in the Malabar ceremony of the snake-totem, (Southern India):—²



This diagram furnishes at least a proximate clue to the original meaning of the sand and rock-drawings as they are found on the five great continents, and which are often difficult to interpret with any hope of success. For though we have abundant evidence for the "Emu-Sun" and other Sky-Wakandas as associated with similar spiral lines, this connexion is not always maintained in practice, and it is certain that in some cases they have undergone an entire change of meaning. This makes the above example all the more valuable, and is further supplemented by the palaeontological evidence, which has revealed a similar combination of twisted lines in the Aurignacian, Magdalenian, and Azylian caverns.³

SYMBOLISM AND NATURALISM

It will be seen that the dominant note of the art-work of this period is symbolic and cyclographic, there is whirl and motion in things. Side by side, however, we note the commencement of the fine arts in the proper sense, the portrayal of complete subjects as they appear in nature, with a studied desire to imitate their colors. Here again the painted bisons, emus, and ostriches, recall the similar themes of late-glacial man.⁴

² Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, Pl. XVI, p. 290. *Comp.* Pl. XXIII. (*ibid*) for the connexion between sun and serpent. ³ See Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, p. 188, 218, 235. Dechelette, *Manuel d'Archeologie*, p. 230. ⁴ Obermaier, *l. c.* p. 236ff.

THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION

"THE CHAOS"

SPECIMEN OF TABLET I. WITH RESTORED AND CORRECTED READINGS
 ACCORDING TO THE TEXTS OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM, VOL. XIII. PL. I
 (+45528+46614).

1	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>E-NU-MA E-LIŠ LA NA-BU-U ŠA-MA-MU</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>ŠAP-LIŠ AM-MA-TUM ŠU-MA LA ZAK-RAT</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>APSU-MA RIŠ-TU-U ZA-RE-ŠU-UN</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>MU-UM-MU TI-ANAT MU-AL-LI-DA-AT GIM-RI-ŠU-UN</p>
5	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>ME-ŠU-NU IŠ-TE-NIŠ I-ŠI-KE-U-MA</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>GI-PA-RA LA KI-IS-SU-RA ŠU-ŠA LA ŠE-</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>E-NU-MA ILANI LA ŠU-PU-U MA-NA-MA</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>ŠU-MA LA ZUK-KE-RE ŠI-MA-RE LA [ŠI-MA]</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>IB-BA-NU-U-MA ILANI KI-RIŠ [ŠA-MA-MU]</p>
10	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>(ILU) LAŠ-MU (ILU) LA-ĦA-MU UŠ-TA-PU-U</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>A-DI IR-BU-U</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>AN-ŠAR (ILU) KI-ŠAR IB-BA-NU-MA E-LI-ŠU-NU</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>UR-RI-KE ŪME U-UŠ-ŠI</p>
	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>(ILU) A-NU A-PIL-ŠU-NU NU-</p>
15	<p>𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶 𐎶𐎵𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎠𐎶</p> <p>AN-ŠAR (ILU) A-NUM-----</p>

COMPARE L. W. KING, THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION, (LONDON, 1902),
 VOL. I. II. IFF. DELITZSCH, DAS BABYLONISCHE WELTSCHOPFUNGSEPOS,
 P. 92FF. JENSEN, KB. VI. I. WINKLER, KT. 102. DHORME, CHOIX DE
 TEXTES (PARIS, 1907), P. 4-89.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

With the beginning of the new stone age we enter a somewhat different cycle of thought. The old totems,—sun, moon, air, water, earth, and so on—, are no longer mere mysteries. They have become the symbolic expression of personal spirit-forces, each operating in complete independence, yet controllable to a greater or less degree by a supreme Spirit, from whom they derive their *mana*,—the power of influencing all objects by their secret spiritual force. This transition to a complete hierarchy of “gods” was not the work of a day. It was rather a slow process of development, showing the marks of a closer relation to nature in former times, of a generation of gods out of natural forces, of a theogony. We must not be surprised, therefore, to find this notion somewhat strongly developed in the earliest period, to be gradually purified with the rise of the priesthood.

(N, 1) EARLY BABYLONIAN FORM

The Seven Tablets of Creation, though dating in their present appearance from the Hammurabic age,—about 2000 B. C.—contain elements of undoubtedly Sumerian antiquity, and their close parallelism with the Egyptian system shows that the main body of this tradition may be safely assigned to the third or fourth millennium before Christ. As is well known, they are mostly fragments, which have been pieced together with much patient labor.¹

- I. 1. *“When above the heavens were not yet named,
And the earth beneath yet bare no name,
When Apsu, the deep, the first that brought them forth,
And Mummu, the Chaos, Tiamat, the Depth, the mother of them all,*

5. *Had mingled their waters in one stream,—
And no field had yet been formed, no marsh was to be seen,
When of the gods not one had been produced,
No name had yet been named, no destiny been fixed,—
Then were evolved the gods in heaven’s midst.*

10. *Lachmu and Lachamu were the first to rise,
Long ages passed,
Anšar and Kišar were created
Long were the days, . . . (then there came forth)
. . . Anu, (their son)*

15. *And Anšar ,*

¹For the Text see L. W. King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, (London, 1902), in *Luzacs Semitic Text and Translation-Series*, Vols. XII, XIII. Compare also Jensen’s translation in *Keilinschr. Bibliothek*. VI, 1, 2, and Delitzsch, *Das Babylonische Welterschöpfungsepos*, p. 92. This is the famous *Enuma Elish*, so called from the opening lines, “When above”, etc.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

EARLY BABYLONIAN FORM

The second, third, and fourth tablets are occupied chiefly with the exploits of the Semitic-Babylonian national divinity, *Bel-Marduk*, and are probably of later composition. They describe how the gods took counsel together, and appointed *Marduk* as their champion against the alarming power of *Tiamat*, the chaotic deep, here represented as a huge serpent:—

- IV. 137. *“And he cleft her in twain, like a flat fish, in two parts.
The one half of her he set up, and made a covering for the
heaven”,—etc.*
143. *“Then Bel measured the structure of the Deep, (the ocean),
A great house, a copy of it, E-šarra, he founded,
The great house E-šarra, he built as the heaven,
He made Anu, Bel, and Ea to inhabit as their city”.*

The fifth tablet describes the formation or stationing of the sun, moon and stars, and the appointment of years and months, thus—

- V. 1. *“He made the stations for the great gods,
As stars resembling them, he fixed the signs of the zodiac.²
He ordained the year, defined divisions,
Twelve months, with stars, three each, he appointed.³*
5. *After he had (fixed?) the days of the year
He fixed the station of Nibir, (Jupiter) ⁴
That none of the days might err, none make a mistake, etc.*
12. *He caused Sin, the moon-god, to shine forth, gave him the night,
Appointed him as a night-body, to determine the days”.*

The sixth tablet, (restored by King), describes the creation of man:—

- VI. 1. *“When Marduk heard the voice of the gods,
His heart prompted him, and he devised (a cunning plan).
He opened his mouth, and unto Ea (he spoke),
That which he conceived in his heart, he imparted to him:—*
5. *‘My blood will I take, and bone will I (fashion),
I will make man, that man may
I will create man, who shall inhabit (the earth),
That the service of the gods be established, and that their shrines
(may be built)’.*

The seventh tablet is a hymn of praise to *Marduk*, “the Bestower of all”.

² *Kakkabani lumasi* generally taken as zodiacal constellations, “protecting stars”. ³ A clear reference to the zodiac with the 36 decani or subdivisions. ⁴ *Nibiru* generally for the North Pole, or the highest point of the ecliptic, the summer-solstice, then for the planet.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

EARLY BABYLONIAN FORM

Such in the main is the Babylonian creation-story. Two questions suggest themselves in its regard:—(1) What is its age? (2) How should it be interpreted? What is its theological value?

(1) AGE OF THE LEGEND

The external evidence carries the story beyond 2000 B. C. in all sections that are not distinctively Semitic, that have not been colored by the later Babylonian pantheon, with *Bel-Marduk* as its head. (Compare the *Mummu-Apsu* of Ur-Nina with the *Nunu-Atum* of Heliopolis, and the general parallelism with the Egyptian nome-gods in the order and succession of natural forces).¹ The internal evidence shows that a large portion of the terminology, of the divine names, etc. must be referred to Sumerian, not to Semitic sources. Thus we have *Mummu*, (Chaos), *Apsu*, (Water), *Tiamat*, (Depth, Ocean), *Lachmu* and *Lachamu*, (Dawn, Dew, Twilight?), *Ansar* and *Kisar*, (Heaven and Earth), and above all, *Anu*, the pre-Sargonic Heaven-God, who lives in the *E-sarra*, or royal "palace", and who, we have every reason to believe, took the place of the Semitic *Bel-Marduk* in the age of Mesilim, the latter being a development of *En-lil*, (Lord of the Air), as *Ea* or *Aa* was of the former *En-ki* (Lord of the Deep). In any case, the combined literary and monumental evidence places the main part of the tradition with great probability in the fourth millennium before Christ.²

(2) INTERPRETATION

It is useless to pretend that a former evolution of gods is not here implied. Nor is anything gained by a vain attempt to deny it. *Anu* is the "son" of heaven and earth, who are the children of the dawn, who in turn were evolved from the great deep, the Chaos, "the mother of them all". We have already seen that the idea of an evolving divinity is peculiar to the totem-age, and this cosmogony is one more proof that the neolithic divinity has passed through a pantheistic period of thought on its way to reinfranchisement. Nevertheless the differences are deep and wide. For whatever may have been the origin of the gods in former times,

Anu-Bel-Ea are a cosmic Triad,

to some extent personal and self-subsistent,—and *Bel-Marduk* is the creating "logos" of *Anu*, to whom all the forces of nature, all the lesser divinities are subject. The greater depth and richness of this concept is evident, *Sin-Bonga* "hatches" the world, *Anu* "creates" by semi-divine mediator.

¹ For the Ur-Nina inscription see Keilinschr. Bibl. III, 1, 13. ² Compare J. Nickel, *Die Genesis in Keilschriftforschung*, (Freiburg, 1903) pp. 24, 63ff. King, op. cit. I. P. LXXII-LXXX. Dhorme, l. c. p. IX-X (Introduction). Also M. Jastrow, in J. A. O. S., Vol. XXXVI, (Dec. 1916) pp. 274-299, "Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings", "The Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation-Story". I. M. Casanowicz, *Cosmogonic Parallels*, (Holmes Anniversary Volume, Washington, 1917), p. 45ff.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

THE BILINGUAL TABLETS OF SIPPAR

A bilingual recension of the creation-story was discovered by Rassam in 1882. It is of some importance as revealing a logical rather than chronological order of creation, the making of man preceding that of plants and animals in order to emphasise the supreme position of man as the lord of creation, as in Gen. 2, 4-25. It also pictures the paradise of God as rising out of the ocean, an idea which we have found to be very primitive.

Incantation (Shiptu):—³“A glorious house, the house of the gods, in a glorious place, had not been made. A plant had not grown up, a tree had not been created. A brick had not been laid, a beam had not been shaped. A house had not been built, a city had not been constructed. A city had not been made, no community had been established. Nippur had not been built, E-kurra had not been constructed. The Abyss had not been made, Eridu had not been constructed. As for the glorious house, the house of the gods, its seat had not been made,—the whole of the lands were sea”. (Note the negative statements).

“When within the sea there was a stream, in that day Eridu was made, E-sagila was constructed,—E-sagila, which the King of the Shining Place ⁴ founded within the ocean. Babylon was built, E-sagila was completed. He made the gods and the Anunaki, (the starry host), together, the glorious city, the seat of the joy of their hearts, supremely he proclaimed”.

“Marduk bound together a foundation before the waters, He made dust and poured it out beside the foundation, that the gods might enjoy a pleasant habitation. He made mankind—Aruru made the seed of mankind with him”.

Then follows the making of the “beasts of the field”, of the rivers, (Tigris and Euphrates), of various kinds of plants and trees, and finally the building of cities and the establishment of the temple-worship. In

The Adapa Legend

the Sumerian *A-dam*, already translated by *namassu* above, (“no community had been established”, that is “no man created”), appears in the form of *Adapa*, who was brought into existence by *Ea* the Ocean-god. He also rises from the oceanic *Eridu*, and is called *zer ameluti*, the “seed of mankind”.⁵ Again, in the Gilgamesh-Epic the same hero appears as *Ea-bani*, “god-created”, who was fashioned by *Aruru*, the Earth(?), and endowed with heavenly wisdom.⁶

From the combined fragments it is not too much to assert that they furnish a valuable supplement to the *Enuma Elish*, they reveal a “Creator”.⁷

³ In the main, Pinches translation of C. T. XIII, 35-37. ⁴ *Lugal-Du-Azag-Marduk*.
⁵ Jensen, K. B. IV. 1, 92ff. Dhorme, 1. c. 48. ⁶ Haupt, *Gilgamesh*, Pl. I. 2. Dhorme, 1. c. 186ff.
⁷ Comp. Jastrow, *Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings*, 1. c. p. 280-281. Dhorme, 1, c. p. 82ff.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

THE SIBITTU AND THE SEVEN SPIRITS OF GOD

The "Septessence" of God, or rather, a sevenfold manifestation of divine power, is an idea which appears very early, being suggested by the seven movable bodies of the firmament, the sun, the moon, and the five planets, which in later times were associated with the seven "gods" of the minor pantheon, the seven days of the week, the seven foundations of heaven and earth, and finally with the "Seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth". This arrangement is loose, but finally appears in the following order:—

Planetary Name	Roman Week-Day		Interpretation
<i>En-Zu, Bel-Samaš</i> , (Sun)	Sunday	<i>Nimeku</i>	"Wisdom"
<i>En-Zu, Bel-Nannar</i> , (Moon)	Monday	<i>Barutu</i>	"Divination"
<i>En-Martu, Bel-Ninib</i> , (Mars)	Tuesday	<i>Milku</i>	"Counsel"
<i>En-Pazag, Bel-Nebo</i> , (Mercury)	Wednesday	<i>Palu</i>	"Dominion"
<i>En-Lil, Bel-Marduk</i> , (Jupiter)	Thursday	<i>Siptu</i>	"Conjuration"
<i>Nin-Lil, Belit-Ištar</i> , (Venus)	Friday	<i>Kadiltutu</i>	"Dedication"
<i>En-Me-Sar, Bel-Nergal</i> , (Saturn)	Saturday	<i>Puluchtu</i>	"Veneration"

This association of names, planets, and week-days is now generally accepted. As to the abstract-titles, we have *Samaš* as the "Lord of Wisdom" clearly revealed in *En-Zu, Bel-Nimeki* (*Emku*), a title also applied to *Sin-Nannar*, with this difference, that while the Sun is supreme wisdom in the sense of justice, (*Kittu*), *Nannar*, the Midnight-Moon is the father of astral wisdom or "Divination", *En-Zu, Bel-Baruti*, "Lord of Decisions". *Ninib*, as Mars, is the god of war and the spirit of "Counsel", for *En-Martu* is *Bel-Milki*, "Lord of the Counsel". *Nebo*, as Mercury, is *En-Pazag*, "Lord of the Scepter" and therefore *Bel-Pali*, Spirit of "Dominion". *Marduk*, as Jupiter, is the *En-Lil* par excellence, the "Lord of the Air", *Bel-Sipti*, the "Lord of the Conjuration". *Ištar*, as Venus, is the *Nin-Lil-Ana*, the "Lady of Heavenly Light", *Kadištu*, "Virgin of Dedication", and *Nergal*, as Saturn, is the *En-Me-Sarra*, the "Lord of the Universal Decree". *Sar-Aralli*, the King of the Underworld, *Puluchtu*, "Spirit of Holy Fear".¹

Such a sequence of thoughts cannot but remind us of the "Seven Spirits" of Isaiah (11, 2), the "spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and fortitude, the spirit of knowledge and piety, and of the fear of the Lord". But although the *Sibittu* are not necessarily polytheistic, they furnish at the most the framework for the revealed Jewish idea, as witness:—

¹ For the names, Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 89-90 (*emku-emuku-nimeku*, "Weisheit"), 182 (*baru, birtu, barutu*, "Hellssehen, Verstand"), 412 (*malaku, milku*, "Rath, Berathung"), 525 (*palu*, "Waffe, Regierung"), 247 (*siptu*, "Beschwörung"), 581 (*kadistu*, "Weiheung") etc. 527 (*puluchtu*, "Verchrung"). For association with planetary gods, Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.* I. pp. 427 (*Samas*) 437 (*Sin*) 449ff. (*Ninib*) 446 (*Nebo*) 502 (*Marduk*) 535 (*Istar*) 469 (*Nergal*). See also *Lexicology*, Vol. II. 998ff. Texts in Rawlinson, IV. 28, 1. IV. 9. II. 19, 1. IV. 20, 3. IV. 29, 1. Craig, I. 15-17. King, *Bab. Magic*, No. 27.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(1) It is true that a unity in plurality is vaguely hinted at in certain texts, and there can be no doubt that as the entire pantheon was looked upon as the visible expression of a single universal God-head, so the above "seven" became in time identified with His sevenfold power.

(2) On the other hand, the above names and titles are not exclusive, but admit of much interchange, their antiquity and their meanings are not always beyond challenge, and, while the *sibittu* are personal demiurges more or less identified with the stars, the "Spirits" of Isaiah are created *graces*, or divine *gifts*, having no direct connexion with the planets. While a parallelism is therefore certain, an identification cannot be proved.²

THE SUKALLU AND THE HIERARCHIES

A different question is that of personal messengers. Here we find three gradations of divine representatives, appearing under various forms as (1) *Karubu*, Spirits of Adoration, "Powerful Ones", who, like the Cherubim of Genesis (3, 24), are *human* figures with wings,—distinctly persons (Id. *An. Kal*). (2) *Lamassu*, Spirits of Domination, "Protecting Ones", who as the Teraphim of Genesis (31, 19) are patron-saints or household gods, etc. (Ideogr. *An. Kal. Ra*). (3) *Sukallu*, Spirits of Interpretation, "Ministering Ones", who, as the biblical Maleachim, reveal the divine will in particular cases (Id. *Pap. Luh. Mah*). Further subdivisions led to the recognition of "Nine Choirs", but this only in the Jewish-Christian system:—

- | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | |
| (1) Cherubim, Seraphim, Thrones,—for the service of Contemplation; | | | |
| 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| (2) Dominations, Principalities, Powers,—for the service of Execution; | | | |
| 7 | 8 | 9 | |
| (3) Virtues, Archangels, and Angels,—for the service of Ministration. ⁴ | | | |

THE *Sibittu* AS SEVEN ARCHANGELS

As it is quite certain that the *Sibittu* were also taken in a narrower sense as personal ministers, we get the scheme for seven archangels:—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<i>Nimeku</i>	<i>Barutu</i>	<i>Milku</i>	<i>Palu</i>	<i>Siptu</i>	<i>Kadiltutu</i>	<i>Puluchtu</i>
Wisdom	Understanding	Counsel	Strength	Knowledge	Piety	Holy Fear

This is one of the few explanations of the "Seven who stand before the Lord", *Michael*, "Likeness of God" (1), *Gabriel*, "Strength of God" (4), *Raphael*, "Medicine of God" (7), the seven being regarded as persons (Dan. 8, 16, 10, 13. Tob. 12, 15).

THE *Sibittu* AS SEVEN TORMENTORS

Opposed to these is the World-Serpent, *Tiamtu*, and his seven tormentors,—*Utukku*, *Shedu*, *Lilu*, *Ekimmu*, *Rabisu*, *Labartu*, *Labasu*,—persecuting demons.⁵

² Comp. Hehn, *Biblische und Babylonische Gottesidee* (Leipzig, 1913) p. 176-178. ³ For *karubu*, Delitzsch, op. cit. p. 352, Rawlinson, II. 31. 3, 13. Comp. *karubu-sarsar*, to worship, Delitzsch, 350. Also *Nikel*, Genesis, 155ff. For *lamassu-terapim* Delitzsch, 381, 713. Rawl. IV. 29, 1. V. 35, 14. For *sukallu-maleachim*, Idem, 498, Rawl. III. 68, 64. (*Papsukal*). ⁴ See below, p. 174. ⁵ Jastrow, op. cit. I. 278ff. Further light on this subject in Dhorme, *Rel. Assyr.-Babylonienne*, p. 37ff.

THE MODELLING OF MANKIND ON THE POTTER'S WHEEL



THE TWO WORKS OF KHNUM-RA OF THE CATARACT

MENED CHNUM NEB NEB NETERU REMTET

"KHNUM CREATED, FASHIONED, AND FORMED THE GODS AND MANKIND"

THE WORKS OF AMMON-RA OF THEBES

ITEF ITEFU NETERU NEBU AH PET DER

SATU IRI NETIU KEMA WENENUTI

INED HEREK IRI NETIU NEBED NEB MÂËT ITEF NETERU

IRI REMTET KEMA AUT IRI ANAH AUT NETJUT

"O KING OF ALL DIVINE BEINGS! HOLDING ALOFT THE SKY, REPELLING THE EARTH, MAKING THAT WHICH IS, CREATING THAT WHICH EXISTS". "HAIL UNTO THEE, THOU AUTHOR OF ALL THAT IS, POSSESSOR OF TRUTH, FATHER OF GODS, AUTHOR OF MEN, CREATOR OF ANIMALS, MAKING TO LIVE THE ANIMALS OF THE DESERT!"

TEXTS BY DARESSY, HYMN TO KHNUM, 8, 25, IN MASPERO, RECUEIL DES TRAVAUX, VOL. XXVII. AND BY GREBAUT, HYMN TO AMMON-RA, PL. VII, 6, AND PL. VIII, 1, 8. TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION BY PROF. G. S. DUNCAN, OF JOHN HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, (PRIVATE SOURCES, 1917), AND COMPARE VIREY, LA RELIGION DE L'ANCIENNE EGYPTTE, (PARIS, 1910), PP. 4, 33.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(N, 2) EGYPTIAN FORM

A connected Egyptian cosmogony analogous to that of Babylonia is hardly to be found. But there are scattered materials dating from different ages out of which some such cosmogony may be reconstructed. Foremost among these is the Ennead of Heliopolis, where we find the series—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(*Nun*) *Atum-Shu-Tefnut-Geb-Nut-Osiris-Isis-Set-Nephtys*—,
(Chaos) Father, Air-Dew, Earth-Sky, Sun-Corn-Deep, Mistress.

Compare this with the Babylonian System—

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

(*Mummu*) *Apsu-Lachmu-Lachamu-Anšar-Kišar-Anu-Bel-Ea-Bau*, — and the parallelism is evident, some connexion in the remote past seems certain.

Who was the originator, and who was the borrower of this chain-system? This in the present state of our knowledge it is impossible to determine. But the chief points in our present controversy are these:—

(1) *Nun*, *Nunu*, *Mummu*, are clearly convertible terms. Apart from the similarity of sounds, the idea of a primaeval chaos, associated more or less with Light or Water,—*Tum* or *Apsu*—, is too striking to be accidental.

(2) *Shu* and *Tefnut*, as Air and Dew, may be plausibly connected with *Lachmu* and *Lachamu*, the meaning of which is similar,—Day or Dawn? (Lucas, Jensen, etc.)

(3) The *Geb-Nut* couple are evidently an inversion of *Anšar-Kišar*, or vice-versa. Heaven-and-Earth themes are promised in both cases.

(4) *Osiris-Isis-Set* suggest a parallelism with *Anu*, *Bel*, and *Ea*, being more or less synonymous with Sun-, Air-, and Deep-power respectively. The later Egyptian “trinity”,—*Osiris-Isis-Horus*—, tends to confirm this notion, *Horus* however occupying the same position in Egypt as *Bel-Marduk* in Babylon.

(5) Finally *Nephtys*, the Lady, on the Nile, the patroness of the household, is paralleled by *Ishtar-Ba-u*, the Mother, the “merciful Lady” on the Euphrates.

THE POSITION OF *Atum-Ra*

It has already been shown that these terms are either convertible or oppositional, indicating literally “Father-Sun”, the “Sun-Light”. That they are personalities and not mere forces is unquestionable, even in the earliest period they have a pronounced cult under human forms. Nevertheless here also the evolutionary concept is not wanting; for—

Nunu, the Chaos, gives birth to *Ra*, the Sunlight,

from which, as out of a “World-Egg,” the whole universe derives its being.

* For the evolving Ennead see p. 91 above, and Erman, 1. c. p. 44, Virey, 1. c. p. 7, 146ff. For Creation in general consult Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter, p. 101, Breasted, The Development of Religious Thought in ancient Egypt, (1912), p. 8-12. Casanowicz, Cosmogonic Parallels, Holmes Anniversary Volume, Fortson Press, Washington, (1917), p. 46.

CREATION

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

EGYPTIAN FORM

Here we find the hatching-theme once more in evidence. This is well summarised by Brugsch in the following paragraph:—

“In the beginning there was neither heaven and earth. Surrounded by an impenetrable darkness, the All was filled by the primaeval Deep, called by the Egyptians *Nun*, which concealed in its bosom the male and female germs, the beginnings of the future world. The divine primaeval Spirit, inseparable from the substance of the primaeval Deep, (sic), felt the desire of creative action, and His word called the universe into life, whose aspect and multiple forms had first been mirrored in his eye. Their bodily outlines and colors corresponded after the creation to the primaeval notions of the Divine Spirit concerning His future work. (Exemplary ideas?). The first creative act began with the formation of an egg, out of the primaeval waters, out of which the Daylight, *Ra*, the immediate cause of life on the earth, sprang forth. In the Rising Sun the omnipotence of this divine Spirit embodies itself in its most splendid form”.

Who is the primaeval Spirit that is here intended? He is no mere force,

He is the personified Deep, the creating *Nun-Ra*,

who acts like a self-conscious divinity,—foreseeing, planning, creating—, and revealing himself in *Ra*, the Sun, (also personified), and who as *Tum-Ra* or Sun-Father is the concrete source of all being. While it is plain therefore that an aboriginal evolution of deities is distinctly recognised, it is at the same time a self-conscious evolution that is here implied.

The deities are not forces but persons,

among whom *Nun-Ra-Tum* forms possibly the earliest triad, but in which the figure of *Atum-Ra* soon becomes transcendent, the only Lord of Creation.

THE *Chnum-Ra* TRADITION

Another very early tradition is that of *Chnum-Ra*, sometimes identified with *Tum-Ra* above, or with *Shu-Ra*, *Hor-Ra*, *Ptah-Ra*, etc. He is the “Moulder, Potter, or Workmaster, who models the Egg which conceals the light and the germ of the future world”. Here the idea of a direct personal action is particularly pronounced, and argues once more for its high antiquity.

THE CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN

From the collected evidence it would seem that, although the Egyptian cosmogony shows deep marks of an emergence from pantheism, the idea of a *personal creation* may still be traced in remote outline, reaching its climax in the Horus-cult of the Menic Age fully 3000 years before Christ.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(N, 3) ASSYRIAN FORM

In so far as the early Assyrian belief is identical with the old Babylonian, it is the inheritor of the same fundamental notions that we have already considered above, the cosmologies are identical. But in the separate development of the northern kingdom it was inevitable that distinctively national tendencies should find their way into the mythology at a comparatively early age and give an equally distinctive coloring to the common Western-Asiatic notions of creation and world-origins.

As against the local idea of divinity, by which each of the Babylonian patesis invoked their own state-protectors as in some sense the only "gods", the position of *Ashur* is by comparison unique and universal. It is true that he is still one among many, that *Ishtar*, *Shamash*, *Adad*, and the rest, still claim an important share of his divine attributes, but with this difference that while *Bel* was unheeded outside of Nippur and Babylon, *Ashur* was known and worshipped in nearly every city of Assyria; he became in fact the symbolic expression of the political unity of all the lands of the Tigris. With this idea of a centralised kingship well to the front, it is not surprising that the northern divinity was destined to become a formidable rival to the old Sumerian pantheon, and finally to consign the Babylonian Triad, *Anu*, *Bel*, and *Ea*, to the realm of the forgotten, if not to the actual position of dependent or created beings. In any case the following creation-fragment from the time of Sennacherib should be instructive:—

*"To Ashur, King of all the gods, His own Creator, Father of gods,
Whose power is in the deep, King of heaven and earth,
Lord of all gods, protector of Igigi and Anunnaki,
Creator of Heaven, of Anu, and of the lower world, Creator of all men,
Dweller in the shining heavens, Lord of gods, Master of destiny,
Dweller in the Royal Palace at Ashur,—to his Lord hath Sennacherib,
King of Assyria, made an image of Ashur".¹*

Now while the title "father of gods" is common enough and in no sense distinctive, the expression "self-created",—*ba-nu-u ram-ni-su*—, and the description of *Ashur* as *pa-ti-ik ša-mi ilu A-nim u Ki-gal-li*, the "fashioner of the heaven of *Anu* and of the Underworld", shows, in the words of Craig, that "the doctrine of a divine self-existence, of a self-begotten god, was taught in more than one text", that we have got beyond a theogony. As a more purely Semitic people, their idea of creation was more vivid, more strictly philosophical.²

¹ Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts, Pl. 83. (K. 5413, A). Also p. III. (Introduction). ² Comp. Jastrow, Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens, Vol. I. pp. 523-524 (Edition, 1905).

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

PHOENICIAN PARALLELS

If the same cannot be said of the seafaring Phoenicians, it is owing to our fragmentary knowledge of their cosmological ideas rather than to any demonstrable absence of the creation-idea as such. From the items collected by Damascius in his work *De Principiis* it would seem that this cosmogony reveals points of contact, partly with Egyptian, partly with Jewish-Palestinian notions.³

On this system the evolution of the world is founded on two principles:

Pneuma and *Chaos*.....according to Byblius.

Aether and *Aer*.....according to Mochos.

Chronos and *Pothos*.....according to Eudemos.

The latter however adds one more principle, Cloud-Mist, or Water, as the chief constituent of the universe.

Through the combined action of these principles or "elements" there arises a great primaeval matter, which contains the germs of all life. This "protoplasm" ultimately assumes the form of an egg, which splits itself into heaven and earth. Thereupon the heavenly bodies begin to be formed,—apparently spontaneously,—and living beings begin to appear on the earth and in the seas. Though the evidence is only negative, there is no suggestion that these things were formed by a superior power,—they simply evolve.

On the other hand the genealogy of man is not left vaguely in the dark, but is carried back to two definite individuals, whose names according to Philo Byblius are as follows:—

(1) *Anemos* and *Bau*,—from whom are descended

(2) *Aion* and *Protogonos*,—and from these again

(3) *Genos* and *Gennea*,—the ancestors of the present Phoenicians.

These names are evidently descriptive or generic, but they show that the ancient tradition of a primitive human couple has been preserved, though the setting of the creation-legends is otherwise strongly evolutionary. Expressions like "Breath" "Air" "Time" "Desire" and so on, all point to abstract, if not physical forces, and the Egg-motif again suggests "hatching", the old totemic theme. But the whole subject is too obscure and the sources too fragmentary to admit of any definite conclusions. Names alone mean little, and may easily stand for personalities, for creating divinities. The question must therefore be left open, there are no means for proving the point.

³ Quoted by Nikel, *Genesis*, p. 117ff. From Damascius, *De Principiis*, c. 125. Comp. Dillman, *Die Genesis*, (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 6-7.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(N, 4) HEBREW-PALESTINIAN FORM

The Hexahemeron of the Hebrews is too well known to require any lengthy exposition in these pages. It may be useful, however, to call attention to two questions, (1) regarding its antiquity, and (2) regarding its interpretation, in so far as they have a bearing on the present discussion.

(1) ANTIQUITY

As a counterblast to the doctrinaire assertions of former times, the combined results of modern Assyriology have shown that there is no *a priori* objection to an immense antiquity for the main body of this tradition, though such an antiquity is not in itself demanded, either for its authenticity or its doctrinal value. On the one hand, the close parallelism with Babylonian forms has revealed the fact that many of these ideas were current in Western Asia at least as early as the third millennium before Christ, the "bottomless deep", the "brooding over the waters", the "six-period" development—, on the other hand the internal evidence shows just as clearly that the striking differences both in lexicology and doctrinal content can only be explained on the hypothesis of an *independent origin*,—either directly, in the mind of the author, (Mosaic age),—or indirectly, by drawing upon sources which embody a tradition which descends far into the prehistoric past, nay,—not impossibly to the very beginnings of the human race. This will become increasingly evident, the more this tradition is compared with the earliest mythologies,—and this makes the theory of a continuous transmission of the divine "deposit", if not the only possible, at least the most easy and natural hypothesis. Be this as it may, we may safely make the assertion that in its present form the creation-story is at least as old as the Amarna-Period (ca. 1500 B. C.), while its main outlines can be traced back indefinitely and not inconceivably to the earliest ages of mankind.¹

(2) INTERPRETATION

That we are here in presence of something unique, something extraordinary, is admitted on all sides. It has been described by persons of very different persuasions as "the sublimest poem" that ever fell from the lips of man. But apart from its esthetic and educational value, it is important to call attention to its *doctrinal* features, in so far they concern its relation to former systems and its own incomparable superiority. This can best be appreciated by directing attention to the following facts:—

¹ For the priority and independence of the Mosaic tradition, see Nickel, *Die Genesis*, (passim), esp. pp. 1-124, on the cosmogony,—at present the best and clearest treatment of this subject, (Freiburg, 1903).

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

ABSENCE OF PANTHEISTIC COLORING

Whatever may have been the meaning of *bara* to the Hebrew mind,—whether that of “making”, “chiselling”, etc. or that of strict “creation” in the philosophical sense, there is evidence to show that it is used only of divine action, never of the action of secondary causes.² But apart from this, the position of *Bara Elohim* at the head of the sentence indicates a unique divine causality, distinct from the created world, yet terminating in the entire universe,—“heaven and earth” being the strongest expression known to the language.³ Furthermore the vivid pictures of the “speaking” of Elohim, of His “commanding” in the imperative mood, of His fashioning man “out of the dust of the earth”, of His “breathing into his nostrils the breath of life”, of His “blessing” the work of each day and declaring it “good”,—all this is clear evidence that we are dealing with a *supreme Personality*, not with a mere nature-force, a “World-Soul”.

ABSENCE OF POLYTHEISTIC TOUCHES

In view of the strong polytheism of the surrounding nations, it would not be surprising to find vestiges at least of polytheistic terminology. These supposed “vestiges” are the use of the nominal and verbal plural, affecting such forms as *Elohim*, (gods?), and *Na'ase Adam*, (Let us make man). This classic objection to the divine Unity is however not of much force in view of fact, now generally conceded, that these are plurals of “majesty”, or, at least, that they may be safely taken as such. But there are other considerations which suggest a more simple solution. The continuous alteration of singular and plural numbers defies all the ordinary laws of Hebrew syntax. At the very beginning we have *Bara Elohim*, a grammatical discordance. It is possible, of course, that these are no more than poetical “licenses”,—the divine Unity is in any case safe with *Bara*—, but the almost deliberate change to the first person plural in the above passages is suggestive, at least, of trinitarian notions,—an opinion which gathers additional weight by the similar construction-changes in other parts of the book of Genesis.⁴

A RETURN TO PRIMITIVE MONOTHEISM

A divine Unity of Nature is therefore unassailable, even if a Trinity of Persons be indirectly hinted at. On any hypothesis, we are here once more in presence of a single, supreme, personal Creator, who brings all things into existence “by His Word”,—without “egg”, without “lizard”, without “demiurge”.

² Comp. Is. 45, 7. 48, 7. 65, 18. Jerem. 4, 5. Amos, 4, 13. ³ *Ha-shammaim we ha-arets* is the nearest approach to “cosmos”, the universality of things. ⁴ See the passages given p. 103 above, as these concern the nature of *Elohim-Jahwe*, rather than His creative action.

THE HEBREW HEXAHEMERON

WITH ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN PARALLELS

REVEALING ITS IMMENSE ANTIQUITY BUT THEOLOGICAL INDEPENDENCE

PRELUDE (GEN.1,1)

"MARDUK CREATED THE HEAVEN AND FASHIONED THE EARTH"

"IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH"

1 בראשית ברא אלהים את השמים ואת הארץ:
(ILU MARDUK) AŠ-RI (ŠAMU) IB-NA-A IP-TI-KA DAN-NI-NA (ONLY IN III,115)
2 והארץ היתה תהו ובהו ורוח אלהים מרחפת על פני תהום
TONU VA-BOHU AS CHAOS = MUMMU-APSU-TIAMAT-CONTENDING TRIAD (I,3FF)
BUT THE WHOLE IS STRONGLY MYTHICAL : רוח אלהים מרחפת על-פני המים :
RUACH-ELOHIM IS OPPOSED BY IB-BA-NI-MA ILANI (I,9)
FIRST DAY - "LIGHT" (1,3)

"AND GOD SAID: LET THERE BE LIGHT." AND GOD SAW THE LIGHT THAT IT WAS GOOD"

3 ויאמר אלהים יהי אור ויהי אור : 4 וירא אלהים
MARDUK-ŠAMAŠ AS SOLAR DEITY IS LIGHT, HE DOES NOT CREATE IT.
את האור כי טוב ויבדל אלהים בין האור ובין
(ILU) LAH-MU (ILU) LA-ĦA-MU UŠ-TA-PU-U (I,10). (TOB AS TABU MISSING).
החושך : 5 ויקרא אלהים לאור יום ולחושך ללילה
YOM AND LAILAH AS UR-RA MU-ŠI (I,38) (BUT NO 'NAMING' MENTIONED)
ויהי-ערב ויהי-בקר יום אחד :
COUPLES OR DOUB-LETS ARE COMMON THROUGHOUT EREB AND BOGER AS LAH-MU LA-ĦA-MU (I,10)

SECOND DAY - "WATER" (1,6)

"MARDUK CLEFT HER IN TWAIN LIKE A FLAT FISH"

"AND GOD SAID: LET THERE BE FIRMAMENT BETWEEN THE WATERS"

6 ויאמר אלהים יהי רקיע בתוך המים ויהי מבדל
AN-ŠAR (ILU) KI-ŠAR IB-BA-NU-U (I,12)* WERE CREATED" (BY WHOM?)
בין מים למים : 7 ויעש אלהים את הרקיע ויבדל בין
(ILU MARDUK) ĦY-PI-ŠI-MA KI-MA NUNU-MAŠ-DI-E ANA ŠINĀ-ŠU (II,137)
המים אשר מתחת לרקיע ובין המים אשר מעל לרקיע :
TIAMAT ELITI AND TIAMAT ŠAPLITI AS UPPER AND LOWER OCEAN (S.2018)
8 ויקרא אלהים לרקיע שמים : ויהי ערב ויהי בקר יום שני :
(DAY-NUMBERS ARE WANTING) (ILU) ŠAMAŠ I-NA I-ŠID ŠAME (I,19)

THIRD DAY - "LAND" (1,9)

MARDUK IS "CREATOR OF GRAIN, BESTOWER OF PLANTING"

"AND GOD SAID: LET THE WATERS BE GATHERED TOGETHER INTO ONE PLACE. LET THE DRY LAND APPEAR."

9 ויאמר אלהים יקוו המים מתחת השמים אל מקום
ANU-BEL-MARDUK-EA AS HEAVEN-EARTH-OCEAN DISTINGUISHED (PASSIM)
אחד ותראה היבשה ויח' כן : 10 ויקרא אלהים ליבשה ארץ
AŠ-ŠU AŠ-RI IB-NA-A IP-TI-KA DAN-NI-NA (= IRSITTIM) (AGAIN IN II,115)
ולמקוה המים קרא ימים וירא אלהים כי טוב : 11 ויאמר אלהים
(THE SEPARATION OF LAND AND WATER IS HERE IMPLIED)
תדשא הארץ דשא עשב מרוע זרע עץ פרי עשה
(ILU) ASAR-RI ŠA-RIK MI-RIŠ-TI MUL-KIN (Z-RA-TI) "BESTOWER OF PLANTING"
פרי למינו אשר תהיו בו על-הארץ ויח' כן : 12 ותוצא
BANU-U ŠE-AM U KI-E MU-ŠE-ŠI UR-KI-TI "CREATOR OF GRAIN
הארץ דשה עשב מרוע זרע למינו : וירא אלהים כי
AND PLANTS, WHO CAUSED THE GREEN HERB TO SPRING UP" (II,1,2)
טוב : 13 ויהי-ערב ויהי-בקר יום שלישי :
(DAY-NUMBERS AND DECLARATION OF GOODNESS ARE WANTING)

"LET THE EARTH BRING FORTH THE GREEN HERB"

THE HEBREW HEXAHEMERON

FOURTH DAY - "STARS" (1,14)

"AND GOD SAID: LET THERE BE LIGHTS IN THE FIRMAMENT OF HEAVEN TO DIVIDE THE DAY AND THE NIGHT"

14 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יְהִי נִצְּוֹת בְּרִיקֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַבְדִּיל
 BEL-MARDUK "MADE THE STATIONS FOR THE GREAT GODS (MANZAZA) (Y.1)
 בֵּן הַיּוֹם וּבֵין הַלַּיְלָה וַהֲיוּ לְאֹתוֹת וּלְמוֹעֲדִים וְלַיְמִים וּשְׁמֵם
 "THE STARS, THEIR IMAGES, AS THE STARS OF THE ZODIAC, HE FIXED"
 15 וַהֲיוּ לְמַצֹּרֹת בְּרִיקֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם לְהַאֲרִיךְ עַל הָאָרֶץ וַיְהִי כֵן
 KAKKABANI TAM-ŠIL-ŠU-NU LU-MA-ŠI UŠ-ZI-IZ (Y.2)
 16 וַיַּעַשׂ אֱלֹהִים אֶת-שָׁנֵי הַמַּצֹּרֹת הַגְּדֹלִים אֶת הַמַּצֹּר
 "HE ORDAINED THE YEAR AND INTO SECTIONS HE DIVIDED IT" (MISRATA) (Y.3)
 הַגָּדֹל לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַיּוֹם וְאֶת הַמַּצֹּר הַקָּטָן לְמַמְשֶׁלֶת הַלַּיְלָה
 "HE CAUSED THE MOON-GOD TO SHINE FORTH" (Y.12) "UNTO THE PATH OF THE
 וְאֶת הַכּוֹכְבִּים: 19 וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם רְבִיעִי:
 SUN THOU SHALT CAUSE TO DRAW NIGH (Y.21) (BUT ORDER IS INVERTED)

FIFTH DAY - "ANIMALS" (1,20)

"AND GOD SAID: LET THE WATERS BRING FORTH THE CREEPING THING HAVING LIFE"

20 וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים יִשְׂרָצוּ הַמַּיִם שְׂרָץ נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה וְעוֹף
 CREATION OF LIVING BEINGS (ŠIKNAT NAPIŠTI) ONLY IN CIT. III.34 (D.T. 41)
 יְעוֹפֵף עַל הָאָרֶץ עַל-פְּנֵי רִיקֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם: 21 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים
 OF NAHARI, 'DOLPHINS', OR MONSTERS OF THE DEEP, IN. C.T. III, 24).
 אֶת הַתַּנִּינִים וְהַגְּדֹלִים וְאֶת כָּל-נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה הַרֹמֶשֶׁת --
 HAṬANINIM AS "WHALES" SEEMS TO INCLUDE CREATURES OF THIS KIND
 22 וַיְבָרַךְ אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמִלְּאוּ אֶת הַמַּיִם
 (DIVINE BLESSING AND COMMAND OF PROPAGATION UNIVERSALLY ABSENT)
 בַּיּוֹם וְהָעוֹף יִרְבַּ בָּאָרֶץ: 23 וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם חַמִּשִּׁי:
 (FOWLS AS "THUNDER-BIRDS" MAY BE IMPLIED IN THE CONTEXT)

SIXTH DAY - "MAN" (1,26)

"AND GOD SAID: LET US MAKE MAN IN OUR IMAGE AND LIKENESS. BE FRUITFUL AND MULTIPLY AND REPLENISH THE EARTH"

"MY BLOOD WILL I TAKE AND BONE WILL I FASHION-- I WILL MAKE MAN"
 26 וַיִּצְּוֶה אֱלֹהִים בְּעֵשֶׂה אָדָם בְּעֶלְמֵנוּ כְּדַמוֹתֵנוּ וּרְדוּ
 DA-MI LU-UK-SUR-MA IS-ŠI-IM-TUM (LU-UB-NI) -- LU-UŠ-ZIZ-MA AMELA
 בְּדַגַּת הַיָּם וּבְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּבַבְּהֵמָה וּבְכָל-הָאָרֶץ וְכָל
 "I WILL CREATE MAN, WHO SHALL INHABIT THE EARTH-- THAT THE SERVICE
 הַדָּמָשׁ הַרֹמֶשׁ עַל הָאָרֶץ: 27 וַיִּבְרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-הָאָדָם בְּעֶלְמֵנוּ
 OF THE GODS BE ESTABLISHED AND THAT THEIR SHRINES MAY BE BUILT" (Y.10)
 בְּעֶלְמֵ אֱלֹהִים בְּרָא אֹתוֹ זָכָר וּנְקֵבָה בְּרָא אֹתָם: 28 וַיְבָרַךְ
 "IMAGE AND LIKENESS" MISSING, BUT POSSIBLY IMPLIED IN DA-MI "MY BLOOD".
 אֹתָם אֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם אֱלֹהִים פְּרוּ וּרְבוּ וּמִלְּאוּ אֶת הָאָרֶץ
 DIVINE BLESSING AND COMMAND OF PROPAGATION AGAIN WANTING, THOUGH
 וּבְעֵשֶׂה וּרְדוּ: 31 וַיִּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת-כָּל-אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה
 POSSIBLY HINTED AT: "WHO SHALL INHABIT THE EARTH" (Y.8).
 וַהֲמַתָּ טוֹב מֵאֲדָ וַיְהִי-עֶרֶב וַיְהִי-בֹקֶר יוֹם הַשֵּׁשִׁי:

THROUGHOUT 'DAYS' DO NOT CORRESPOND TO TABLET-NUMBERS EXCEPT INCIDENTALLY CONSULT L. W. KING, THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION, P. LXXXI, FF. FOR THE ABOVE CITATIONS

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

"IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH"

Yet simple and direct as these narratives are, they are far more elaborate and philosophical than anything to be found in primitive times. They reveal a desire to describe the world-process in more intricate terms, to give the reader a more complete, more profound, more expanded view of the creation-drama. Hence the opinion which makes them "scientific", embodying

THE SUPPOSED CONCORDANCE

This system is based on certain parallelisms which are believed to exist between the Mosiac "Days" and the successive evolution of the cosmos as presented by the data of astronomy, geology, palaeontology, etc. as follows:—

I. <i>Archaeon</i> Time (Primary Period).....	I. First Mosaic Day.
Azoic Age. (No organisms). Light gradually penetrates the "hydro-sphere".	The "formless void" with "darkness upon the deep". "Let there be Light!"
II. <i>Silurian</i> Time.....	II. Second Mosaic Day.
Early Palaeozoic Age. Differentiation of liquids and gases. (Deep-sea life).	Separation of higher and lower "waters". "Let there be a firmament", etc.
III. <i>Devonian</i> Time.....	III. Third Mosaic Day.
Late Palaeozoic Age. First upheaval of land. (Fishes followed by ferns).	"Let the dry land appear!", "Let the earth bring forth the herb", etc.
IV. <i>Triassic</i> Time (Secondary Period)....	IV. Fourth Mosaic Day.
Early Mezozoic Age. Dissipation of vapors. Heavenly bodies become visible.	"Let there be lights in the firmament!" (Days, years, seasons).
V. <i>Jurassic</i> Time.....	V. Fifth Mosaic Day.
Later Mezozoic Age. Lower animal life, creeping and flying (Reptiles and birds).	"Let the waters bring forth the creeping thing", "Let the fowl fly", etc.
VI. <i>Eocene-Pliocene</i> Time (Tertiary).....	VI. Sixth Mosaic Day.
Cenozoic Age. Higher mammalian life. First appearance of man (Pliocene?).	"Let the earth bring forth the living creature!" "Let us make man!" etc.

The most cursory inspection of this table will show, that, though the parallelism is suggestive, it fails to be rigidly scientific, especially in the matter of deep-sea life and of "luminaries". Nevertheless, as a popular synopsis of the six great "works" of creation, its value is inestimable. As to the method of creation, the expressions "Let the waters, let the earth bring forth", etc. leave room for secondary forces, while the personal "Let us make man" indicates a closer, more immediate, more direct activity.⁵

⁵ Comp. G. Hoberg, *Die Genesis nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*, (Freiburg, 1908) pp. 1-11. Karl Braun, *Über Kosmogonie vom Standpunkte christlicher Wissenschaft*, (Münster, 1905). F. Kaulen, *Der biblische Schöpfungsbericht* (Freiburg, 1902). H. Strack, *Die Genesis* (Munich, 1905). A. Dillman, ditto, (Leipzig, 1892).

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

THE SEVEN SPIRITS OF GOD AND THE HIERARCHIES

The Seven Spirits of Isaiah (41,2) are seven divine gifts or charismata, to wit:

<i>Chochmah</i>	"Wisdom"	appearing as early as Gen. 3, 6. Ex. 31, 3.
<i>Binah</i>	"Understanding"	Deut. 4, 6. 3 Kings, 4, 29, often united. ¹⁰
<i>Etzah</i>	"Counsel"	indefinitely ancient as ethical terms,
<i>Geborah</i>	"Fortitude"	often convertible (Ex. 15, 2. Ps. 1, 1)
<i>Da'ath</i>	"Knowledge"	traceable to Gen. 2, 9, 20, 11. 22, 12. etc.,
<i>Yirah</i>	"Piety"	piety and fear being convertible and
<i>Morah</i>	"Holy Fear"	described by <i>morah</i> , as in Ps. 9, 21.

It seems quite probable that these are the Seven Spirits or "Eyes" of the Lord, mentioned by Zekeriaah (4, 10) and reappearing in the Apocalypse (1, 20. 4, 5.) Moreover as the Babylonian *Sibittu*, they may claim an immense antiquity.

As to a personal hierarchy, we find the nine choirs in vague outline:—

(1) The *Cherubim* (Assyr. *Karubu*), "Powerful Ones", who guard the gate of paradise with the flaming sword,—evidently dependent beings, ministers. Then

(2) The *Seraphim*, "Noble Ones", appear for the first time in Isaiah (6, 2). They have six wings, and intone the Trishagion,—*Holy, Holy Holy*.

(3) The *Thrones* are Pauline in terminology, but may be traced back in germ to the ascending and descending spirits of Gen. 28, 12. (Jacob's Ladder).

(4, 5, 6) *Dominations, Principalities, and Powers* are also Pauline, but are represented, partly by the *Teraphim* as protecting spirits (Gen. 31, 19), partly by the *Maleachim* as battling spirits, (Exod. 14, 9) (the Assyrian *Lamassu*).

(7, 8, 9) *Virtues, Archangels, and Angels* as simple *Maleachim* are common. Three are named as *Mi-ka-el* ("Who is like unto God?"), (Dan. 10, 13), *Gabri-el* ("Man" or "Strength of God"), (Dan. 8, 16), *Rapha-el* ("Medicine of God"), (Tob. 12, 15), "one of the seven who stand before the Lord". These are undoubtedly personal archangels, having a faint analogy with the Babylonian messenger-gods, (*Sukallu*).

The objection that these are not personalities but nature-powers, borrowed partly from Assyrian, partly from Iranian sources, is therefore of not much force. As to personality, they speak and act like persons, (comp. the "talking angels" of Gen. 16, 7), and as to a possible borrowing, the profane data furnish at the outside interesting, but very defective parallels, the *karubu* being at least half-human, and the Iranian Seven probably more than divine abstractions. They show on the contrary that the idea of *sukallu* or "vicegerent" of God is extremely ancient. The same of *Hanachash*, the "Serpent" of Gen. 3, 1.—(Babyl. *Tiamat*),—a dependent being, destined to be vanquished.

¹⁰ The text in Gen. 3, 6 has *nechmad haetz lehaskil* (Kittel), *haskil* being Hiphil of *sakal*, to be wise. A. V. "A tree to be desired to make one wise".

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(N, 5) ARYAN DEVELOPMENT

It will be noted that the idea of pairs, couples, or antagonistic principles is a leading characteristic of the early Caucasian theology. We have the *Lachmu-Lachamu* series in Babylonia, with the *Anšar-Kišar* relation the *Shu-Tefnut* couple in Egypt, with the *Geb-Nut* development, both giving rise, in theory at least, to the national triads, *Anu-Bel-Ea*, and *Osiris-Isis-Horus*, which, however, we have good reasons for believing to have been prior to the artificial constructions known as "enneads". The same idea is found in such combinations as *Pneuma-Chaos*, *Aether-Aer*, *Chronos-Pothos*, etc. which represent the conflicting principles of the Phoenician cosmogony. Now the above couples, in so far as they are not mere supplements, male and female principles, physical or mathematical divisions, contain the germs of a dualistic system, in which the two have become independent and mutually exclusive personalities,—each creators, each eternal, each supreme, but the rulers of two antagonistic worlds, the one essentially good, the other essentially evil. This idea is for the first time prominently developed in the Persian theology, which we have every reason to believe, represents one of the earliest and purest forms of Aryan faith.

EARLY IRANIAN FORM

By contrast to the Chaos and Water-theme of the Babylonian-Egyptian system, we find two First Spirits at work from the very commencement, to wit:—

CREATION AND COUNTER-CREATION

"Thus are the Spirits *primaeval*,
Who as twain by their deeds are famed,
In thought, word, and deed,
A better, they two, and an evil,
Of these let the wise choose aright,
And not as the evil-minded".

"Then those Spirits created,
As first they two came together,
Life and our death decreeing,
How all at the last shall be ordered,
For evil men Hell, the worst life,
For the righteous the best Mind, Heaven".¹

The "coming together" of two opposite forces is a striking reminder of the doublets mentioned above, though the differences are equally marked. While in the former we see a theogony, here we have a dualistic theology.²

¹ L. H. Mills, *The Gathas of Zoroaster*, (Leipzig, 1900), p. 43. S. B. E. XXXI. p. 29-30.

² See explanatory introductions by the same author (*ibidem*).

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

IRANIAN FORM

THE AMESHAS AND THE SEVEN SPIRITS OF GOD

In the Amesha-Spentas or "holy spirits" we have either the personified attributes, or, what is more probable, the created spirits of *Ahura-Mazda*, the original number, six, favoring the supposition that they were looked upon as essentially dependent, either as archangels, or as groups of divine manifestations or hierarchies. These are opposed by the great antagonist, *Angra Mainyu*, and his corresponding legion of evil ones:—

Amesha-Spentas	opposed by	Daevas, (demons)
(1) <i>Ahura-Mazda</i> , the "Great Wise One", Creator of good. (The Divine Wisdom).		(1) <i>Angra-Mainyu</i> , the "Wicked Spirit", Creator of evil. Author of Discord.
(2) <i>Asha-Rita</i> , the Order, the Logos? (The Divine Truth).		(2) <i>Druj</i> , the "Lie", the She-devil, the Falsity, the Disorder of things.
(3) <i>Vohu Manah</i> , the "Good Mind", the Spirit of Love. (The Divine Goodness).		(3) <i>Akem Manah</i> , the "Wicked Mind", the Hate, the Evil Plan, the Bad Will.
(4) <i>Kshathra</i> , the "Law", the Kingship, the Dominion. (The Divine Authority).		(4) <i>Dush Kshathra</i> , the "Anarchy", Inverted Power, False Liberty, Rebellion.
(5) <i>Aramaiti</i> , the "Toil-Mind", the Prayer. (The Divine Sanctity).		(5) <i>Taramaiti</i> , the "Insolence", the Indolence, the bold Effrontery.
(6) <i>Haurvatat</i> , the "Allness", the Perfection of things. (The Divine Fruition).		(6) <i>Avaetat</i> , the "Dejection", the Failure, the Incompletion of life.
(7) <i>Ameretatat</i> , the "Immortalisation" of being. (The Divine Consummation).		(7) <i>Merethyu</i> , the "Death", the Corruption, the Putrefaction of being (Nasu).

These seven "Immortals" by no means exhaust the list of Yazads, Fravashis, Daevas. There is *Mithra*, *Haoma*, *Sraosha*, Friendship, Health, Obedience, *Atar*, Fire, *Gaush-Urvan*, Kine-Soul, *Nasu*, Corruption, *Aeshma*, Death-Fury, and *Azhi-Dahaka*, the three-headed infernal with a thousand joints. But the early prominence of the "seven" can hardly be doubted, and they furnish a distant parallel to the "Seven Spirits" of Zechariah (4, 10), and to the "Seven Stars" and "Seven Spirits" of the Apocalypse (1, 20. 4, 5), while *Aeshma* appears as *Asmodeus* in Tobit (3, 8), and *Azhi Dahaka* as the seven-headed Dragon of the Johannine vision (Ap. 12, 3).

This is not the place to discuss the thorny question of the derivation and possible interconnection of these "spirits". There is evidence to show, that, while the arrangements are similar, the two theologies are entirely independent, whether in structure or content.²

¹ L. H. Mills, *Avesta Eschatology compared with the Books of Daniel and Revelations*, (Chicago, 1908) p. 67ff. ² Comp. the Babylonian "septessence" of God as a possible common source, and Hehn, *Die biblische und babylonische Gottesidee* (Leipzig, 1913) pp. 17-18, for *kissatu ilani* as "sevenfold universality". Also Idem, *Die Siebenzahl*, from which it appears that the number seven is a common Western-Asiatic possession.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

IRANIAN FORM

According to the later Bundahish version, *Ahura Mazda* created the world in six periods, the order being parallel to that of Genesis,—Heaven (Light) Waters, Earth, Plants, Animals, Man. *Gajomart*, the first human, issues evolutionally from cosmogonic forces. From his seed, but after forty years, the first human couple, *Mashia* and *Mashiana*, grew up like plants, and gradually assumed human form, but the soul was directly inspired by *Mazda*, with the words: "You are man, you are the ancestry of the world!"³ Though these items do not by any means imply a late redaction, their absence in the earlier Yasna points to some parallel extra-Iranian tradition as their source.

BRAHMINISTIC AND TAOISTIC FORM

In strong contrast to the early Vedic Faith, identical with the Avestic-Iranian, the later Brahminism shows a distinctly downward tendency, prompted no doubt by the growing contact with Dravidian totemism and metempsychosis-doctrines.

From a primaeval Void,—neither being nor nothing, but simply the indefinable "*That*",—there arises through Thought and Desire the All-Darkness, the All-Water, from which are evolved the germs or embryos of all things. Among these embryos is the "World-Egg".⁴ In the Law-Book of Manu, this egg brings forth *Brahma*, the Father of all existence. By the power of his thought, he splits the egg into two parts, from one of which he forms heaven, from the other the earth, and between them the atmosphere, etc. He has produced all things and is still producing them.⁵ In the Dharma Shastra man issues from the earth at the command of *Vishnu*, who gives him life and the power to recognise his creator. Later he gives him a female as a companion.⁶

In the Chinese "Book of Changes" it is *T'ai-ki Wu-ki*, the "Great Absolute Nothing" which gives birth to the *yang* and the *ying*, male and female principles, from which heaven and earth, stars, plants, animals and man are derived.⁷ The later Taoism substitutes the "vital monad" for this indefinable.⁸

WESTERN-ARYAN FORM

The Theogony of Hesiod also shows a *Chaos*, producing *Erebus* and *Styx*, *Aether* and *Phos*, *Gaia* and *Ouranos*, *Oros* and *Okeanos*. Later *Prometheus* fashions the body of man, but the soul is inspired by *Athene*.⁹ In the Old Norse legends it is *Odin* who slays the monster *Ymir*, out of which he makes the world, and then "finds" the first humans, *Ask* and *Embla*, on the sea-shore.¹⁰

³ Bundahish, c. 15 (S. B. E. V. 52ff.) ⁴ Rig-Veda, X, 121, 129, and very generally throughout. ⁵ Sources in S. B. E. passim. ⁶ Comp. J. Nickel, Die Genesis in Keilschriftforschung (Freiburg, 1903), p. 119. ⁷ Yi-King, passim (S. B. E. Vol. XVI). ⁸ Tao-Teh-King, (S. B. E. Vol. XL). ⁹ Hesiod, Theogony, vv. 160ff. ¹⁰ The Sibyl's Song of Voluspa, the poetic Edda, to be found in Meyer, Die eddische Kosmogonie, (Freiburg, 1891). Comp. Idem, Mythologie der Germanen, (Strassburg, 1903).

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(N, 6) AUSTRONESIAN FORM

The main body of the Western-Asiatic tradition is thus seen from a more or less homogeneous unit, which may be traced in its essentials far into Northern India, and not impossibly to the shores of the Yellow Sea. In nearly every case a theogony stands in the background, but is soon overshadowed by a single commanding Personality, who, together with other divinities, creates or educes the various forms of being quite after the manner of the ancient Heaven-God. How far can this idea be traced to the still more distant Orient, among the neolithic and half-civilised populations of Oceania? It will be found that here too the ancient concept of a watery chaos, giving birth to higher forms of matter, is again conspicuous, but never without an accompanying "lord", master, or demiurge, who, together with minor spirits, forms or fashions the entire universe of being.

(1) INDONESIAN FORM,—NORTH-WEST BORNEO

Of the cosmology of the Sea-Dayaks of Sarawak we have two accounts, which when pieced together furnish a fairly complete picture. For the sake of clearness I will bring this picture once more before the reader.

(a) PERHAM'S VERSION

*"Batara first expanded the heavens,—thick as the crest of a red rooster.
Batara first created the earth,—thick as the fruit of the horse-mango.
Batara first poured forth the waters,—great as the fibres of the rattan.
Batara first cleft the clay in two parts,—and it became man".*¹

(b) DUNN'S VERSION

In the beginning there was nothing but a huge expanse of water, over which the two creative spirits, *Ara* and *Irik*, hovered in the form of birds. They dived under, and brought forth two solid substances of the size of a hen's egg. Out of one of these *Ara* made the heaven, and *Irik* the earth. By comparing heaven and earth it was found that the earth was too large. So they pressed it together, and mountains and valleys were formed. Trees and plants then sprouted forth from the earth of their own accord. The two spirits then essayed the creation of man, first as a red-sapped tree, and finally as a figure of clay, who as male and female became the ancestors of the race, known as *Tanah Kumpok*, the "earth-formed".²

That there is a connection between (a) and (b) seems certain, for Mgr. Dunn distinctly states that "all spirits came from *Batara*, who made them all".³

¹ H. Ling-Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, (London, 1896), Vol. I. p. 168ff. ² In *Anthropos*, I. (1906), p. 16. ³ *Ibid.* p. 177. Comp. also W. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, (Vienna, 1910), p. 4-8.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(2) POLYNESIAN FORM

The creation of the world by sexual genesis is the leading idea of the Polynesian mythology. It indicates a rather advanced, but clearly a debased stage of reflective thought, as this idea is either absent or not all pronounced in the earlier legends, where the supreme *Atum-Ra*, *Ashur*, *Ahura*, etc. is generally sexless and wifeless, even if not childless. It represents the coarsest side of an anthropomorphic divinity, but it shows that in the mind of neolithic man the forces of nature are conceived to be *real human beings*, that they are not impersonal agencies. The main ideas of this "procreative" cosmology are as follows:—

Originally *Rangi*, the Heaven, and *Papa*, the Earth, were so closely united in wedlock that no ray of light could penetrate the eternal darkness. This darkness is called *Po*, the primaeval Night, with which *Tangaroa*, the lunar orb, is identified as the child of Heaven. With *Po*, the eternal Night, are associated *Mutuhei*, the eternal Silence, and other children. Then are born *Atea Tane*, the Light, and *Rongo*, the Sound, who conquer the empire of Night and of Silence. During this battle, *Atanua*, the Dawn, is born, and through the union of *Atea* and *Atanua*, Light and Dawn, there issue the minor divinities, and finally mankind in the full light of day.

The detailed creation of man is recounted with some uniformity in these legends. In nearly every case he issues from some lower order of being, yet not evolutionally, but *per saltum*, which suggests the influx of some higher power. Thus in the Tonga myth, man is formed out of the head of a serpent, he does not grow out of it, he springs suddenly into being. As yet he is without sex, without name. This is well expressed by the description that is actually given of him,—*Kohai*—, that is, *Who?*—a naive attempt to describe what is indescribable, a being created by the "Mother-Dawn", half material, half spiritual, but not otherwise picturable, not exactly definable. It is the best way out of a dilemma, a candid confession of ignorance.

There are several items in this scheme that recall the classic Western-Asiatic traditions. The primitive darkness, the birth of Light, the separation of Heaven and Earth implied in the sequel, these suggest Babylonian and even Hebrew parallels. But while *Elohim* "creates" heaven and earth, *Rangi* is himself the heaven; he creates all things, it is true, yet not "by His Word", but by his secret, his connubial, his spermatic power. This is about as far as one could well proceed in carrying the original 'man'-notion to its logical, but decidedly depraved conclusion. When not continually purified, the father-god tends to become a merely human generator, sharing his productive power with the lower animal creation.

* A. Bastian, *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier*, (Leipzig, 1881), p. 29ff. Comp. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, p. 98-100.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

(N, 7) PAN-AMERICAN FORM

In the North-American mythologies the six different periods of creations are sometimes vaguely revealed. In the Pueblo cosmogony we find a fairly complete cycle of divine operations, beginning with the supreme "Sun-Father" and culminating in the "Wisest Man". The creation-hymn opens in majestic strain and is singularly free from frivolous touches:—⁵

"Before the beginning of the New Making, Awonawilona, the Maker and Container of all, the All-Father, solely had being". He then evolved all things by "thinking Himself outward in space", etc. These divine "thoughts" are then projected in a manner which implies a definite order:

(1) Projection of Light, the first cosmic emanation of the All-Sun, being in nature nearest to His own essence,—the shining Father in heaven.

(2) Projection of Water as distinguished from Light and implying a division of the universe into upper and lower regions,—the twins, *Ehkona-Yahna*.

(3) Projection of Heaven, Earth, and Underworld in their present form, known as

(a) *Apoyan Tachu*, the "All-covering Father-Sky", the highest point of creation,

(b) *Awitelin Tsitu*, the "Fourfold-containing Mother-Earth", the middle point.

(c) *Awiten Tehulnakwi*, the "Fourfold Womb of the World", the lower regions.

(4) Projection of Sun, Moon, and Five Planets, as distinct constellations, implied in the visible differentiation of the three parts of creation.

(5) Projection of the "Sacred Corn planted by the Seven Stars",—who as the quondam "totems" occupy a prominent position.

(6) Projection of the higher Life-germs, including Man, who, however, does not spring from the semi-humans, but rises out of the ocean as a perfect being, *Poshaiyanka*, the man of wisdom, the "foremost of men". That this is accomplished at the bidding of *Awona* is evident from the fact that he cries to the Sun-Father for help from the surrounding waters of the deluge, and that not even the Raven and the Macaw, who are His messengers, are brought into any connexion with this act. This is a good indication that the All-Father is transcendent, that He is a personal Being above the nature-powers.

This picture cannot but remind us of the doublets and triads, the four, and the sevenfold division of the world, which we have already certified for the classic Orient. The Twin-brothers of light, the three greater Emanations, the fourfold Womb of the world, the Seven Stars (whether as Planets or Pleiades),—all seem to postulate some contact with the ancient world, though many of these thoughts may well have arisen independently.

⁵ F. H. Cushing, *Outlines of Zuni Creation-Myths*, 13th. Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, 1891), pp. 379-384ff. Comp. Casanowicz, *Cosmogonic Parallels*, (l. c. supra), p. 46ff. for Babylonia, Egypt, Polynesia, and North America.

NEOLITHIC AND RECENT SYSTEM

PAN-AMERICAN FORM

The similar position of *Tirawa*, the "Spirit-Father" of the Pawnees, the "Power above that moves things", and with whom red man "lives" at the hour of death, shows that these ideas extend over a wide portion of the more advanced Neolithic-American zone, they are characteristic of the highest North-American culture. Their strong personality, combined with a forcible eschatology, raises these figures far above the simple Sky-Wakandas of the prairies.⁶

As a link between North and South America, the Mexican Aztecs deserve at least a passing notice. Whatever may be thought of the antiquity of their traditions, the commanding position of *Quetzalcoatl* and his three brothers is still to be accounted for. As the sons of the Infinite Being, the Mayan *Hunabku*, they are evidently demiurges, to whom the creation of the world has been entrusted. Fire, sun, heavens, waters, and fishes,—all are directly from their hands,—and from the flesh of the great Fish, *Cipactli*, was formed the solid earth, and the first man and woman, *Cipactonal* and *Oxomuco*. The dignity of the legend is however considerably impaired by the continual strife between the four brothers, who are each jealous of the other's work, and the suggestion of a primaevial dualism, partly overcome by the triumph of the elder brother, is too strong to be resisted.⁷ (Comp. ancient Persia).

As to the South-American Incas, I have already shown that *Pachacamac* is the "World-Soul", "advancing the sun beyond all the stars of heaven". But he is also the son of *Wiracocha*, the pre-Inca Sun-god, who is described as the "White One, the Creator and Possessor of all things". As such he shares in the divine qualities of his father, who arose from the bosom of the Lake Titicaca, and presided over the building of cities. He created the luminaries and placed them in the sky, and peopled the earth with inhabitants. After punishing his rebellious creatures by lightning, he became reconciled to them, and taught them all the arts. Another version reveals distinctly Asiatic traits. *Wichima*, the half-brother of *Pachacamac*, obtains from his father three eggs,—gold, silver, and copper—, from which princes, females, and plebeans spring forth,—an idea which recalls once more the "world-eggs" of India, Phoenicia, and ancient Egypt. It would seem, therefore, that *Pachacamac* is an expansion of a former solar deity after the manner of *Bel-Marduk* in Babylon, whom in some respects he resembles.⁸

This must suffice as a general delineation of the main currents of thought on this subject, the Central and South American data being introduced simply by way of additional illustration. Those who are interested in the subject should consult the sources given on pp. 117, 302, and 386.

⁶ G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales* (New York, 1889). Also, *Idem*, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (N. Y. 1892), both standard. ⁷ See the sources given above, p. 119.
⁸ Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of Peru* (op. cit. supra): Comp. Ehrenreich, *Südamerikanische Mythologie*, pp. 33, 41ff.

RECENT WORLD-SYMBOLS

To obtain an adequate idea of the general tendency of speculation during this period, its graphic symbolism cannot be passed over without revealing some important links in the history of its development. Among these the Star, the Triangle, and the Swastika will be found to represent three distinct themes of creation and to correspond to some extent to the order in which they appear, being typical of the early neolithic, the copper, and the bronze ages respectively. While this order is not always demonstrable, there can be little doubt that they furnish the basis for the elaborate astrological combinations of later times.

(1) The Star  for the "World-Soul" (*Anutu*).

This symbol is the earliest Babylonian hieroglyph that we know of, and is certified for the entire neolithic belt, being found on the menhirs, dolmens, rocks, and pottery of this period, either in simple four-rayed or in more complicated eight-rayed form. The Egyptian pentagon and the Chinese cross are variations of the same sign. From what has been said in the preceding chapter, it is highly probable that this is a general astronomical symbol for that vague cosmic personality that is, theoretically, at least, the "life" or "spirit" of the universe, and which seems to be postulated at the back of all the solar or stellar phenomena.

(2) The Triangle  for the "Cosmic Triad" (*Kissatu*).

Next in antiquity is the triangle, by which the triple theme of Heaven, Earth, and Underworld, or some other divine combination is sought to be expressed. Originally the "Allness" or Perfection of things,—"*Kissatu*"—, it became, in India and China, the symbol of the great "Trimurti".

(3) The Swastika  for the "Life-Mystery" (*Assatu*).

Finally we have the mysterious Fylfot or Swastika, whose phallic meaning some will regard as certain while to the majority it will suggest the more obvious theme of the rotating sun or fire-wheel. In both cases, however, the idea of fecundation by solar or germinal "fire" is clearly implied, "*Assatu*". Ashur, Ishtar, and the Hindoo Asuras are one and all "flaming" divinities, and the Swastika brings out the dynamic or reproductive side of the deity.

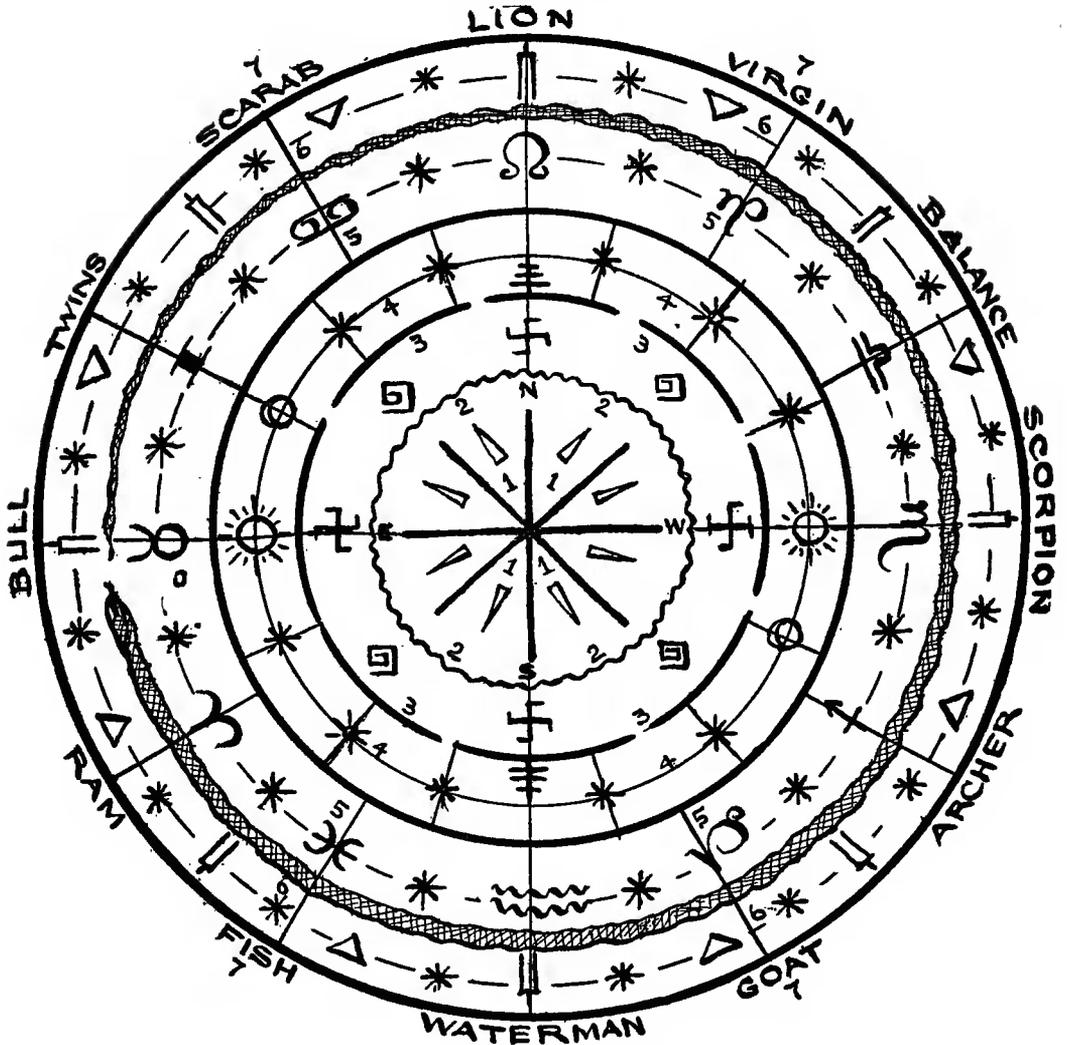
ANALOGOUS RADIOGRAMS

The Triskelion  the Volute  and the Meander  are evidently variations of the above, and probably stand for the same notions.¹

¹ Materials in Barton, *Babylonian Writing*, Nos. 13 (*Anu*), 5, 6, 7 (*Ba-Zu-Su*), 353 (*Kissatu*), 261, 419 (*Irsitu*), 186 (*Isatu*), 1, 353 (*As, Assur*), 116 (*Istar, Inina*), 196, 261 (*Arallu*), 500 (*Assatu*). Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 94, 134, 136, 143, 148, 154, 360 (*Kissat-Ilani, Su, Kis, Sar*). Danzel, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVIff. T. Wilson, *The Swastika*, (Washington, 1896) p. 765ff.

THE BABYLONIAN ZODIAC AN ADVANCED PLANISPHERE

SHOWING THE "MUSIC OF THE SPHERES"
IN COSMIC, PLANETARY, AND ZODIACAL ORIENTATION



- (1) REALM OF LIGHT—ANU-BEL-ENLIL-EA
- (2) REALM OF WATER—APSU-LAKMU-LAKAMU
- (3) REALM OF LAND—BEL-MARDUK-NEBO
- (4) REALM OF STARS—SAMAS-SIN-ISTAR
- (5) REALM OF ANIMALS—BEL-MARDUK-TIAMAT
- (6) REALM OF MAN—ADAPA-ABURU-EABANI
- (7) REALM OF DARKNESS—ABALU-BEL-NEGGAL-EA

- 1 COSMIC TRIAD (DIVINE SIGN)
- 2 DIVIDING COUPLE (HYDROSPHERE)
- 3 CREATING DEMIURGE (Tree of Life)
- 4 THE SEVEN PLANETARY GODS
- 5 THE TWELVE ZODIACAL GODS
- 6 CULTURE-HERO (WORLD SERPENT)
- 7 LAND OF SHADES (UNDERWORLD)

FOR SOURCES CONSULT THE KUDUBU-STONES AND THE TABLES OF DESTINY, (ANU-ENLIL SERIES), APUD JASTROW, KUGLER, JEREMIAS, ETC. OP. CIT. INFRA.

RECENT WORLD-SYMBOLS

THE BABYLONIAN ZODIAC

But triangular and quadrilateral themes are not the only ones. The pentagon, the hexagon, and even the heptagon appear very early, the latter being the symbolic expression for the "holy seven", the sun, the moon, and the five planets, and then for the seven days of the week. Another line of reasoning, that of counting the number of days during which sun and moon complete their wanderings through the starry vault, led to the discovery of the "twelve houses of the sun" and the "twenty-eight stations of the moon", that is the solar year and the lunar month (roughly $12 \times 30 = 360$), and thus the broad basis of the duodecimal and sexagesimal system had been laid.

In order to picture the world as it appeared to the first Babylonian "astronomers", we must not carry our twentieth-century zodiac, or even our planets, into the age of Hammurabi. The former had just begun to be sketched, while the latter were only five in number, more or less visible to the human eye. And so, in going back to the days when the first map of the heavens began to be made, we must not expect anything either complete or accurately scientific. A few *kudurrus*, or boundary-stones, are about all we have in the line of inscriptions, and these are often so jumbled and incoherent that it is difficult to draw any certain conclusions. It is only from the astrological, or divination-literature, here fairly copious, that definite results can be obtained. In the following diagram, which is only ideal,—not the copy of any existing print,—I have endeavored to indicate how the heavens appeared to the early Chaldeans, and what meanings were assigned to the different bodies and to their position with regard to the ecliptic, during the age when the spring-equinox was in the constellation of Taurus.

(1) *Cosmic Orientation*:—The first thought that will naturally suggest itself to the mind of man is that of "the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters that are under the earth" (Exod. 20, 4), an idea which can be traced in its germ to the sky, wind, and water-spirits of the earliest times. This in its more recent form is expressed by the cosmic triad, for which the early Babylonian furnishes probably the model. Thus we have *Anu-Bel-Enlil-Ea* for the highest, middle and lowest points of the universe, to which correspond to some extent the original Egyptian *Osiris-Isis-Set-Horus*, the Assyrian *Ashur-Ishtar-Adad* (Heaven-Earth-Storm), the Indo-Iranian *Asura-Mithra-Soma* (Heaven-Sun-Earth), the Hindoo *Brahma-Vishnu-Siwa* (Heaven-Air-Moisture), the Chinese *Khien-Khwan-Kan* (Heaven-Earth-Man), the Polynesian *Rangi-Papa-Tangaroa* (Sun-Earth-Moon), the N. American *Tachu, Tsitu, Tehulnakwi* (Sky-Earth-Underworld), etc.

RECENT WORLD-SYMBOLS

(2) *Planetary Orientation*.—Next in importance are the seven movable bodies of the firmament, which in later times were associated with the days of the week, and then with the zodiacal signs, as under:—*Samas-Apollo* (Lion), Midday-Sun,—Sunday, *Sin-Diana* (Crab), Scarab-Moon,—Monday, *Ninib-Mars* (Lion),—Tuesday, *Nebo-Mercury* (Scorpion),—Wednesday, *Marduk-Jupiter* (Bull),—Thursday, *Ištar-Venus* (Virgin),—Friday, *Nergal-Saturn* (Waterman),—Saturday. Of these, Sun, Moon, and Venus, are indefinitely ancient, as are also the Pleiades.

(3) *Zodiacal Orientation*.—Having obtained the four points of the universe by dividing the middle line into East and West, the next step was to associate these points with the ecliptic, or path of the sun, which, in the age of Taurus (about 2000 B. C.)—, the period during which the skeleton of the zodiac first began to be mapped out—, was known as the Lion, the Waterman, the Bull, and the Scorpion, the orientation being in every case to the south, as in the Mohammedan *Kibla* and the modern Roman system. Thus, the Lion as the highest point was the realm of *Anu* and other heavenly ones, while the Waterman as the winter solstice belonged to *Ea*, the Lord of the Deep (*Apsu*). Between the two was the realm of *Bel*, who as the “Lord of the Lands” became divided between the Bull and the Scorpion, the spring and the autumn equinox. (Compare the four Beasts of Ezekiel (1, 10), and the Apocalypse (4, 7), and the four Winds and four Gospels of Irenaeus (Adv. Haer. 3, 11). In the middle was the “sea of glass”, with the throne of heaven. Here Waterman= “Flying Eagle”). This identification is rendered increasingly certain by the signs of the inner zodiac, in which *Samas-Ninnib* is the mace with the “Lion’s” head (= *Anu*), *Apsu-Nergal* is the “Water-Eagle” (= *Ea*), *Marduk* is the eastern “Bull”, and *Nebo* the western “Scorpion” (Equation: *Bel-Marduk-Nebo*). Moreover the intermediate signs should also be considered:—*Lachmu* and *Lachamu* for the Twilight,—the “Twins”(?),—*Sin-Diana* for the spider-moon or scarab,—the “Crab”—*Ištar-Venus* for the “Virgin”, (Triad: *Samas-Sin-Istar*), *Anšar* and *Kišar* for equilibrium,—the “Balance”,—*Pazag* for shooting Centaur (or scorpion-man),—the “Archer”,—*Mummu* for wisdom,—the “Goat”,—*Nunu* for profundity,—the “Fish”,—(Triad: *Mummu-Apsu-Nunu=Ea*), and finally *Tiamat* for dragon-head near *Marduk*—the “Ram”. While exact divisions were not fixed until far later times, it seems quite certain that some such arrangement of celestials, terrestrials and infernals is hinted at,—the main features can hardly be accidental.²

² Sources in F. Winkler, *Himmels und Weltenbild der Babylonier* (Leipzig, 1903), E. Stükken, *Astralmythen* (Leipzig, 1907), P. Kugler S. J. *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* (Freiburg, 1911), A. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, (Leipzig-New York, 1911), M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens* (Giessen, 1912), Vol. II. pp. 415ff. 679ff.

RECENT WORLD-SYMBOLS

THE JEWISH KABBALA AND THE JOHANNINE WISDOM

The Babylonian Talmud is naturally replete with astral allusions. It is more especially among the Jewish writers of the Kabbala that we meet with an over-scrupulous desire to adapt the pagan wisdom to the letter of the law, to find in every symbol of the orient a direct allusion to the "faith once delivered". In this manner Jehovah and His seven archangels were the rulers of the Father-Sky and the seven planets, many arbitrary names were invented in order to make the resemblance more striking, and the whole universe was mapped out as a cryptic revelation of the divine Mind.¹

These ideas are clearly more ancient than the mediaeval theosophy. They find their roots in Sargon of Akkad, in Moses and the Prophets, in Pythagoras and Philo, and were finally welded into a higher unity by that master of mystic wisdom, St. John, the Divine.

(1) *Cosmic Interpretation*:—The old triad,—Heaven, Earth, and Ocean—, is now the symbol of the Trinity, the Father in Heaven, the Logos on Earth, and the Holy Ghost in Water and Fire;—the first Sign of the Cross, the baptismal formula. Though the signs are ancient, the things signified are "concealed". "I will utter things concealed from the foundation of the world".²

(2) *Planetary Interpretation*:—The seven stars of the ancients are the seven Spirits of Isaiah and the "Seven Stars" and "Seven Spirits" of St. John, applied also to the seven "angels", the seven "lamps", the seven "candlesticks", and finally the seven sacraments. "Seek Him who made the seven stars and Orion" (either planets or pleiades). Again, "The mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand, and the seven golden candlesticks".³

(3) *Zodiacal Interpretation*:—The four points of the universe are the four Beasts of Ezekiel and the four Faces of St. John,—the Ox, the Lion, the Man, and the Eagle—, certainly Cherubim, or adoring divinities. For St. Irenaeus they are also the four winds of heaven and the four gospels. The primaeva ocean is the "Sea of Glass", with the *Merkaba*, or Throne of Crystal. As to the inner zodiac, we have Christ as the Ram, or the "Lamb with seven horns", as the Bull or the Ox, the symbol of "strength", as the celestial Twins, possibly for His two "witnesses", as the Scarab or the "Lord of life", as the "Lion of the tribe of Juda", as the "Virgin-King", as the Balance, or the "Son of Justice", as the Scorpion, as the Archer, as the Scapegoat, as the Waterman, and above all things as the Fish, the most distinctive symbol of the apostolic church.⁵

¹ See Kohut, *Angelologie im Talmud*. ² Matt. 13, 35. John, 1, 14, 3, 5. ³ Comp. Is. 11, 2. Job, 9, 9, 38, 31. Amos, 5, 8. Apoc. 1, 20ff. ⁴ Is. 6, 2. Ezek. 1, 10. Dan. 7, 2. Ap. 4, 2ff. ⁵ Many of these signs have been identified in the Catacombs. Comp. Ap. 5, 6, 4, 7, 11, 3, 2, 10, 5, 5, 14, 4, 6, 6, 9, 5, 6, 2, 13, 8, 7, 17, 19, 9. and the sacrament-chapels.

RECENT WORLD-SYMBOLS

(4) *Supplementary Signs*:—In addition to the twelve zodiacal points as vaguely symbolical of the twelve characters of Christ, we have:—

(a) Christ as the King of Heaven, seated on the white horse, and identified with the morning star,—“I am the bright, the morning star”.⁶

(b) Mary as the Queen of Heaven, the “woman clothed with the sun” and “upon her head a crown of twelve stars”—“Sinless and beautiful, Star of the Sea”.⁷

(c) Joseph as the star of Bethlehem,—“We have seen his star in the East”, the star of the Messiah.⁸

(d) Lucifer as the falling star, “Wormwood”, the “seven-headed dragon”, etc.⁹

THE APOCALYPTIC SIGNS ARE A NEW REVELATION

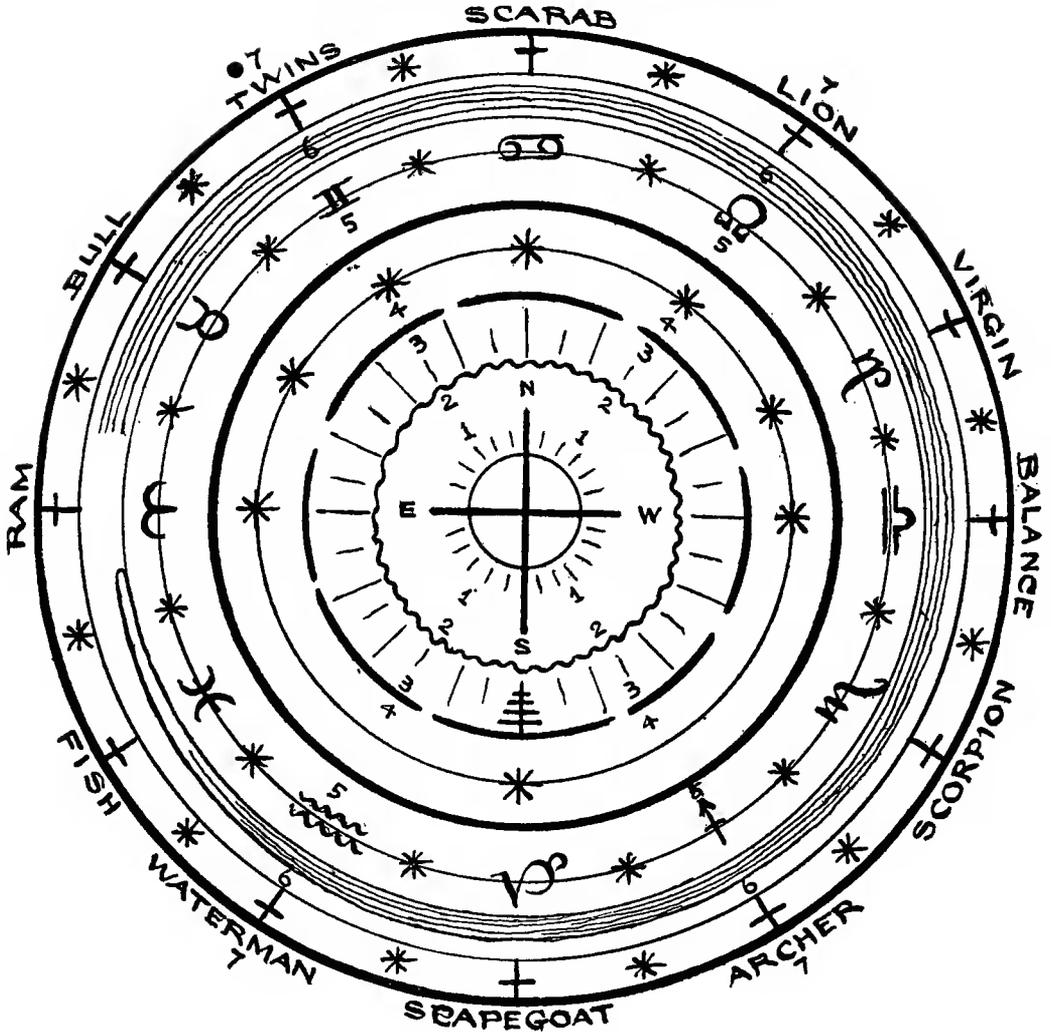
In the accompanying diagram I have brought together a few of the more prominent “converted” signs, in order to show that, however ancient and venerable the pagan zodiac may be taken to be, it can hardly serve as more than the outer garment of the new dispensation, it is the mere framework for an entirely original picture. Where before we had the firewheel and the swastika, we now have the beautiful Cross with its saving rays of light, where former ages saw nothing but sensual and phallic symbols, they now see the Son of man triumphing over the eternal serpent. That these are entirely new ideas is evident from the most cursory inspection of their content; it is not a question of reading a few cryptic meanings into the symbolism of the heavens, but of interpreting the entire celestial phenomena in the light of a unique supernatural fact, a fact which makes Christ and His Heavenly Mother the illuminating principle of a new order of creation. It will thus be seen at a glance that what was unknown to the pagan world is dimly foreshadowed in the prophets and fully revealed in the wonderful visions of St. John the Divine. In this way it will become more clear than ever that the old heavens do not give birth to the new, but are rather *transformed* by the latter, made to be the symbols of a unique dispensation.

THE NEW CRYPTOGRAMS

(5) *The Mystic Numbers*:—Finally we get the following numerical values:—1, for the Divine Unity; 2, for the double Nature; 3, for the Holy Trinity, and theological virtues; 4, for the four gospels and the cardinal virtues; 5, for the divine missions; 6, for the hexahemeron; 7, for the sabbath, the seven spirits, the seven heavens, the seven sacraments; 12, for the twelve apostles, the twelve foundations; 666, for antichrist, perverted power, perdition. Their separation from the prehistoric signs is beautifully described by St. Thomas in I, qu. 32, a. 1.

⁶ Apoc. 19, 11, 22, 16. ⁷ Ap. 12, 1. (Star of the Sea transferred from Ishtar, the evening star). ⁸ Matt. 2, 2. (the great planetary conjunction, or possibly a supernatural star). ⁹ Ap. 8, 11, 12, 3. ¹⁰ Further light on this subject in Jeremias, op. cit. and W. Ramsay, Was Christ born in Bethlehem, p. 215. See also under Redemption below.

THE CONVERTED ZODIAC OR THE CHRISTIAN HEAVENS



- (1) REALM OF LIGHT—DIVINE SIGN—HOLY TRINITY—SON OF MAN—(COSMIC)
- (2) REALM OF WATER—VEIL OF MYSTERY—SEA OF GLASS—MERKABA—RAINBOW
- (3) REALM OF LAND—CREATING LOGOS—TREE OF LIFE—PARADISE—(COSMIC)
- (4) REALM OF STARS—THE SEVEN SPIRITS AND THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM—(PLANETARY)
- (5) REALM OF ANIMALS—THE TWELVE CHARACTERS OF CHRIST (ZODIACAL SIGNS)
- (6) REALM OF MAN—CHRIST TRIUMPHING OVER THE FALLING STAR (LUCIFER)
- (7) REALM OF DARKNESS—SHEOL—GEHENNA—OUTER DARKNESS—UNDERWORLD

FOR SOURCES AND IDENTIFICATIONS SEE THE ACCOMPANYING TEXT.

COMBINED DATA

To obtain a general impression of the creation-idea as pictured in the mind of prehistoric man, it will be necessary to combine the foregoing material in such a manner that the main drift and tendency of prehistoric thought may the more easily be recognised. This will resolve itself into three questions, from the answers to which some such picture may be reconstructed. These concern: (1) The Manner of Creation, (direct or indirect?), (2) The Order of Creation, (logical or chronological?), (3) The Extent of Creation, (continuous or periodic?). Though it will be difficult to give a satisfactory answer to these questions in every single instance, the combined weight of a considerable number of data should be sufficient to establish a solid preponderance in favor of one or other of these alternatives, or at least to shed some light on their general tendencies.

I. PRIMITIVE AGE

(1) MANNER OF CREATION

(A) *Kari* creates directly the entire spiritual world,—for *Ple* is dependent. He creates indirectly the entire material world,—for *Ple* is a demiurge. *Ple* fashions the body of man, but “*Kari* gives them souls” (direct inhalation). *Peng* is identical with *Kari*, and *Tuhan*, *Pirman*, essentially the same, the position of *Ple* being paralleled to some extent by *Lanyut* and *To-Entah*. (B) *Puluga* creates without demiurge(?) the material and spiritual worlds. As a spider, He “spins out” the world, but creates the first human pair directly. (D) *Amaka* and *Quat-Marawa* are also spinning spiders, but *Ba-lingo-Ka-langi-Samoa* are super-human—, they “breathe into man the breath of life”. (F) *Baiame* creates all things directly, *Gregorally* being a divine “son”. *Bundjil* is Creator of all. He makes two men out of clay, first a black and then a less black one. He “breathes” into their mouths and they live. *Marra-Boona* is apparently Creator, He forms the first man with tail but without knee-joints; then the tail is cut off and the joints lubricated(?). (H) *Kaang* makes the first man whole and entire. Tailed baboons occur later. (K) *Kamushini* spins the universe out of his brain. He has made men out of arrows and women out of maize-stampers,—the first human pair.

These examples are sufficient to show,—and they may be multiplied indefinitely—, that in the mind of the primitive savage there is a strong persuasion that he and all things came *directly* from the hand of the Creator. This is more especially the case with the *soul* of man, which not even a demiurge is capable of producing. Even the “soul-bird” comes from paradise.

CREATION

COMBINED DATA

(2) ORDER OF CREATION

A certain chronological sequence of world-events seems to be vaguely revealed in the earliest legends, as witness:—

(A) *Kari-Peng-Tuhan* creates (1) Threefold Heavens, (2) *Ple-Lanyut-To-Entah*, the demiurge, (3) Sky, Wind, and Earth-spirits, (4) Paradise-Bridge, connecting the stars, (5) The Earth and the Underworld, (through *Ple*), (6) The body of man, (through *Ple*), and the soul directly.

(B) *Puluga* in a similar manner (1) The Sky-Palace, (2) *Pijchor*, the only “son”, (3) Numerous Sky-spirits, etc. (4) Paradise-Bridge, (5) Earth and Underworld, (6) The first humans, *Tomo* and *Chana*.

(D) *Amaka-Quat-Marawa* spins out Heaven and Earth, Light and Darkness, Storms, Rains, Winds, Seasons, and finally Man, known as *Adja* and *Djaja*, etc.

(F) *Baiame's* creation is in all respects similar to (A) and (B). The same of *Bundjil*, *Daramulun*, etc. as far as known to us. The order of material creation is generally: Earth, Trees, Man, or—mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdom.

(G) *Waka-Kaang*, etc. are universal Makers, but details are not forthcoming.

(K) *Kamushini* resembles (D) and (E). He spins out Heaven and Earth, Sun, Moon, and Stars, and is the Father of *Keri* and *Kame*, the first human twins.

We therefore get the following outline of creative epochs:—

- I. (1) The Heavens in general, the abode of divinity, the “Crystal Light Palace”, synonymous with “Light”, the “shining place”, etc.
- II. (2) The Demiurge, or “only son”, who as creator of the material Water world separates the higher from the lower creation by “brooding clouds”.
- III. (3) The Sky, Wind, Earth, and Water-spirits, who as angels or archangels, “breathe” on the shapeless earth and evolve the continents.
- IV. (4) The Paradise-Bridge spanning from the earth to the sun, Stars moon, and stars, the latter the abode of the blessed.
- V. (5) The Earth and the Underworld as productive of plants, Animals animals, serpents, monsters, and demons, the good and the evil creation.
- VI. (6) The first human couple, made out of earth and water, and Man directly fashioned in the image of divinity, “inhaling” the divine life.

(3) EXTENT OF CREATION

In every case the creative action is continuous and universal, there are no breaks. Only under (B) is the origin of the wicked spirits undetermined. General ideogram reveals Sky-, Wind- and Thunder-fruit-God.

From the combined material it is not too much to assert that creation is looked upon as *direct*, *immediate*, and *advancing in great stages*.

COMBINED DATA

II. TOTEMIC AGE

The earliest totemic cosmogony,—that of the Munda-Kol of central India,—is still comparatively pure and undeniably biblical. In the more advanced regions of America, Australia, and Eastern Africa, we note the gradual intrusion of a naturalistic system, as follows:—

(1) MANNER OF CREATION

(M, 1) *Sin Bonga* is a universal “maker” who lives in the sun, or is the sun. But he is a *Marang Buru*, a nature-deity, who creates by “hatching”, “breeding over the waters”, developing mankind out of a swan’s egg, etc. His spirits are largely *burus*, of half animal and even mineral form.

(M, 2) *Mulungu* as the Heavenly One is all-powerful, as the Sun-totem he is a vague mystery-force, concealed in every plant or animal in nature. The lesser *mulungus* are mere magical centers of fertilisation.

(M, 3) *Altjira-Tukura* of Central Australia, though theoretically supreme, has entirely lost the power of creating. He has become part of the world which is eternal, self-winding, and self-depending,—an automatic machine. Creation has become immanent, a secret potency contained in all being. Entities are multiplied by magic, more especially by the emu-totem.

(M, 4) The *Wakanda* of North-America is of very similar character. He is the “fountain” of all the *wakans*, yet he is himself a *wakan*, a “mystery” of nature, a mere link in the endless chain of existence, an evolving divinity.

It will be seen that while a personal Creator is still in the background, independent evolutionism is gradually beginning to assert itself.

(2) ORDER OF EVOLUTION

(M, 1) The order in which the Sun-spirit evolves the creation is this:—

(1) The High Heaven, (the sun), partly identified with himself. (2) Sky, Wind, and Water-*Burus*, who produce the primaeval ocean. (3) The tortoise, the crab and the leach, the latter of which procures the clay out of which the earth is formed. (4) Herbs, plants, and trees, followed by (5) birds, animals, and higher *burus*, known as *manita* and *banita bongas*,—good and bad spirits, and finally (6) Man, who as *Tota Haram* and *Tota Buri*, slip from the swan’s egg.

(M, 2) A similar order is probably traceable in the *mulungu*-system of Africa.

(M, 3) In the Australian system all things were evolved in “dreamtime”. The only order is from *inkaras*, through *amungas*, to *interinteras*, showing a gradation from life-units, through lizards, to half-human forms.

(M, 4) In North America The Seven Great Wakandas reveal a similar grouping, but are equally vague. No distinct time-order has been preserved.

CREATION

COMBINED DATA

PERIODS OF EVOLUTION

But while a clear-cut division of works or "days" is hardly to be expected, there are vague hints of a chronological succession, somewhat as follows:

- I. (1) The Sun as the first emanation, tantamount to "Light", or Light Sun-spirit, the "father of all the totems", the first mystery.
- II. (2) The primaeval Ocean measured by the Australian Dream-Water Time, and illuminated by the Moon-wakanda, the second mystery.
- III. (3) The Earth as the Life-Mother, the *buru-wakan-inkara* Earth germinal units as evolving under the Morning Star, the third mystery.
- IV. (4) The same units as "grass-seed" totems, fecundated by the Plants Thunder-Being and other Sky-wakandas, the fourth mystery.
- V. (5) The same units as snakes, lizards, buffalos, emus, and half-Animals human forms, *inter-interas* or "ground"-wakandas, the fifth mystery.
- VI. (6) The evolution of man (a) from the egg, (b) from the semi-Man humans in which the Sun-Wakanda plays a leading role, the sixth mystery.

(3) EXTENT AND MEANING OF EVOLUTION

This is apparently a continuous process of self-evolving germ-units, in which All-Father-Sun acts or shines in or through the creation. On the other hand, where the sun does not shine, there the All-Father is not directly active, unless we suppose the sun to be concealed *under* the *burus*, which is a difficult point and wanting in any clear proof. It is certain that in some cases the Sky-Father is completely otiose, He starts the world and then leaves it to itself, it is its *own* productive power. This spontaneous ascent from lower to higher may be said to take place.

- (1) The Pre-Cosmic Age, with the hypothetical "Sun-Spirit", who as the World-Embryo is symbolised by the dotted circle—
- in (2) The Inorganic Period, during which the "Sun-Serpent" three indicates the first vortex or "whirl" of things by the spiral—
- stages (3) The Organic Period, in which the "Buffalo Eye" becomes the life- and vision-symbol and culminates in spirit-man.

Broad eras of this kind are no doubt everywhere implied, but they have no definite boundaries, they dovetail into one another by imperceptible degrees. It seems to be fairly evident, however, that in this intermediate period of humanity there is a growing consciousness that creation is operated by *secondary*, *evolutional*, and more or less *independent* forces, with the final result that the whole universe of being (including the infinite) is looked upon as a huge evolutionary machine, without limits in space, and without beginning or end in time.

COMBINED DATA

III. RECENT AGE

In the second stone age the old idea of personal creation rises once more to the front, but with the marks of the preceding pantheism clearly visible on the surface. There is at first a decided "theogony", an evolution of gods out of natural forces, but these soon become independent and assume the role of personal agents.

(1) MANNER OF CREATION

(N, 1) If *Anu* be the equivalent of *En-lil* in the prehistoric age, and he again the equivalent of *Bel-Marduk* of Hamurabic times, the conclusion is not too forced that *Anu-Bel-Marduk-Ea* is a personal Creator, that he made or fashioned all things by "cleaving" the deep, and mankind by the cutting off of his head and the mingling of his blood with the earth. For if *Bel* be described as the logos of *Anu*, and *Ea* the divine Wisdom, the creative actions are transferable. In default of this, *Anu* must be looked upon as an Originator,—by what method, we do not know.

(N, 2) *Tum-Ra-Osiris* is a very similar figure,—a personal Evolver. As *Chnum Ra* he is the Workmaster who models the egg, which contains the World-Germ.

(N, 3) *Ashur* as the "self-created" is clearly transcendent, an all-powerful One.

(M, 4) *Elohim* is unique. He creates by "His Word", both directly and germinally,—“He commanded, and they were created”.

(N, 5) *Ahura-Mazda* creates by his seven spirits, but the method is evolutionary. Men and women grow up like plants and gradually assume human form.

(N, 5) *Brahma* splits the World-Egg, from which all things take their being, and *Vishnu* commands the earth to bring forth man, later woman. In China, all things are derived from the *Tai-ki Void* by permutations known as the *yang-ying* principles, from which males and females are produced. But *Shang-Ti* is the "Lord of creation", and *Niu-Hoa* forms man out of the yellow earth. In Greece *Chaos* is distinctly the father of gods, but *Zeus* soon becomes the only one, and through *Prometheus* he fashions the body of man, while the soul is inspired by *Athene*. In Germany-Scandinavia it is *Odin (Wotan)* that conquers *Ymir* the Deep and that "finds" the first human couple.

(N, 6) *Batara* creates by expanding and cleaving. He forms man out of clay, either directly or by means of his two bird-spirits, *Ara* and *Irik*. *Rangi-Papa*, etc. create by fecundation. Man springs from the head of a serpent.

(N, 7) *Awona* evolves all things by "thinking himself outward in space", and *Pachacamac* is a World-Soul, under whom man again evolves from the egg.

It will be seen that the idea of a *Personal Evolver* is the typical theme of this period, approaching to that of direct Creator, with or without a personal demiurge.

CREATION

COMBINED DATA

(2) ORDER OF CREATION

From the numerous cosmogonies of this period we obtain a fairly complete picture of the succession of divine works or manifestations, beginning with the supreme figure of the restored pantheon, as follows:—

- | | |
|---|--|
| I.
Day
and
Night
Theme
(Light) | From <i>Anu (Bel-Ea)</i> , <i>Osiris (Isis Set-Horus)</i> , <i>Brahma (Vishnu-Siwa)</i> , etc. from <i>Elohim</i> (with Seven Spirits) or <i>Ahura-Mazda</i> (with six <i>Ameshas</i>) there issues:—
(1) The primaeval Deep or Chaos, (<i>Mumu-Nunu, Apsu-Atum, Tiamat-Tehom-Temah-Tad-Taiki</i> , etc.), followed by Light and Darkness (<i>Lachmu-Lachamu, Shu-Tafnut, Or-Choshek, Adar-Tufar, Asar-Sad, Yang-Ying, Atea-Po, Phos-Erebus</i> , etc.), these couples being fairly universal. |
| II.
Heaven
and Earth
Theme
(Firma-
ment) | (2) Upper and Lower Worlds, (<i>Anšar-Kišar, Geb-Nut, Maim-Shamayim, Varuna-Indra, Khien-Khwan, Ara-Irik, Rangi-Papa, Ouranos-Gaia</i> , etc.), the order being sometimes inverted, as in the Egyptian scheme. |
| III.
Earth
and
Plant
Theme
(Land) | (3) Heaven, Earth, and Ocean as clearly distinguished, (<i>Anu-Bel-Ea) Osiris-Isis-Set (Horus), Brahma-Vishu-Siwa, Khien-Kwan-Shui, Rangi-Papa-Tangaroa</i> , etc.), the divine Triads in cosmic form, appearing more vividly in <i>An-Li-Ki, Samaš-Ištar-Ea, Shamayim-Eretz-Mayim</i> ,— <i>Varuna-Indra-Soma, Ouranos-Okeanos</i> , etc. The beginnings of vegetation, of plants, shrubs and trees is generally implied. |
| IV.
Sun and
Moon
Theme
(Stars) | (4) Visible Constellations and Seasons, expressed by Sun, Moon, and Stars, (<i>Samaš-Sin-Ištar</i>), the <i>Hammeoroth</i> of Genesis, the <i>Ašur-Mithra-Tishri</i> of Indo-Persia, the <i>Shao-Yang</i> and <i>Shao-Ying</i> of China, the <i>Apollo-Juno-Jupiter-Venus-Sirius</i> -system of Greece and Rome. |
| V.
Serpent
Theme
(Animals) | (5) The Animal Creation, very general throughout the series, the serpent being a fundamental,—(<i>Tiamat-Apophis-Hanachash-Azhi - Dahaka - Pan - Ku - Hydra - Ymir</i> , etc),— originally or partly cosmic powers. |
| VI.
Human
Theme
(Man) | (6) The Creation of Man,— <i>Adapa, Amelu, Eabani, Adam-Chawah, Yima (Yama), Mashia-Mashiana, Tanah-Kumpok, Deucalion-Pyrrha, Ask-Embla</i> , etc), some names indicating the earth as the <i>materia ex qua</i> . |

(3) EXTENT AND MEANING OF CREATION

While creative action seems to be continuous and never-ending, there are nevertheless broad periods of greater or less intensity, symbolised by

(1) The eight-rayed Star or Rising Sun, (*Anu, Tum-Ra-Osiris*)

(2) The Hexagonal Cross or Triangle, (*Aratu and Trimurti*)

(3) The Swastika or Fire-wheel, (*Assatu, Assur, Asura, Istar*)

expressing (1) Cosmic Light (2) Differentiation of matter (3) Feundation.

COMBINED DATA

GENERAL PICTURE FOR THE NEOLITHIC AGE

It seems to be evident that in this more recent epoch of humanity there has been a return to the more primitive concept of creation as a direct, a personal, and to some extent a supernatural process. But this action is no longer a simple "making" of things without regard to their proximate origins. The drama of the creation is pictured as proceeding in grand evolutionary epochs, which correspond to some extent with the Semitic Hexahemeron, while the latter leaves ample room for secondary forces,— "Let the earth bring forth", "Let the waters bring forth",—a *germinal* power. Even the strongly-worded "Let us make man" refers to the soul rather than the body of man, as is clear from the "image and likeness of God" which follows it. That this is a direct and unique process can hardly be doubted. For, however contemptible the origin of man on the material side,—earth, clay, dust, etc.—, nearly all the traditions agree, that the soul of man was inspired in a very extraordinary manner by the only power that is at all commensurate to perform such an act,—by Infinite Power. This is expressed by saying that the chief divinity has "surrendered his blood",—a tradition which comes to us from the oldest civilisation as yet known to us—from the land of Sumer.

CONCLUSIONS

By comparing the results obtained for the three prehistoric ages, it may be concluded with some certainty that the notion of creation has not been uniform throughout the prehistoric past, but that it has been colored by the prevailing philosophy of the time,—theistic, pantheistic, or polytheistic,—as the case may be. Thus we get

(1) Creationism as the Archaic Form,

the simple consciousness that all things were made by God, regardless of the when, the how, or the wherefore, but which is pictured as concrete, vivid, and anthropomorphic, a direct fashioning of things, an "inhaling" of souls.

(2) Evolutionism as the Totemic Form,

the growing conviction that this method is gradual and germinal rather than instantaneous, that creation is immanent, tending to pantheistic monism.

(3) Creative Evolutionism as the Recent Form,

the final persuasion, that while the method is evolutionary, the productive power is transcendent, thus returning to (1), but enriching and expanding the notion by (2), and making the Creator both *in* and *above* the creation, transcendent in nature, and partly immanent in action,—the ideal concept.

CREATION

CONCLUSIONS

Furthermore, if the question be asked, to what extent the existing divine tradition of Gen. 1-2, may be traced to remote prehistoric originals, the answer is that it can be traced to none in particular, but rather to all combined, that it embodies a series of ancient beliefs, the germs of which antedate any existing cosmology by indefinite periods, and fragments of which have survived in the mythology and folk-lore of many peoples, and more especially in the oldest legends that have come down to us,—but never in simple, unsullied, or unadulterated form. In other words:—

The Divine Tradition is Independent,

though closely paralleled by the earliest systems. It must be looked upon as a compact body of truth which, apart from its recent redaction, existed in all its essentials in the earliest ages of man, as witness the general similarity of thoughts and topics as revealed by those legends:—

(1) In the Primitive Period,

it is the All-Father, who, either with or without the demiurge or surrounding spirits, “breathes” out the whole universe of being in six periods:—(1) Light and Darkness, (2) Air and Water, (3) Earth and Man, (4) Sun and Moon, (5) Plants and Animals, and finally (6) Man, who, however insignificant his earthly origin, is looked upon as the special work of the deity, his soul being in nearly each case inspired, or modelled after the divine image.

(2) In the Palaeolithic Period,

the fundamentals of (1) are still preserved in the Munda-Kol cosmogony of Central India, but become more and more obscured in the distant areas, until no specific differences are left, all things being hatched out of mineral, vegetable, and animal forms by their own germinal power.

(3) In the Neolithic Period,

the six “Days” of creation come once more to the front, but have been enriched by a wider and deeper aspect of creative power,—to wit,—creation by evolution. Hence—

The Divine Tradition is

closest to (1), in its personal, direct, and monotheistic setting,—less close to (2), in its partly evolutionary coloring, (“Let the earth”, etc.), least close to (3), in its freedom from pantheistic, polytheistic, or dualistic touches, though forms and terminologies are undoubtedly similar.

It may therefore be affirmed with some confidence that we have in the Hebrew tradition the most faithful picture of the early consciousness of man on this subject, however recent its Mosaic “redaction” may be taken to be.

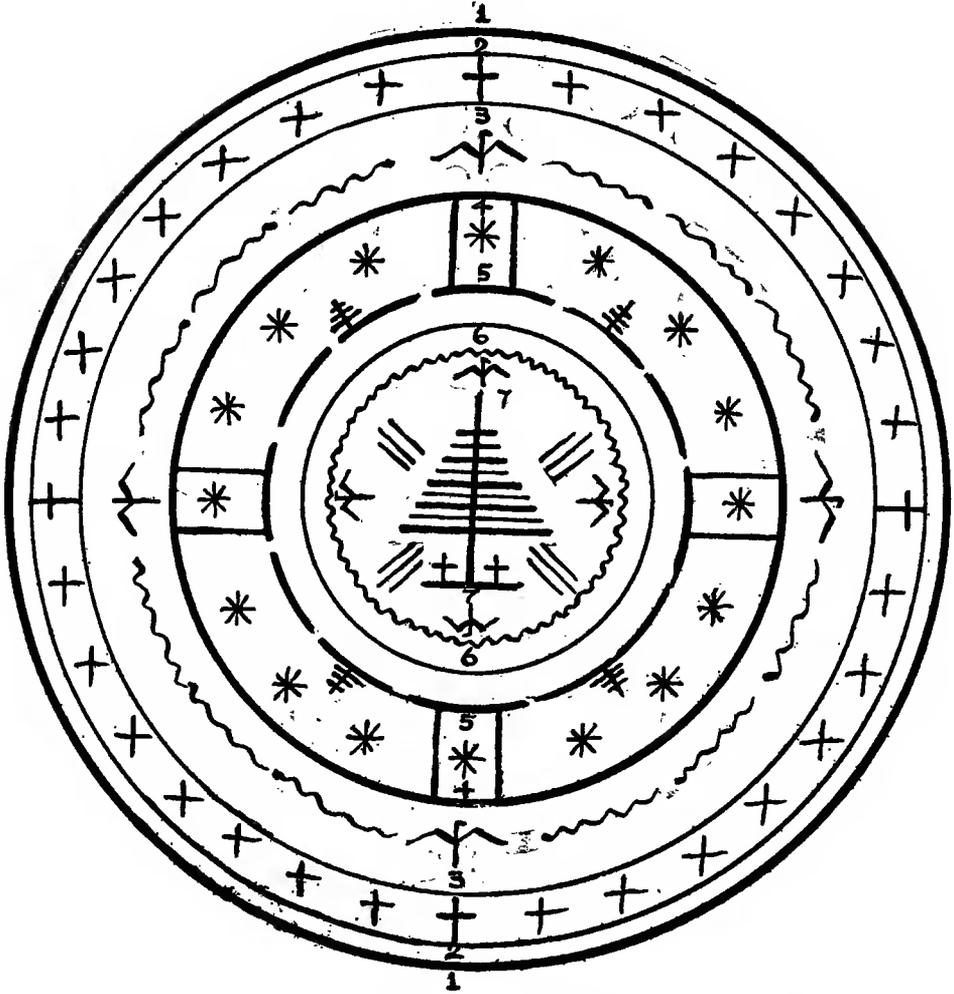
CHAPTER THE THIRD
DE DEO ELEVANTE

The Traditions on the
Elevation and Fall of Man

PRIMITIVE PARADISE PICTURE

SHOWING THE SEVEN HEAVENS AND THE TREE OF LIFE
AS REVEALED IN THE EARLIEST MYTHOLOGIES

(ZENITH ORIENTATION)



- (1) LOWEST HEAVEN—PLACE OF EMERGENCE—UNDERWORLD—DARKNESS
- (2) MAN-OF-EARTH HEAVEN—SONS OF MEN—CULTURE HEROES
- (3) EAGLE HEAVEN—WORLD-SERPENT—MAGIC HAWK—OMEN BIRD
- (4) STAR-HEAVEN—LIGHT-SPIRITS—GREAT DIVIDE—PARADISE-BRIDGE
- (5) RISING LAND HEAVEN—CELESTIAL ARCHIPELAGO—FRUIT ISLAND
- (6) THUNDER-HEAVEN—WIND AND WATER-SPIRITS—RAINBOW
- (7) MAGIC FRUIT HEAVEN—TREE OF LIFE—BIRD OF PARADISE—CHERUBIM?

In approaching the subject of immortality we feel that the burden of a heavy analysis is considerably lightened. As a more external and descriptive subject it is also more tangible, it lends itself more easily to popular treatment, and this the more so, as it is a problem of intensely vital and human interest, one that concerns every member of the race in a personal and intimate manner. Am I destined to live for ever? If so, why must I die? How is it that my body is subject to pain and infirmity, to disease and decay, and finally to death, the universal messenger of time? Does it not seem as if something had gone wrong in the original scheme of creation, as if the initial purpose of the Creator had been vastly different, had somehow been frustrated by an obstacle not originally in the divine plan, an obstacle not impossibly of man's own making, the result of his own free choice, the consequence of a failure, a fall, a rebellion? These are *a priori* considerations which, apart from the revealed teaching, are not of much value, however suggestive. Another answer is conceivable,—that these are not real evils but blessings in disguise, that death is a necessary “purge” of humanity, by no means opposed to the natural law, but rather its universal fulfilment, the means of making room for higher and better forms of life, of ridding the world of undesirables. We may think of these things as we may, they can bring us no nearer to the main question at present under discussion,—a question of fact. What was the early consciousness of man on this subject? How did he face the problem?

This will resolve itself into the investigation of the following points:—

- (1) Did man consider himself as essentially immortal in the beginning?
- (2) Is there any record of an ideal state, or a possible probation?
- (3) How was this immortality lost, and with what consequences to mankind?

From this threefold consideration it should be possible to clear up this question from the standpoint of facts, regardless of what philosophy may have to say in the matter. For if philosophy is certain of the immortality of the soul, it is theology only that can give a complete solution to the mystery of death.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(A, 1) MALAKKA,—THE NEGRITOS OF PERAK

“To ask these people whether the soul is immortal appears the height of strangeness”, says a recent reporter. “And how could it die? it is like the air”, was the laconic reply of an old Malakkan native, to whom the question seemed superfluous. This is a very general persuasion throughout the peninsula.¹ As to the origin of bodily death, we have the following fragment of a legend preserved by the negritos of the province of Perak:—

“When *Kari* had created man, they were very good. Death was not yet established, and the Semang, living on fruits, prospered and soon got numerous. But *Kari* saw that they were getting too numerous, and came down to the Jelmol mountains to look nearer, and consider what was to be done. The Semang, crossing the mountains, did not see him, for none can see him (sic), and they ran over his foot like ants. He blew them away, but his breath was fiery and burnt them all up throughout the neighborhood. Seeing this, he ordered his breath to collect and conduct their souls to heaven”. At the continued disobedience of man, *Kari* became furious, but *Ple* pitied them and prevailed upon *Kari* to stop slaughtering mankind except in special cases when his wrath was provoked. “When *Kari* sends his lightnings now, they kill the Semang in a body, but the death-messengers only kill certain individuals at *Kari's* command.

THE ISLAND OF FRUITS AND THE SOUL-TREES

That life and death are connected with certain trees is implied by the fact that *Kari* sends out souls from the Paradise-Tree,—evidently a Tree of Life—, which tree grows on the Island of Fruits and is guarded by the Giant Baboon, while the fruit of the Soul-Tree is *eaten* by the mother, as well as the Soul-Bird, which conducts the new soul from *Kari's* Paradise. This means that every new birth implies a fresh eating of the paradise-fruit.²

THE PYTHON AND THE RING-DOVE

If then immortality was lost because mankind multiplied too rapidly, it will stand to reason that the divine command must have been a prohibition of premature marriage and thus of eating the fruit. While there is no serpent other than the World-Python, the first human couple, in spite of the warnings of the Ring-Dove, succumb to their passions, they breed promiscuously with their offspring, and to check the rise of a race of idiots, *Kari* decrees their death:—“*Let men die like the Banana!*”³ ⁴ Such is the verdict of the Thunder-God upon those who transgress his laws.

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, II. 194-195. ² *Idem*, II. 211-212. ³ *Idem*, II. 207, 217, 225. The “name-tree” is the earthly equivalent of the paradise-tree. ⁴ *Id.* II. 184, 218.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(A, 2) MALAKKA,—THE SENOI-TRIBES OF PERAK AND SELANGOR

The Senoi peoples of Central Malakka have a parallel tradition:—“Originally man and beast lived on fruits alone, and every tree and plant (even rattan and bamboo) bore sweet and wholesome fruit. Demons or “hantus” however dwelt in all of them, and hence men, whenever they desired to fell a tree, used to knock upon its trunk to warn the demons to leave it. The land, however, was full of apes, who used to break off twigs and thus incurred the wrath of the demons, so that many of the trees took to bearing seeds only, or else bore sour or noxious fruits”. (Notice the souring of the trees through the influence of the apes and demons,—an evil power).

“Then famine commenced, and *Peng* (or *Tuhan*) ordered the people to slay wild beasts for food, and taught them the use of the blow-pipe. Whereupon certain trees and plants offered to make their sap poisonous and lend it to man, so that they might be revenged upon the apes. The bamboo-demons, however, soon became wroth with man as well, they applied to *Peng* for help, but he, grasping in his red-hot hands a clump of “Seven-Bamboos”, into which the demons had crept, forthwith turned the demons themselves into stone”.⁵

THE PARADISE OF FRUITS AND THE HEALING-TREES

Here it is the Areca or Dampong-Palm which is the most powerful life-giving tree, while the Chinduai or Love-plant is a dangerous stimulant, which causes people to lose their reason and to fall into violent love. Both are remotely connected with the “Island of Fruits” in the distant ocean, and are very probably guarded by the same protectors. They are “Soul-Trees” having the power of life and death, though the soul-“bird” is not mentioned.⁶

THE SERPENT AND THE WORLD-EAGLE

Now if the trees of the island were turned sour through the machinations of the demons, it is clear that the original trees were good and wholesome, and thus the Areca Palm-fruit may be plausibly connected with the days of man’s innocence, while the Love-plant is singularly suggestive of a tree of temptation, of forbidden knowledge. The fact that the demons are opposed to *Peng* and that he wishes man to live, this seems to reveal some connexion between “tree” and “life”, as the trees are so closely interwoven with the rest of the story. Again, the dragon *Rahu* figures as the power of evil, and in *Klang-Blok*, the giant *Eagle*, we have a faint echo of another “protector”. It is through the killing of this eagle with a magic knife that *Balut* wins the hand of *Walut*,—the first human pair.⁷ The stories are somewhat loose and incoherent, but the idea of a forbidden fruit is strongly suggested.

⁵ Skeat, op. cit. II. 234. ⁶ Idem. II. 257, 262. ⁷ Idem. II. 235-236. (world-beliefs).

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(A, 3) THE MANTRA-JAKUNS OF SELANGOR

"Unlike the Benua of Johor, who apparently have no belief in the existence of the soul after death, the Mantra possess a peculiarly positive faith in another world". The father and mother of the first humans were called *Ayer* and *Tanah*,—"Drop of Water" and "Clod of Earth"—, and it was from *Mertang* and *Belo*, their sons, that all people were descended.

"They came from a place called 'Rising Land' in the Sky", which sky was originally "very low and near to the earth" until *Belo* "raised it with his hands" in order to make room for his farming operations(!). "In the course of time the descendents of *Mertang* multiplied to such an extent that he was forced to go to the Lord of the Underworld, and represent the state to which things had come, and *Tuhan*, Lord of the Underworld remedied it by turning one-half mankind into trees. In those days men did not die, but grew thin at the waning moon, and waxed fat again as she neared the full. In the earliest times there used to be three suns,—husband, wife, and child—, and hence there was no night, since there was always one sun left in the sky when the others had set. In those days, too, people slept as they felt inclined, and there were no divisions of time".⁸

THE RISING LAND AND THE UPAS-TREES

There can be little doubt that the Upas-Trees of the Besis were regarded as "poison-trees" simply to emphasise their dreaded, mysterious, and life or death-imparting character. They are the Coconut- and the Betel-Palm, neither of which are poisonous, as on one occasion a Jakun persisted on eating one of the tempting Cocoa-nuts, with the result that he immediately dropped down dead(!). The same qualities might have been applied to the banana, or any other tonic. Here also there is an Island of Fruits, "where old people become young again, where there is no pain or sickness, and where there is such an abundance of well-water that it brings forth seven lakes".⁹

THE TIGER AND THE LORD-KNOWS-WHO

Again, we have the same idea of over-multiplication as the cause of the death and divine anger that we have already certified for the negritos. There must surely be some connexion between the loss of innocence and immortality and the eating of some stimulating or "sexual" fruit. For if the Tiger represents the devouring enemy of man, it is *To Entah*, the "Lord-knows-Who", that pleads for his salvation, albeit in vain. "*Let men die like the banana and leave their offspring behind!*" is *Tuhan's* verdict, and ever since men have ceased to renew their youth like the moon, and have died like the banana.¹⁰

⁸ Skeat, II. 336ff. ⁹ Idem, II. 292, 315. ¹⁰ Idem, II. 337-338.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(B, 1) ANDAMAN ISLANDS

"The Andamanese do not regard their shadows, but their reflections in a mirror as their souls". As in Malakka, the color of the soul is said to be red, but that of a spirit is black, and though invisible to human eyes, they partake of the form of the person to whom they belong. There is a three-fold division of man according to "body, soul, and spirit", the "spirit" being of its nature immortal, and imparting this property to the inferior members at the consummation of time.¹

The paradise-legends are in all respects similar to those of Malakka, but are rather more explicit in describing the origin and equipment of the first human pair. The main thoughts are as follows:—

THE GARDEN OF PLEASURE, OR WOTAEMI-PARADISE

This is situated in a definite locality, on the island of South Andaman, (long. 98° 52', lat. 12° 18'). In the beginning, after the world had been made, *Puluga* created a man whose name was *Tomo*. He was black, like the present inhabitants, but much taller, and bearded (sic). His wife was *Chana Elevadi*, formed by *Puluga*, and given to him as his partner. *Tomo*, and *Chana* were instructed by *Puluga* in the art of making fire, of manufacturing bows and arrows, baskets and canoes, and were equipped with the power of speech.²

THE JUNGLE-FRUIT AND THE DIVINE COMMAND

Puluga then showed them the various fruit-trees in the jungle, which then existed only at *Wotaemi*, and in doing so he told them not to partake of certain of them during the rains. The species are not determined.

A TRANSGRESSION IMPLIED WITH A PUNISHMENT

In the sequel, the first pair and their progeny began to multiply in alarming proportions, and with this multiplication there came a degeneration. They grew more and more disobedient, more and more remiss in the observance of the divine command. Finally *Puluga* sends a great flood and destroys them all.³

A PERSONAL SIN OF THE FIRST COUPLE

Though the transgression is fastened on the race, not on the individual, it is not difficult to read between the lines, and by comparing the Malakkan tradition, to trace this culpability to the first ancestors. In any case, the loss of indefinite longevity and the expulsion or dispersion from paradise is accompanied by the breach of the divine command and by growing sexual and moral laxity. This reveals an *essential connexion* between the loss of paradise and the transgression of the natural and the divine positive law,—the command to abstain from certain fruits.

¹ Man, Andaman Islands, p. 94. ² Ibid. pp. 96-97. ³ Ibid. p. 98.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(B, 2) CEYLON

It will hardly be necessary to prove that the Veddas have a lively faith in immortality, seeing that their entire religion consists of little else than an invocation and propitiation of ancestors. It is more especially the *yaka*-part of a man,—his invisible spirit—, that claims direct kinship with the “gods”, and though intensely real, it is neither ghost nor dream-spirit, but an indescribable something, which is perhaps best expressed by “personality”.¹ The only intimation we have of a formerly deathless state of mankind, is, however, an indirect one, it is derived from the fact that the only passport to a life of blessedness is obtained by a close intercommunion with the departed *yakas*, and more especially with the Great *Yaka*, who is himself the author of all life, of all virtue, of all happiness.

THE LAND OF THE MORA-TREES

One of the few legends on the origin of the Vedda clans speaks of them as coming from the “hill of the mora-trees” in the “eastern province”, where the earliest Veddas lived off the fruits of the jungles, and were evidently not carnivorous. But apart from the association of this life with a definite fruit, and the possible hint at a better state of humanity in former times, there is little significance in the story.²

KANDE YAKA AND THE SACRED COCONUT

A more definite thought is revealed by the intimate connexion that seems to exist between *Kande Yaka* and the offering up of the coconut as a special sacrifice to him alone. The giving of the staple commodity of life to the chief divinity, followed by its partial consumption by the worshippers, seems to insinuate, if anything can do, that the channels of life and death are in some way related to a particular food, that as the food is health- and strength-producing at present, it was probably so in the past. Further than this, however, the materials will not allow us to go.³

(C) PHILIPPINES

The same line of reasoning applies to the Philippine region. Among the negritos of Zambales the practice of offering up the banana to the Great *Anito*, and the firm belief that “disease is the punishment for wrongdoing”, for the wilful transgression of his laws, seems to reveal the same consciousness of a primitive state of integrity, which was lost by a moral failure, and can only be rectified by the sacrifice of its proximate cause—evidently the consumption of a prohibited food—, here the Banana.⁴

¹ Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 122ff. ² *Idem*, p. 73-74. ³ *Idem*, p. 218ff. ⁴ Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 65.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(D) BORNEO

Among the Orang Ukit, commonly known as Punans or Bakatans, it is again the Coconut and the Betel-Palm that are peculiarly sacred, the latter being offered to the supreme divinity in order to "call back the wandering souls of the erring",—evidently implying some power of healing, of rejuvenation.

THE SACRED-PALM AND THE CROCODILE

The custom of placing the sacred blossom on the image of the crocodile is difficult to interpret, unless we suppose that it symbolises the triumph of life over death, of the saving over the destroying principle in nature. For if the crocodile in these regions is the greatest enemy of man,—being feared rather than worshipped,—it is no less evident that the betel-palm is the source of a large part of his sustenance, and the invocation of the "High Father" on these occasions shows pretty clearly that the betel is the symbol of life. But if this is so, the above combination is strangely redolent of tree, serpent, and temptation, more especially as the forest-men have a strong sense of immortality, of the rigors of divine justice.¹

AMAKA AND THE ENCHANTED FOREST

The terrestrial paradise of the Kayans is a forest of enchanted fruits. It is known as *Apu Kayan*, or "fatherland of trees". Here it is *Amei-Tingei* that tests the endurance of the first couple, *Amei* and *Djaja*, by sending a rice-famine. While nothing is said of the moral cause of this famine, it is clearly of the nature of a punishment, as the rice, though formerly abundant, is suddenly withdrawn, and *Amei* is forced to ascend to the highest Heaven of *Amei-Tingel* in order to recover it. This seems to imply the loss of an exceptional treasure by an exceptionally grievous offence, for if the rice never had failed, men would never have died, but would have gone straight to *Amei's* Place of Heavenly Delights, the *Apu Lagan* above the clouds. As it is, men have to die, because "they are made of flimsy bark-fibre" (!).²

THE STONE AND THE BANANA

The Toradjas of Central Celebes have preserved the words of the sentence:—"Because you have chosen the banana", says *Samoa* to the first pair, "your life shall be like its life. When the banana-tree has offspring, the parent-stem dies: so shall ye die and your children shall step in your place. Had ye chosen the stone, your life would have been like the life of the stone, changeless and immortal",—a decidedly powerful statement.³

¹ Hose and McDougall, J. A. I. XXXI. 196. Idem, Pagan Tribes, II. 84, 186. ² Nieuwenhuis, Centraal Borneo, I. 143. Quer durch Borneo, I. 99-103, 132. ³ A. C. Kruyt, De legenden der Poso-Alfoeren aangaande de eerste menschen, Mededeelingen van wege het Koninklijke Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap, (1894), Vol. XXXVIII. p. 340.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

BATARA AND THE RAINBOW

Other fragments of the same tradition are found among the Makassars. It is *Batara*, the divine(?) son of *Adyi* and *Datu*, the *Kalangi* or Heavenly One, who descends from the skies on a bamboo and a rainbow, and prepares a happy dwelling for man, which, however, is only of short duration. For *Batara* and his rainbow soon disappeared, and with it the only access to paradise.⁴

AMAKA AND THE KANARI-TREE

In the Spice Islands it is *Amaka* again who plants the *Kanari-Tree*, out of which men and women spring forth, while others say that they came out of the *Nunu-Tree*, a species of fig, which was planted on the mountain summit of an island in the West (sic). In the Aru Islands similar trees are sacred to the *Abuda*, possibly in recollection of a similar origin.⁵

(E) NEW GUINEA AND MELANESIA

Among the Papuan and Melanesian primitives, the legends on this subject are no longer as numerous, though the few items collected should merit our attention.

WONEKAU AND THE CASUAR

The Karesau-Islanders speak of *Wonekau* as living in the high heavens and as the ruler of human destiny. There is hint, however, that *Wonekau* demands the sacrifice of a food-stuff as a condition of immortality,—as witness:—"Has *Wonekau* lived in Heaven for a long time?" "They haven't told me", was the answer, "but I am forbidden to eat the casuar for ever"!—This points to some connexion between the eating of the food and the "heavenly" or benignant character of the divinity, though this is only an inference.⁶

CHIDIBEY AND THE DAYS OF PLENTY

The Mafulus say, that in the days of old there was a wonderful being called *Chidibey*, who taught them all they know, and is now living in the land of the white man, whose superior knowledge is acquired from him alone (sic). They cannot explain his disappearance, but they regret that he ever left them, and point to certain rocks as the vestiges of his footsteps.⁷

QUAT-MARAWA AND THE SERPENT

The Melanesian story of the serpent's skin is amusing, but still instructive:—"At first men never died, but cast their skins like the serpent. But through the failure of an infant to recognise its aged mother, the mother went to the river and redonned her cast-off skin. From that time mankind ceased to cast their skins and have died"(!).⁸

⁴ Wilken, *Het Animisme*, p. 232ff. Kruyt, *Idem*, p. 467ff. ⁵ Riedel, *De sluik en kroesharigen rassen*, p. 7, 51, 106, 252ff. ⁶ Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, p. 117. ⁷ Williamson, *The Mafulu*, p. 264. ⁸ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 265.

EARLY OCEANIC TRADITION

(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

In the Australian region of the far South-East, the paradise-legends are no longer as vivid or well-rounded as in the Indian Archipelago. This is only to be expected on the theory, now generally accepted, that man did not originate in Australia, but was a very early immigrant into that continent, having drifted from Indonesia southwards during the first wave of human expansion. The following fragments, however, will be found to be of some importance, as they show the continuity of the same fundamental ideas.

(F, 1) BAIAME AND THE HONEY-TREE

The legend says that at first the tribes were meant to live for ever. The women were told never to go near a certain hollow tree. The bees made a nest in this tree, and the women coveted the honey, but the men forbade them to go near it. But at last one woman determined to get the honey,— chop went her tomahawk into that hollow trunk, and out flew a huge bat. This was the spirit of death, which was now let free to roam the world, claiming all it could touch with its wings.¹

(F, 3) BUNDJIL AND THE BAT-TREE

The native origin of this story is rendered highly probable by the existence of a very similar bat-story among the aborigines of Victoria.

It relates how the first man and woman were forbidden to go near a tree in which a bat lived, lest they should disturb the creature. One day, however, the woman was gathering firewood and she went near the tree. Out flew the bat, and men have died ever since.²

(F, 5) MUNGAN-NGAUA AND THE "GREAT SECRET"

The same notion seems to be implied in the numerous food-restrictions which play such a prominent part at the initiations. It is *Mungan-ngaua* who destroys mankind on account of the violation of a "secret", which secret includes the abstention from certain foods as sacrosanct, for its observance is held to bind under penalty of death, surely a strong sanction.³

From the combined matter the following points may at least be inferred from the context:—

- (1) Immortality was the original destiny of man.
- (2) Man underwent a Tree-probation to which he succumbed.
- (3) Death was the price paid for yielding to this temptation.

Thus the skeleton of a paradise-story is handed down in undiminished form, though the actors seem to be more far off, less individuated.

¹ Langloh-Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 98. ² Brough-Smith, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, Vol. I. p. 428. ³ Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 630, 633, 639.

EARLY AFRICAN TRADITION

(G) THE NEGRILLOS OF CENTRAL AFRICA

That the Negrillos believe the soul to be immortal is evident from their eschatology, in which the soul is judged, rewarded, or punished, according to merit.¹ As to the origin of bodily death, no explicit account of a trial or fall of man has so far been reported, but that some such tradition may exist in the undercurrent of the popular mind seems highly probable in the view of the popular legends that are associated with certain life-giving herbs. These fruits are looked upon as sacred, they must never be eaten directly, not until certain portions have been offered up to the deity.

NZAMBI AND THE MODUMA-TREE

Among these the so-called Moduma-Tree occupies such a prominent position in the religious cult that some explanation of its religious symbolism seems to be called for. There are various specifics for securing praeternatural powers that are perhaps more magical than religious in character. The application of the Iboga, or "Red-Fruit" for the purpose of obtaining the power of clairvoyance, of seeing extraordinary visions, is probably of this nature, as it is not identified with any distinctly religious notions. But it is different with the Moduma-Tree. The sacred nut of this tree is believed to be the direct gift of the Creator,—*Nzambi*—, and is invariably consumed in the fire and offered to Him as a holocaust.²

THE POWER OF INVISIBILITY

By mixing the bark or sap of the Moduma with certain other specifics, sometimes with their own blood, these people obtain the power of indefinite agility and invisibility, of being able to elude all their enemies. While the primary object of this ceremony is evidently a utilitarian one,—that of protecting themselves against the wild animals of the chase, as well as their human pursuers—, the properties believed to be acquired cannot but suggest the preternatural equipments of the "risen" body. In any case these beliefs and practices tend to show that the higher powers of man are concealed in certain foods which are in the exclusive gift of the divinity. "The Moduma", says Bishop LeRoy, "is a word which comes from the root meaning 'to be famous, to be celebrated, to be great', and is a magnificent and very rare tree, of which I have seen only three specimens. Very massive and very tall, it rises in single majesty near the rivers, and at a height of twenty or thirty metres carries a superb crown. Its bark emits an agreeable odor and when one strikes it, say the natives, it resounds as if to respond" (!).³

¹ LeRoy, *Les Pygmées, Négrilles d'Afrique et Négritos de l'Asie*, p. 180. ² *Idem*, pp. 188-192. ³ *Idem*, p. 190 (note).

AFRICAN TRADITION

(H) THE BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI

"Death is but a sleep", says the Bushmen proverb, though its origin is left in obscurity; it is difficult to say *why* we have to die. But the following story, known as the Quing-legend, may throw some light on the subject.

KAANG AND THE ENCHANTED BUSH

"*Kaang*, (the "Lord" of the Bushmen), had a son called *Kogaz*, whom he sent to cut sticks to make bows. When *Kogaz* came to the bush, the baboons caught him. They called all the other baboons to hear him, and they asked him, who sent him there. He said his father sent him to cut sticks to make bows. So they said, "Your father thinks himself more clever than we are, and he wants those bows to kill us, so we'll kill you". And they killed *Kogaz* and tied him in the top of a tree, and they danced around the tree, singing an indescribable baboon-song, with a chorus, saying, "*Kaang thinks he is clever.*" *Kaang* was asleep when *Kogaz* was killed, but when he awoke, he told *Koti* to give him his charms, and he put some on his nose, and said, the baboons have hung *Kogaz*. So he went to where the baboons were, and when they saw him coming close by, they changed their song so as to omit the words about *Kaang*, but a little baboon-girl said: 'Don't sing that way, sing the way you were singing before'. And *Kaang* said, 'Sing as the little girl wishes', and they sang and danced as before. Then he said, 'That is the song I heard, that is what I wanted, go on dancing until I return'. And he went and fetched a bag full of pegs, and went behind each one of them as they were dancing and making a great dust, and he drove a peg into each one's back, and gave it a crack, and he sent them off to the mountains to live on roots, beetles, and scorpions as a punishment. *Before that baboons were men*, but since that they have tails and their tails hang crooked. Then *Kaang* took *Kogaz* down, and gave him a canna, and made him alive again".⁴

THE POWER OF IMMORTALITY

The only significance of this very nonsensical story is the power of immortality and resurrection that is apparently vested in the "lord" of life. The enmity between *Kaang* and the demons who kill his first-born son, is a clear proof that death is of demoniacal origin, that it has no place in the counsels of divinity, that it is the result of a rebellion. For he immediately undoes their work by raising *Kogaz* to life, by turning them into baboons with crooked tails, and by banishing them to the mountains to live off scorpions,—surely an unpleasant fate.

⁴ G. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, p. 117 (giving the sources).

AMAZONIAN TRADITION

(K) CENTRAL BRAZIL

The folk-lore of the Brazilian races is immense, there being hardly a tribe or people that is without its native account of the origin of things or of some story of the "good old times". But if we confine ourselves to the Bakairi of the upper Shingo, it is partly because they are among the more primitive, partly because they are better known to us than most of the forest-tribes of the interior.

THE ETHICS OF IMMORTALITY

The most interesting fact, however, is the general persuasion of these peoples that *there would be no death if all men were good*, implying, therefore, that sin is the origin of death, and indeed of all evil.¹ This is brought out with considerable force in the paradise-legend, which I have already given in the preceding chapters, but which is worth studying with greater attention, in view of the points now under discussion.²

KAMUSHINI AND HIS HEAVENS

The Bakairi trace everything to heavenly origins, and so in the beginning of the world, heaven and earth were united, all was Heaven, and in or above the heaven was *Kamushini*, the "Shining Light", or the King of Heaven, by whom all things were made, and all things were governed. Into this world he places the first human twins,—*Kari* and *Kame*—, made out of arrows and maize-stampers, and equipped with the power of recognising him as their father, for they call him *Papa*, a name which sounds familiar and ought to speak for itself. In those days men lived for ever, there was no death, and paradise was on earth, a heavenly world, blazing with light and glory.

DEATH THE RESULT OF WITCHCRAFT

In the sequel, the origin of death is shrouded in mystery, there is nothing to tell us how the reign of immortality came to an end, how heaven and earth were separated. But the firm conviction that there would be no death if all were good, that death is the result of sorcery, of bad magic, this implies that death is in some way the result of sin, of a moral failure. Now this is a point of no small importance. For if the black arts among many of the nature-peoples go unreprieved, if, on the contrary, they represent very often the highest pinnacle to which mankind can aspire, it is all the more encouraging to find a primitive people, for whom misery, disease and death are attributed to the baneful influence of witchcraft. This motive is only a negative one, but it means direct repudiation.

¹ Von den Steinen, *op. cit.* p. 344. ² *Idem*, p. 348ff. Ehrenreich, *op. cit.* p. 45ff.

AMAZONIAN TRADITION

THE KERI AND KAMES TREES

There are two trees mentioned in connexion with the national ancestors, which seem to have something to do with this story. They are known as the *Keri* and *Kames* Trees, which are sacred, and upon the stumps of which food-stuffs are occasionally placed in the hope of averting the thunderbolts of the Almighty. While there is no direct statement to this effect, it seems quite possible, that they have more than local significance, that they are meant to imply that the primitive pair lost the gift of immortality through the consumption of a forbidden food, and that the same food must be sacrificed to the deity in order to reconquer the heavens. This thought is easily suggested, but is wanting in positive proof.

THE TRANSFORMATION-SCENE

But whatever may have been the proximate cause of the fall of man, of the loss of heavenly innocence, heaven and earth were destined to be parted, there is a mysterious transformation-scene, during which *Keri* addresses the god of heaven in language that is more imperative than comprehensible:—"You shall not stay here", he says, "my people are dying. And yet you remain here. *You are good*, but I do not wish my people to die!" But Heaven answers in still more emphatic tones, "I *will* stay!", to which *Keri* replies in disgust,—"*Then I will change!*" At this point he and all his people slide off to the earth, while Heaven goes upward,—the millennium had come to an end.

THE IDEA OF JUSTICE

From these fragments it is clearly impossible to read a definite ethical content into the scene. But the repeated request of *Keri* that Heaven may leave them, because, though Heaven is "good", he is the cause of his people's death, this seems to insinuate that immortality was lost through a rebellion against the decrees of heaven, that heaven is in fact "too good" to hold them, that they would rather live on earth than continue to face the rigors of divine justice. Even the escape of the people and the change of the heavenly for the earthly climate is, however, impotent to ward off the fatal decree,—men have continued to die ever since, and *Keri's* arrow-made men are in no better plight,—all must face their inevitable doom. It may therefore be concluded with some probability, that though many important links in this story are missing, the idea of a divine vengeance upon the past sins of men and the consequent loss of eternal life through a moral delinquency, is forced upon us, the nature of the delinquency being variously hinted at as black magic, immorality, or the consumption of forbidden fruits.

AMAZONIAN TRADITION

This sense of justice, this consciousness that man has brought this fate upon himself through his own fault, is in fact a very wide persuasion among the Amazonian peoples, as may be proved by the numerous fire and flood-legends, in which the heroes are always the righteous few, while the great majority are consumed in some terrible catastrophe, which was sent as a punishment for their sins,—adultery, blasphemy, neglect of the couvade. This does not prove of course that men were originally immortal, but it helps to show, in conjunction with the above data, that such was the primary intention of the divinity, that if things are no longer what they should be, they have chiefly themselves to blame, that physical evil must be traced to moral sources, to the neglect of moral prescriptions.

(L) FUEGIA-PATAGONIA

We have no detailed information on the mythology of the Chonos and Alacalufs. For the Yahgans, and especially the Onas, a fair amount of material is available, though it is still meagre enough.

THE YAHGAN TRADITIONS

A few legends among the Yahgans speak of a time when human beings were married to rocks, and nature seems to have been more friendly to man. Women held a higher position in those days, and were in fact the ruling class. (Compare the classic tradition of the dancing Amazons). A few stories are also told of the hero, *Umoara*, but he is not associated, as far as we know, with any culture-teaching, nor is he brought into any relation with the problem of immortality, which here, as elsewhere in the archipelago, is a vague belief, having little power over the life and conduct of man.

THE ONA LEGENDS

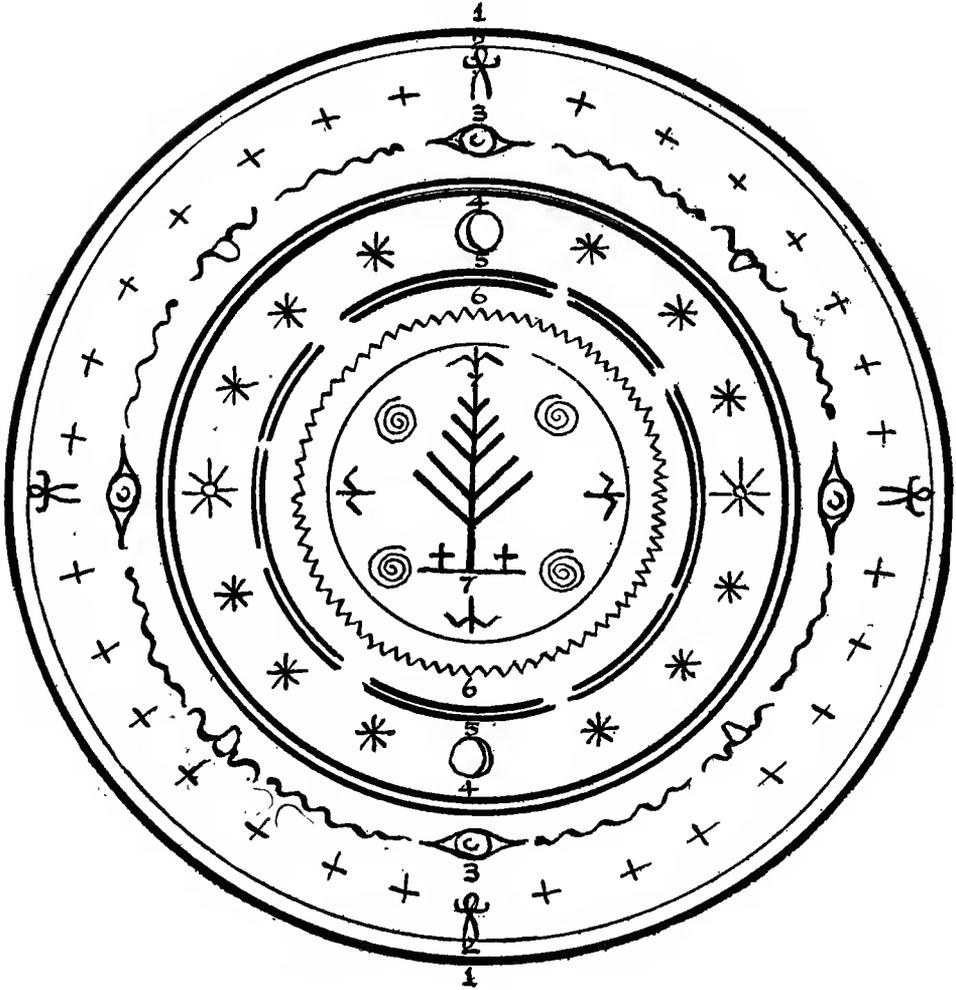
More interesting is the Ona story of the first man, *Pimaukel*, and the curious tradition that formerly there lived on earth a race of "bearded white men", and that sun and moon were husband and wife(!). When men began to make war on each other, the sun and moon returned to heaven, and sent a red star, which turned into a giant on the way down. The giant killed all men, and then made two mountains or clods of clay, from which the first Ona couple were formed.³ Apart from an implicit recognition of an era of peace and social prosperity, this legend has little significance, and the story of the "bearded white men" is possibly due to Patagonian influence, though this is not certain. In any case, it reveals the belief in a better age which was brought to a close by the growing violence of the human race.

³ Rev. J. M. Cooper, Bulletin 63, (B. A. E. Washington, 1917), p. 162-163.

DEVELOPED PARADISE PICTURE

SHOWING THE SEVEN GREAT WAKANDAS AND THE
MAGIC CEDAR

(SOLAR ORIENTATION)



- (1) DARKNESS—UNDERWORLD—PLACE OF EMERGENCE—(SIPAPU).
- (2) WISEST MAN—ISSUING FROM SNAKE OR BUFFALO—CULTURE HERO.
- (3) GROUND-WAKANDA—HORNED SNAKE—BUFFALO—MYSTIC EYE.
- (4) SKY-WAKANDA—INCLUDING SUN, MOON, AND MORNING-STAR.
- (5) UPPER WORLD—RISING LAND—MAGIC ISLAND—(EARTH-INITIATE).
- (6) THUNDER-BEING—WIND AND WATER WAKANS—MULUNGUS—RAINBOW.
- (7) TREE-WAKANDA—MOTHER CORN—WORLD-EAGLE—SUN SERPENT.

LATER ASIATIC TRADITION

(M, 1) CENTRAL INDIA

Among the Mundari peoples of Chota Nagpur we find the paradise-legends in a comparatively pure state, they have not as yet been affected by the growing naturalism of the period to which they belong, an age in which nature is gradually substituted for the "living" god, and things are left very much to themselves with regard to their origins. In the creation-legend already related, the first human pair have been seen to spring from the swan's egg, which, however harmless a notion, is hardly as dignified as the earlier stories, in which this subject is either not handled at all or else it is plainly intimated that man is direct, a unique creation.

THE ADJAM-GARH, OR THE GARDEN OF ADAM

As to the scene of the story, it is laid in a place called the *Adjam-Garh*, the native equivalent of "the Garden of Adam", and is evidently far distant and very different from any existing or cultivated garden, as the sons of the first humans are depicted as "wandering about over the face of the earth, over hills and dales, through forests untrodden by the feet of man and over fields unworn by the plough". This has the ring of remote antiquity, as has also the name of the garden, for the above words represent the earliest Indonesian expressions for "man", "master", and "garden", "fort", or "enclosure".

SIN-BONGA AND THE ILI-ROOT

"The first human pair", says the legend, "were innocent of the relation of the sexes. So *Sin Bonga* pointed out to them certain vegetable roots, and taught them the secret of making *ili* or rice-beer therewith. And the first pair is since remembered as *Tota Haram* and *Tota Buri*, (the naked male and female ancestor). They brewed *ili*, as directed, and drank their fill. Then

"THEIR EYES WERE OPENED"

For "the *ili* tasted very sweet and it inflamed their passions. And in due course of time they were blessed with offspring".¹

Whatever be the moral import of this statement, it certainly differs widely both from the earliest legends and from the revealed tradition. For the *ili* is not a prohibited food containing the seeds of death, but rather a stimulating beverage for the multiplication of the human race, approved and freely offered by the divinity. The importance of the story, however, is that it associates the sex-passion with the eating of a root, which, though ultimately a blessing, may originally have been taboo,—something freely given to the Creator in return for the gift of immortality. On this subject the story is silent, but a state of primitive innocence seems to be implied.

¹ Roy, *The Mundas*, p. VI. (Appendix).

LATER AFRICAN TRADITION

(M, 2) BANTU AFRICA

In the Bantu region of East Africa, the inroads of totemism are more strongly marked. We have already seen that the idea of creation has somewhat faded among these peoples, that with most of them the human race has sprung from lower animal, in some cases even from mineral forms, that only in few instances is there any consciousness of the direct action of a personal divinity. This has naturally robbed them of any clear notions of a paradise, lost or forfeited by any hypothetical ancestors. Although the belief in immortality is well-nigh universal, I have not been able to find a definite account of the origin of death or of an ideal state from which the race has fallen. Here as elsewhere, however, such a belief may be inferred from numerous purification-rites and atonement-sacrifices, which seem to imply some consciousness of sin, if not a past moral probation.

MULUNGU AND THE POWER OF PARDON

When a child is born, the Wanyikas say, "*May God forget it! May he live!*" Forget what? It is difficult to see what this can refer to if not to some inexplicable fear that the child has already incurred the divine displeasure, and evidently not for any personal action of its own, it is helpless. The only explanation of this very common formula is that mankind *has erred in the past*, that the divine anger is not against personal but against some "original" sin, by which the divine friendship was lost, immortality forfeited. The nature of this sin is not further specified, but the common practice of offering up the first fruits of the season in this connexion suggests once more, that, as the breach can only be healed by an abstention, the guilt was incurred by an unlawful consumption, that the delinquent must give back to God that of which he has unjustly robbed Him.²

THE SACRED FLOWER

The very general custom of reserving the finest products of the jungle for this purpose, and more especially the powdered meal of the coconut palm, shows that these things are held to be in some sense sacred, they have a god-given virtue enabling the consumer to live the divine life.

THE SERPENT

On the other hand the animal world plays a far more prominent part than in former times. Not only is the serpent and the hyaena feared, but in many cases actually worshipped, he is no longer the enemy but the ancestor of man,—a common inversion, for which the totemic peoples are famous.

² LeRoy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, p. 298ff. (Cult and Sacrifice).

LATER AUSTRALIAN TRADITION

(M, 3) THE ARUNTAS OF LAKE EYRE

The same remarks apply with equal force to the Australian region. Here we have an elaborate system, worked out with all the niceties of a modern text-book on biology. Man is now the result of atomic forces, a mere cogwheel in the machinery of creation. Evolved from the sun, the earth, or the lizard, he takes his place as a half-fledged indescribable in the paradise of the ancestors, or what is left of such a place. This is

THE FAMOUS ALCHERINGA OR DREAM-TIME

Now, this is in so far a noble tradition in that it recognises an ideal "somewhere" in which man lived in apparent friendship with nature, and where rocks, trees, and animals spoke to him as his nearest kin. It was apparently a place of happiness and immortality, as these *inapertwas* or half-made men are spoken of as *inkara*,—unborn, undying. Here the water, the frog, the lizard and the emu were all intermarried, and through their combined union or interaction there arose the present race of mankind, but in half-animal or embryonic state. Great things were done in those days, there was no lack of the power of self-transformation, but there is no explanation other than the possible influence of bad magic for the fact that men have to die, that these wonderful powers have been lost.

ALTJIRA AND THE HAKEA-PLANT

Possibly some clue to the mystery may be obtained from the grass-seed totems and the Hakea-plant, which are believed to be specially powerful medicines, and to increase or decrease the fertility of man and of nature in proportion as they are associated with the emu-sun, or the Ancient One,—*Altjira*. All this, however, is hypothetical, it is man himself that seems to have his own fate in his own hands, he is his own "doctor".

DEATH THE RESULT OF A "PASSION"

The Kaitish say that long ago their dead used to be buried either in trees or underground, and that after three days they regularly rose from the dead. This happy condition was brought to an end by a delinquent, who instead of burying the dead, fell into a passion and kicked the body into the sea. After this the body could not come to life again, and that is why nowadays nobody rises from the dead after three days, as they used to do!

THE GREAT WOLLUNQUA

Another fragment is the story about the giant serpent, *Wollunqua*, to which the Warramungas attribute wonderful feats in the days of dream-time.³

³ Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, pp. 182, 226, 283, 513 (combined data).

NORTH-AMERICAN TRADITION

(M, 4) THE PRAIRIE INDIANS

Stories of the origin of death through curiosity are particularly abundant in North America. Here the main idea seems to be that mortality and immortality are both natural to man, but that the prevalence of one over the other is more a matter of chance than of direct moral purpose.

THE MYSTIC TREE-WAKANDAS

The Omahas have two sacred trees, the Ash and the Cedar, and one sacred fruit, the Corn. "The Corn is regarded as the mother, and the buffalo as the grandfather among the Omaha and other tribes."⁴ This may have something to do with the secret of life as suggested by the following legend:

THE SPIRIT-BOX

"In the beginning the sun was made first", runs the Cherokee legend. "Now the Creator intended that man should live for ever. But when the sun passed over them in the sky, he told the people that there was not room enough for them all, and they had better die. At last the sun's own daughter who was with the people on earth was bitten by a snake and died. Then the sun gave way to remorse and said the people might live for ever. But this was not to be obtained without a trial. He bade them take a box and fetch his daughter's spirit in the box and bring it to her body, that she might live, but on no account to open the box until they arrived at the dead body. However, moved by curiosity, they unhappily opened the box too soon. Away flew the spirit, and all men have died ever since."⁵

THE SOUL-PACKET

Another version speaks of a soul-packet, which man was commanded never to open under pain of losing his immortality. The man obeyed, and as long as the packet was unopened, he remained immortal. But his wife was both curious and incredulous. She opened the packet to see what was in it, the precious contents flew away, and mankind has been subject to death ever since.⁶

DEATH THE RESULT OF CURIOSITY

It will be seen that in both these examples death is the result of a probation in this sense, that it was brought upon man by a premature desire to penetrate into divine mysteries, to discover the secret of existence. Moreover the connexion of the "Mother-Corn" with the spirit of Life would suggest that the Corn-spirit was contained in the box, and thus life and death are once more connected, though remotely, with a forbidden food.

⁴ Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults*, (B. A. E. 11th Rep.), p. 403. ⁵ Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, (B. A. E. 19th. Rep.), p. 436. ⁶ Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, (London, 1913), p. 77-78.

THE ADAPA-LEGEND

SELECTED FRAGMENTS ACCORDING TO THE READINGS OF SHEIL, HARPER KNUDTZON,
AND OTHERS, ILLUSTRATING THE MAIN POINTS OF THE BABYLONIAN LEGEND.

THE ALL-KNOWING SAGE OF ERIDU

FRAGMENT I, L. 1-6

[TA-SIM-TUM IR-ŠA] U
HE POSSESSED INTELLIGENCE

KI-BIT-SU KI-MA KI-BIT (ILU) ANU LU-U MA-TI
HIS ORDER WAS LIKE THE ORDER OF ANU

UZ-NA RAPAS-TUM U-ŠAK LIL-ŠU U-ŠU-RAT MAM KU-LU-MU
A VAST INTELLIGENCE HE GAVE HIM TO REVEAL THE DESTINIES OF THE LAND

ANA ŠU-A-TU NI-ME-KA IDDIN-ŠU NAPIŠ-TAM DA-ER-TAM UL IDDIN-ŠU
TO HIM HE GAVE WISDOM, LIFE ETERNAL HE GAVE HIM NOT

INA U-ME-ŠU-MA INA ŠA-NA-ŠI-NA-A-TI AB-KAL-LUM MAR (ALL) ERIDU
IN THOSE DAYS THE SAGE OF ERIDU

(ILU) E-A KI-MA RID-DI INA A-ME-LU-TI IB-NI-ŠU
AS THE HEAD OF THE HUMAN RACE - EA CREATED HIM

FRAGMENT II, L. 31 REV.

THE REJECTION OF THE "BREAD AND WATER OF LIFE"
(A-KA-AL BA-LA-TI ME-E BA-LA-TI)

AL-KA A-DA-PA AM-MI-NI LA TA-KU-UL LA TA-AL-TI-MA
"O ADAPA! WHY DIDST THOU NOT EAT? WHY DIDST THOU NOT DRINK?"

LA BA-AL-TA-TA AI NI-ŠI DA-A-[-LA-TI] (ILU) E-A BE-LI
THOU SHALT NOT LIVE, RAISE NOT UP (THY HANDS?)" EA, MY MASTER,

IK-BA-A LA TA-[KA]-AL LA TA-ŠA-AT-TI
HATH SAID: "THOU SHALT NOT EAT! THOU SHALT NOT DRINK!"

FRAGMENT IV, L. 16-18

THE CONSEQUENCE

[THEY IMPOSE] MUR-SU ŠA INA ZUMRI NIŠE IŠ-TAK-NU
SICKNESS, WHICH THEY PLACE IN THE BODIES OF MEN

[THIS SICKNESS?] (ILU) NIN-KAR-RA-AK U-NA-AH-HU
(THE LADY) NINKARRAK APPEASES

[LIT]-BI-MA SI-IM-MU MUR-SU LIŠ-HUR
MAY SHE COME! MAY INFIRMITY AND SICKNESS BE DRIVEN AWAY!

TEXTS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

FRAGM. I: ASSYRIAN TABLET BY SHEIL, RECUEIL DES TRAVAUX, (PARIS, 1897), VOL. XX. P. 127. IN LINE 5, DHORME READS SA-NA-A-TI, CHOIX DE TEXTES, (PARIS, 1907), P. 148. FRAGM II: THONTAFELFUND VON AMARNA, (BERLIN, 1890), P. 166b. HARPER, IN BEITRAGE ZUR ASSYRIOLOGIE UND SEMITISCHEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT, VOL. II. P. 418. KNUDTZON, IBIDEM, VOL. IV. P. 128f. KNUDTZON, (AMARNA-TABLETS, LEIPZIG, 1910), P. 988.

FRAGM. IV: K. 8214 (BRITISH MUSEUM) PUBLISHED BY S. A. STRONG, IN PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, (1894), P. 274.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 1) EARLY BABYLONIAN FORM

In the later stone age the ancient picture of a tree, serpent, and temptation rises once more vividly before our eyes. It is difficult to date these fragments, but the early Babylonian version is among the clearest.

THE PARADISE OF ERIDU

is located at the mouths of certain rivers, in the midst of which stands

THE SUPPOSED "TREE OF LIFE"

"At Eridu a palm-tree grew, in holy place it blossomed,
Its roots were bright, as crystal white, they spread forth to the waters.
The shrine of Ea was its home, at Eridu the fertile,
Its seat the center of the earth, its leaves the couch of Bahu.
Into its holy house, which like a forest spread its shade,
Hath no man ever entered. Alone the God of Light, He dwells within,
On lowland coast, between the parting rivers".¹

THE SERPENT

That the serpent is in some way connected with this tree is not impossible. The following ideograms for a Babylonian river should be noted:—²

An—Mush—Tin—Tir—Duv signifying:—
God—Serpent—Life—Garden—Destruction.

This may of course refer to any river or any power of danger, but the whole subject should be interpreted in the light of the following evidence:—

(1) THE ADAPA LEGEND

Adapa, (Sum. *Adda*, "father"), was created by *Ea* (Sum. *En-ki*), "Lord of the Deep", at a place called *E-ri-du* (Sum. *Nun-ki*), "City of Happiness", and endowed with wisdom, (*Zu*). His duty is to furnish the inhabitants of Eridu with food and water. (This supposes that men are already on the earth). One day Adapa goes out to fish in a canoe, and is overwhelmed by the South-Wind (*Zu*), which swamps the boat and causes shipwreck. For this act Adapa breaks the wings of the South-Wind, but is called to account by *Anu*, the Heaven-God. He has been told by *Ea* to refuse the bread and water of "death" that *Anu* will offer him, but to choose instead the clothing and oil. He follows the advice and has rejected

THE "BREAD AND WATER OF LIFE"

that conveys immortality. In this manner he has forfeited the gift of eternal life through a deception practiced, not by the serpent, but by the third member of the Chaldaean "trinity"(!).³

¹ This is a free translation of C. T. XVI, 46, based on Sayce, Pinches, Dhorme, and Thompson, places cited on the opposite page. ² Rawlinson, II. 51, 44a. ³ Jensen, Keilinschr. Biblioth. IV. 1, 92ff.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(2) THE GILGAMESH-EPIC

In this story it is the Ocean-God again, who creates his hero in the image of *Anu* through *Aruru* (the earth?), as is evident from his designation,

Ea-bani,—GOD-CREATED—, = *Adapa*,—FATHER OF THE RACE

In the sequel it is *Gilgamesh*, the post-diluvian hero, who undertakes a long journey to the far East,—the nether-world(?)—in order to obtain the secret of immortality from his remote ancestor, *Utnapishtim*, the "translated" Noah! He passes through the waters of death, is healed of his leprosy in the waters of life, and after endless adventures he arrives at

"THE ISLES OF THE BLESSED"

in the Erythraean Sea, which is meant to describe the furthest limits of the then-known world. Here he obtains a wonderful plant,

THE HERB OF LIFE,

which as the *shammu-balati* of the Semitic inscriptions is capable of imparting indefinite vitality. On his return, however, a serpent darts up from the thicket just as he is about to quench his thirst at a spring, and through sheer fright he drops the precious boon and has lost immortality.*

AGE AND VALUE OF THE LEGENDS

The prominence of Sumerian names, and the absence of any allusions to *Bel-Marduk*, both in the Eridu-fragment and the Adapa-legend, makes it quite probable that they antedate the dynastic age of Babylon by several centuries, though this is only negative evidence. Also their appearance in bilingual form points to a comparatively early redaction, when Sumerian was still the hieratic tongue and required a popular or vernacular transliteration. These features are not decisive, but they tend to show that *tree, serpent, and temptation were fastened on the first couple*, not on a later hero of diluvian fame. The deluge-tablets contain elements of undoubtedly Sumerian antiquity, but their strongly Semitic coloring should make us hesitate in accepting this version as an unadulterated original. The prominence of the national *Bel* would seem to exclude it.

THE "BREAD AND WATER" OF LIFE IMPORTANT

On the other hand *Anu's* bread and water of life are surely suggestive, even if the moral of the story leaves much to be desired. In combination with the deluge-tablets (q. v.) these legends offer much food for reflection, as they bring out the three main points in the fall of man with considerable force, to wit,—life offered, trial or probation, life refused.⁵

⁴ Jensen, l. c. VI. 120ff. Paul Haupt, *Das babylonische Nimrodepos* (Leipzig, 1884).
⁵ Compare Nickel, *Die Genesis*, p. 124ff. For the supposed "*Sumerian Version of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*", by S. Langdon, (Philadelphia, 1915), consult Jastrow, "*Sumerian and Akkadian Views of Beginnings*", in *J. A. O. S.* Vol. XXX. (1916), p. 290. Prince, *ibid.* p. 267, from which it appears that the readings are still too problematical to merit acceptance.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION.

(N, 2) EGYPTIAN FORM

On the Nile we find the same fundamental notions but with less attention to details, they are more vague. There has also been a confusion of divine beings with human ancestors, of eternal creators with pharaonic mummies. *Osiris-Isis* is no longer an abstract designation for divine attributes, they are rather themselves the first human couple, male and female Pharaohs, ruling over a land flowing with milk and honey. This is

THE PARADISE OF ALU,

or Field of Alu, situated on one of the numerous islands in the north-eastern part of the delta.¹ During this golden age of humanity, death was apparently unknown, and all who approached this land of light and happiness were assured of eternal life, of unending prosperity. How then did the "happy times of *Ra*" come to an end? No direct answer to this question is forthcoming. *Osiris* is immortal, but only as a mummy, in fact he is the Lord of the dead, and ever since the Pharaohs have been embalmed with that flesh-preserving ointment which the Egyptians know to use so well. This is a posthumous immortality and gives no solution to the mystery of death. *Ka*, the soul-double, quits the body to ascend to higher realms, but no reason is given, why this is so, why this separation is fated to take place. Perhaps the following items may suggest an answer. There is

THE TREE OF LIFE,

which grows in Alu, and was given by the stars of heaven to the dead, "that they might live for ever".² This has a distinctly Mesopotamian ring, the more so, as the tree is enshrined in the "Great House" (Sum. *E-gal. E-sarra*), which connects it with the sacred palm of Eridu above. Then again

THE SERPENT APOPHIS

figures very early as the arch-enemy of *Ra*, the sun-god, who finally conquers the beast very much as *Bel-Marduk* subdues the great *Tiamat*, the seven-headed dragon of the deep.³ Can there be any intimation of

A TEMPTATION AND FALL?

At least this much may be gathered:—(1) Immortality was the original destiny of man. (2) The tree of life imparted this immortality, even if to the "dead" (?). (3) The role of the serpent as the enemy of *Ra* suggests that the divine plan was frustrated, though in what manner, we are left uninformed. These are important points, as a punishment and pardon seem to be implied.⁴

¹ Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, p. 180ff. ² Pyramid Texts, *Pepi*, 431. ³ Pyramid Texts, *Unas*, 630. *Teta*, 305. ⁴ Comp. Virey, *La Religion de l'ancienne Egypte*, (Paris, 1910), p. 7-10.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 3) ASSYRIAN FORM

The lands of the Tigris have inherited the common Babylonian tradition of the origin and destiny of man. The story of Eridu and Adapa belongs as much to the one as to the other, though there is evidence to show that these and the great national epics antedate the earliest Assyrian dynasty by some centuries. In any case, the literary output of the northern kingdom is worth a separate treatment, partly because the national pantheon gives it a distinctive coloring, partly because the famous library of Ashurbanipal has supplied us with artistic monuments for which we look in vain in the land of Sumer.

THE "TREE OF LIFE"

Foremost among these are the phantastic representations of the Tree of Life and its semi-divine guardians which figure so largely in the art-treasures of this people. It is easy to see how the older ideas on this subject have been to some extent modified, in fact nationalised. The tree is no longer the "sacred palm" but the fir-tree, which connects it at once with the mountainous region to the north of the Tigris. Also, it has lost much of its simple and natural character. It frequently appears in such conventionalised, almost stereotyped form, that the original tree is hardly recognisable, it takes the form of a mysterious fruit or flower-symbol, in which all attempts to portray a tree of nature has been abandoned.¹

THE SUPPOSED TEMPTATION

More realistic in some respects is the supposed picture of the temptation and fall as depicted on the well-known seal-cylinder. Here we have two figures,—a male and a female(?)—, sitting under a fir-cone tree and apparently stretching out their hands to pick the fruit. On the left is a coiled figure which has the suspicious contour of a serpent, but which may be accidental, the dividing line between two cylinders. On this point experts are still divided, but it must be admitted that to the unsophisticated observer the whole situation will speak for itself, the symbolism is almost irresistible. Admitting, then, that we have here another echo of the early undivided tradition, some adulteration for the above reasons is only to be expected.²

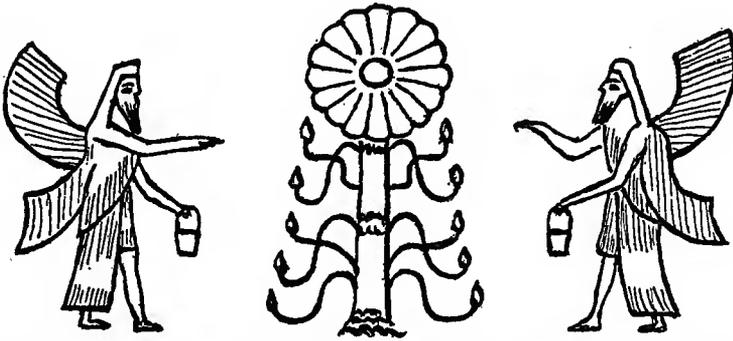
THE "CHERUBIM"

Finally the winged figures on either side of the tree of life occur so frequently in Assyrian art, that the idea of Cherubim is forced upon us. Taking it all together, however, this symbolism is inferential rather than self-evident, the "drama" of the fall is still largely hypothetical.

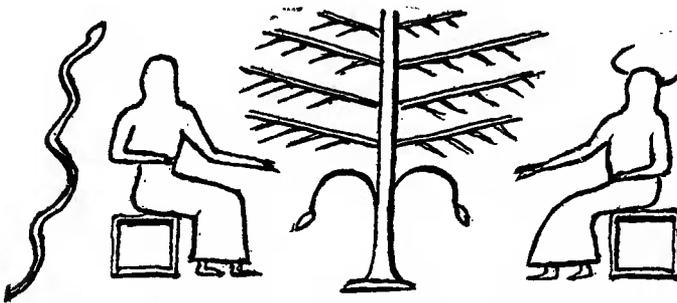
¹ For the monuments, A. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the ancient East* (London, 1911), p. 207ff. ² *Ibid.* p. 220.

THE "TREE OF LIFE" IN ASSYRIO-BABYLONIAN ART

FACSIMILES OF A BAS-RELIEF AND A SEAL-CYLINDER, PORTRAYING WHAT IS COMMONLY TAKEN TO BE THE LEADING MOTIF OF THE PARADISE-LEGEND, BUT WHICH HAS BEEN CONVENTIONALISED AND ALLEGORISED ACCORDING TO THE PREVAILING CONCEPTS OF THE TIME. THE "CHERUBIM" CARRY VESSELS OF "HOLY WATER," WHILE THE HOENED FIGURE IS THE SIGN EITHER OF DIVINITY OR OF THE MASCULINE SEX.



"CHERUBIM ASSYRIAN TREE OF LIFE CHERUBIM (?)



"BABYLONIAN TEMPTATION-SCENE (?)

"THE SACRED TREE AS PORTRAYED ON BABYLONIAN SEAL-CYLINDERS AND ON THE RELIEFS OF ASSYRIAN PALACES IS A SORT OF MIXTURE OF A DATE-TREE AND A CONIFER. IT BEARS FRUIT, WHICH IS FREQUENTLY BEING GRASPED AT BY EAGLES OR BY GENII WITH MEN'S HEADS. ALSO THE CYLINDER CALLED 'THE FALL' SHOWS THE FRUIT UPON THE TREE." A. JEBEMIAS, THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT EAST, (NEW YORK, 1911), VOL. I. P. 211.

THE HEBREW TOLEDOTH WITH A FEW ASSYRIAN PARALLELS

EDEN AND THE TREE OF LIFE (GEN. 2.8,10) " IN ERIDU A PALM-TREE GREW "

"AND THE LORD-GOD PLANTED A GARDEN EASTWARD IN EDEN" (A PARADISE OF PLEASURE FROM THE BEGINNING)

8 וַיִּמַע יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים גֵּן בְּעֵדֵן מִקְדָּם וַיִּשְׂם שָׁם
INA E-RI-DU KIŠ-KA-NU ŠAL-MU IR-BI INA ĀS-RI EL-LU IB-BANI (ERIDU 1)
אֶת־הָאֲדָם אֲשֶׁר יַעַר : 9 וַיִּצְמַח יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים מִן־
(ILU)EA KI-MA RI-D-DI INA A-ME-LU-TI IB-NI-ŠU (ONLY IN ADAPA, I.6)
הָאֲדָמָה לֵל־עֵץ חַיִּים לְמִרְאֵה וּמִבַּיִת לְמֵאֲכָל וְעֵץ
CAN E-DI-IN AS "GARDEN-PLAIN" IN GENERAL (DEL-TSCH, S¹, Col. II.8,9, HW202,27)
הַחַיִּים בְּתוֹךְ הַגֵּן וְעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וְרַע :
ŠAM-MU BALATI (GĒŠ-TIN) AS HERBS OF LIFE IN THE DISTANT OCEAN (GILGAMES, XI, 295)

THE FOUR RIVERS (2.10)

"AND A RIVER WENT FORTH FROM EDEN TOWATER THE "GARDEN" FROM THENCE IT WAS PARTED AND BECAME FOUR HEADS"

10 וַנְּהַר יֵצֵא מֵעֵדֵן לְהַשְׁקוֹת אֶת־הַגֵּן וּמִשָּׁם יֵרֵד
ŠIPTU AT-TI NARU BANAT KA-LA-MU ENUMA IY-RU-KI ILANI RABUTI (FRAGLS 1704)
וְהָיָה לְאַרְבַּעַת רְאשִׁים : 11 שֵׁם הָאֶחָד פַּרְסוּן הוּא
"O THOU RIVER WHO CREATEDS ALL THINGS, WHEN THE GODS DUE THEE OUT"
הַטֹּבב אֶת לֵל־אֶרֶץ הַחֲוִילָה... 13 וּשְׁם־הַנְּהַר הַשֵּׁנִי
INA ŠI-RIT PI-I NA-RA-A-TI KI-LAL-LA-AN (MULTIPLE RIVERS IN ERIDU, 8)
גִּזְיוֹן הוּא הַטֹּבב אֶת לֵל־אֶרֶץ כּוּשׁ : 14 וּשְׁם הַנְּהַר
IL-KU-IN-NI-M A INA RU-KI INA PI-I NARATI UŠ-TE-ŠI-BU-III-NI (GILGAMESI 205)
הַשְּׁלִישִׁי חֲדָקַל הוּא הַהוֹלֵךְ קִדְמַת אֲשׁוּר וְהַיָּם
THE MOUTHS (OR SOURCES) OF THE RIVERS ARE IN THE ISLES OF THE BLEST (IBID)
הַרְבִּיעִי הוּא פָּרַת :
(NAMES AND NUMBERS ARE WANTING)

THE DIVINE COMMAND (2.16)

" INTO ITS HOLY HOUSE HATH NO MAN EVER ENTERED "

"THOU SHALT NOT EAT THEREOF" "THOU SHALT DIE THE DEATH"

16 מִכָּל עֵץ הַגֵּן אֵלל תֹּאכַל : 17 וּמֵעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וְרַע
INA BI-TI EL-LU MAN-MA LA IR-RU-BU (ERIDU, 6) (THE FRUIT IS INACCESSIBLE)
לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ מוֹת תָּמוּת :
BREAD AND WATER OF "DEATH" AS DIVINE PROHIBITION (ADAPA, II, 30REV)

THE SERPENT (3.1)

"NOW THE SERPENT WAS MORE SUBTLE THAN ANY BEAST OF THE EARTH WHICH THE LORD GOD HAD MADE"

1 וְהַנְּחַשׁ הָיָה עָרוּם מִכָּל חַיַּת הַשָּׂדֶה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה
MUŠ-TIAMAT AS ENEMY OF BEL-MARDUK IN CREATION-TABLETS PASSIM.
יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים : 4 וַיֹּאמֶר הַנְּחַשׁ אֶל־הָאִשָּׁה לֵאמֹת
ŠIRU I-TE-ŠI-IN NI-PIŠ ŠAM-MU "A SERPENT SMELT THE ODOR OF THE PLANT"
תִּמְתוֹן : 5 לִי יָדַע אֱלֹהִים לִי בְיוֹם אֲכָלְכֶם מִמֶּנּוּ
MEŠ I-LAM-MA ŠAM-MA IŠ-ŠI "IT ROSE AND TOOK THE PLANT" ŠUM-ŠA ŠI-I-BU
וּנְפַקְחוּ עֵינֵיכֶם וְהִיתֶם כְּאֱלֹהִים יָדְעֵי טוֹב וְרַע :
IŠ-ŠA-HIR AMELU "ITS NAME IS : "REJUVENATION". (GILGAMES, XI, 298-305).

THE CHERUBIM (3.24)

"TO KEEP THE WAY TO THE TREE OF LIFE"

24 וַיִּגְרַשׁ אֶת־הָאָדָם וַיִּשְׁכֵּן מִקְדָּם לְבְנוֹת אֶת־הַקִּרְבַּיִם
KA-RU-BU=RU-BU-U (AN. KAL) AS PROTECTING DEITIES (DELTSCH, AHB, 352)
וְאֵת לְדוֹם הַחַרְבַּיִם הַמְתַּחַפְּתִים לְשֹׂמֵר אֶת־דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ הַחַיִּים
KA-RU-BU AS "THUNDER-BIRD" = KU-RU-UK-KU (IR 37, 17 d. e. f.)

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 4) PALESTINIAN FORM

In the Hebrew account of the "Garden of Eden" as described in Gen. 2, 8-3, 24, the following points should be noted in so far as they concern its interpretation from the point of view of the inspired writer.¹

THE LOCATION OF PARADISE

The *Gan-be-Eden-miqedem* is evidently not a mere allegory; nor is it an astronomical symbol, nor a highland plateau, nor any portion of the Babylonian plain as known to us. It is rather an indefinite locality in the far East, which must be determined not by existing but by prehistoric geography. For *Gan-be-Eden* is most probably an appellative, a "Garden of Pleasure" (LXX. *Truphe*, *Vulg. Voluptas*), and no Hebrew writer would ever identify the Garden of God with the Assyrian *Gannat Edinnu* or any portion of the detested Babylonian plain, into which as the land of *Shinar*, *Sennar*, or *Sumer*, the human race is supposed to have emigrated in a far later, post-diluvian age. (Compare Gen. 11, 2).

THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE

Again, the four rivers of Eden are not the four divisions of the Milky Way, (Gunkel), nor the four points of the compass, (Jeremias), nor a fourfold river-system with a common source, (Hoberg, Kaulen), nor a fourfold system of canals with a double source, (Delitzsch),—but are rather the modern (Hebrew) designations for the four great branches of a prehistoric oceanic river running between Southern Asia and the miocene continent of Lemuria, and which in bisecting the great land-masses of India, North Africa, Western Eurasia and Arabia, became identified with the four great water-courses of antiquity,—The Indus, the Nile, the Volga, and the Euphrates. The writer means to imply that the river of paradise was so gigantic that even after "watering" the garden, it could still give birth to the greatest rivers that he had ever heard of, thus insinuating a cosmic or prehistoric origin. Notice the strong expressions: *kol erez Hawilah*, *kol erez Kush*, *qidmath Ashur*.

THE TREE OF LIFE AND THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

That two trees of opposite qualities are implied is evident from the context and the subsequent narrative. The '*Etz Hachaiim*' imparts the divine life, while the '*Etz Hada'ath*' is the cause of death, (Gen. 2, 17. 3, 22).

THE SERPENT

The tempter in the form of the Serpent, *Hanachash*, is the ultimate cause of evil. This is evidently a fallen being, destined to be vanquished.

¹ On this subject compare Hoberg, *Die Genesis*, pp. 30-43. Nickel, *Genesis*, 124ff. Dillmann, *Genesis*, 55-84. Strak, *Genesis*, I. 20. Gunkel, *Urgeschichte und Patriarchen*, 52-68. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* Engelkemper, *Die vier Paradiesflüsse* (Münster, 1905). Driver, *Genesis*, 38ff. Jeremias, *op. cit.* 204ff.

PARADISE

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

ADAM AND EVE

In the contrast to the artificial notions of a "culture"-paradise, it is refreshing to turn to the simple picture of *Adam* and *Chawah*, leading the pure life of nature, unadorned with paint or plumage, unhampered by the trappings and conventionalities of civilisation. They are simply "Earth" and "Life", the "father" and the "mother" of mankind. "They are both naked, the man and the woman, and are not ashamed". This implies a

PRIMITIVE INNOCENCE

in which human passions are still under the control of reason. Nay more, it can easily be inferred from the narrative that this must include the

GIFTS OF INTEGRITY AND ORIGINAL JUSTICE

that is (a) plenitude of physical, and (b) plenitude of moral perfection, through the former of which man is immortal, through the latter sinless.

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

is placed in the Garden of God, it is looked upon as sacrosanct from the outset, a divine institution. Side by side we find

THE SACRIFICE OF ABSTENTION

by which man is commanded to offer up the best fruits of the garden,—the tree of life, the tree of knowledge—, and this under penalty of death.

THE PROBATION AND FALL

In the sequel, it is the serpent that tempts the woman, and the woman that tempts the man, they are incited by curiosity, they eat the forbidden fruit.

"And immediately their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they sewed figleaves together and made them aprons".

This is a plain intimation that the eating of the fruit has a sexual effect.

THE THREEFOLD CURSE:—

- (1) Over the serpent:—"She shall bruise thy head, thou shalt bruise his heel".
- (2) Over the woman:—"In sorrow shalt thou bring forth children".
- (3) Over the man:—"In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat thy bread, till thou return to the earth. For dust thou art, and into dust shalt thou return".

This shows that (1) Pain, (2) Travail, (3) Death, are the result of a sin of pride and curiosity, of inordinate thirst for a knowledge temporarily withheld from man.

THE CHERUBIM

Finally we have the Cherubim with the flaming sword at the "east" of the garden, "to guard the way to the tree of life". Paradise can now only be regained by the shedding of blood, by some form of "life"—sacrifice.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 5) IRANIAN FORM,—AVESTIC VERSION

In the Avesta the Garden of God is described with considerable detail.²

THE PARADISE OF AIRYANA-VEJAH

or "Seed" of Iran(?), is situated on the summit of Mount Hukairja,—*Hara-berezaiti*—, from which a great river takes its rise. This is

THE ARDVI-CURA-ANAHITA, OR "WATER OF LIFE",

which is the fructifying cause of all nature, the perennial stream. At its outflow, in the middle of the lake Vouru-Kasha, stand two trees, the first

THE HAOMA-TREE,

dispelling all diseases and containing the gift of life and immortality. This reminds us of the life-tree of Genesis. The second is known as

THE VICPA-TAOKHMA TREE,

the "Seed of All", which may correspond to the tree of forbidden knowledge, though the exact significance of these trees is very obscure.

THE STATE OF INNOCENCE

This is the place which *Ahura-Mazda* has prepared for *Mithra*,—Friendship—, and where *Haoma*—, Health, Immortality—, have their reign. Here is the garden of *Yima*, the ruler of the golden age, when there was neither heat nor cold, hunger nor thirst, sickness nor death, hatred nor dissension,—nothing impure or contaminated. How was this state of blessedness brought to an end?

THE SERPENT AZHI-DAHAKA

It is the six-eyed, triple-headed serpent, *Azhi-Dahaka*, the incarnation of *Angra-Mainyu*, the evil spirit, that figures as the enemy of man.

DEATH THROUGH PREVARICATION

Neither tree nor serpent, however, are brought into any direct connexion with the fall. This is the result of a prevarication on the part of *Yima*, of speaking the untruth, for which he dies and falls into the powers of Satan. The approach to the tree of life is guarded by the sacred Fish.

BUNDAHISH VERSION

In the later tradition of the Bundahish the paradise-river has many subdivisions, including the four rivers of Genesis, and it is *Angra-Mainyu* himself that brings death to *Gajomart* and to his children, *Mashia* and *Mashyoi*. He incites them to rebellion against their Maker, they yield to the spirit of evil, and finally repudiate the Creator. In this way purity, happiness, and immortality have been irretrievably lost to the human race.

² Oldest sources in the Hom-Yasht, (Yasna IX), for Yima, Haoma, Airyana Vejah, Azhi-Dahaka, etc. Later versions in Bundahish, c. XVIIIff. and compare A. Carnoy, Iranian Views of Origins, in J. A. O. S. XXX. (1916), p. 311ff.

PARADISE

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

INDO-ARYAN FORM,—VEDIC VERSION

In so far as the early Vedic tradition is identical with the Avestic, we find the same picture of the elevation and fall of man in all its essentials.

THE PARADISE OF MOUNT MERU

is situated on the lofty Himalayan divide, far above the turmoil and misery of the lower world. Here is the sacred lake, *Manasarowar*, from which the rivers or waters of life flow out in every direction. In its center stands

THE SOMA-TREE

with properties in all respects similar to those of its Persian counterpart. It is the source of immortality, health, and happiness, and its leaves possess the power of curing diseases. The subsequent account of

THE TEMPTATION AND FALL

is almost a duplicate of the Iranian version, the Vedic equivalents being *Asura*, *Mitra*, *Soma*, with *Yama* as the chief actor, and *Ahi-Dasa* as the serpent. Here also it is pride and mendacity that leads to the fall, that robs *Yama* of eternal life, though neither tree nor serpent are its direct occasion.

BRAHMINISTIC FORM

In the later Vedantas and Upanishads the simple story of a first human couple, losing the gift of immortality through personal sin, has been largely obscured by pantheistic speculations. Yet even here the legend of *Brahma* as the productive ancestor of *Siwa* and *Bhawani*, both of whom fall under the dominion of evil through eating the forbidden fruit, is certainly interesting.

CHINESE PARALLELS

Fragments of the same notion may possibly be found in the golden-age legends of the Mongolian races, in which the first Celestials are described as immortal and semi-divine, while their posterity is subject to death.

WESTERN-ARYAN DEVELOPMENT

Similar echoes of the common Asiatic tradition are audible in the West. The Four Ages of man, beginning with a Golden Age of innocence and happiness, are the typical theme of Graeco-Roman literature. In the figures of *Prometheus* and *Pandarus*, of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*, with the *Olympus* of the gods and the *Hesperides* of the blessed, the vague outlines of a paradise,—lost through an act of theft—, are all the more striking, because the Germanic *Asgard* of the gods was also forfeited by stealing the sacred apples of *Iduma*. In every case a moral delinquency is brought well to the front.

RECENT OCEANIC TRADITION

(N, 6) (a) INDONESIAN FORM

Among the more advanced peoples of Indonesia the old banana story has been worked up with a variety of phantastic details. In the Sumatran version of the island of Nias the crab takes the place of the serpent, to wit:—

IMMORTALITY IN THE CRAB, DEATH IN THE BANANA

“When the earth was created a certain being was sent down by God from heaven to put the last touches to the work of creation. He should have fasted for a month, but unable to withstand the pangs of hunger, he ate some bananas. The choice of food was most unlucky, for had he only eaten river-crabs instead of bananas, men would have cast their skins like crabs and would never have died”.¹ (This is important only for the fruit-connexion).

IMMORTALITY IN THE SERPENT, DEATH THROUGH DISOBEDIENCE

In Annam and New Britain it is the serpent that contains this secret. There was a divine command: “When man is old, he shall cast his skin: when the serpents are old, they shall die, and be laid in coffins”. But through an intimidation on the part of the serpent, the command was changed: “When the serpent is old, he shall cast his skin: but when man is old, he shall die and be laid in the coffin”. That is why all creatures are now subject to death except the serpent, who, when he is old, casts his skin and lives for ever.²

Again:—The good Spirit loved men, and wished them to live for ever, but he hated the serpents and wished to kill them. So he sent his brother to tell men to cast their skins every year, and the serpents, that they must henceforth die. But the divine messenger gave the contrary command, and since then all men have been mortal, but the serpents cast their skins every year and are immortal.³ (Important for the serpent-connexion).

(b) POLYNESIAN FORM

The same idea is found among the Samoans in the distant South-Sea Islands. The good Spirit decides that men shall live for ever by shedding their skins. The evil spirit suggests the opposite: “Let the shell-fish change their skins, and let men die”. The latter counsel prevails, and men have had to die ever since.⁴

By combining these stories it will be seen that the elements of a paradise-legend are still preserved, though in faded and somewhat ridiculous form. Moreover there is always some moral idea in the background. It is through disobedience that immortality passes from man to the lower creation.

¹ Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, p. 70. ² *Idem*, p. 69. ³ *Ibidem*. ⁴ *Idem*, p. 72. The sources are given in each case, see footnotes.

RECENT AMERICAN TRADITIONS

(N, 7) (a) NORTH AMERICA

In the highland belt of North America we find a large body of folk-lore, but rarely an intelligent version of the beginnings or the destiny of man. As a fact, the growing isolation of the New World and its distance from Asiatic centers has given a native coloring to the mythology which is in many cases quite pronounced. But apart from the stories of the "Jack-and-the-Beanstalk" variety, there is little that is striking in these legends.

THE ORIGIN OF DEATH BY "DYING"

The Zuni Indians have a persuasion that in the beginning there was an ideal age of blessedness and immortality. The very description of the first ancestor, *Poshaiyankya*, as the "first great man", "the wisest of the wise", brings this figure in touch with the common tradition of the East. But although the first man is endowed with superhuman wisdom, there is no satisfactory explanation of its loss, nor of the fact that men have to die.¹

DEATH THROUGH AN ACT OF CARELESSNESS

The following is the account of a "river-trial". A mother lets her children drop into the waters and they drown. "And so", says the legend, "being received into the midst of the undying ancients, these little ones thus made the way of dying and the path of the dead. For whither they led in that olden time, others, fain to seek them, have followed, and yet others have followed these, and so it has continued even unto this day".²

From this it appears that the "ancients" were undying, and that death entered the world through the criminal act of a mother,—again a moral cause.

THE SACRED CORN PLANTED BY THE SEVEN STARS

The sacred Corn plays a prominent part in the mythology of these peoples, but apart from its character as the source of life, it is brought into no direct connexion with the loss of immortality in the beginning.³

(b) SOUTH AMERICA

The same notion of the "Mother Corn" as containing the secret of eternal life may be traced far down into the Cordilleran region. The Aztec and Inca tradition that death is the penalty for tampering with the sacred Corn seems to reveal some consciousness that immortality was lost by precisely such an act, for with nearly all man was deathless at the beginning. This is only indirect reasoning, but the existing legends seem to bear it out, and the destruction of a wicked race by the lightning is a prominent feature.⁴

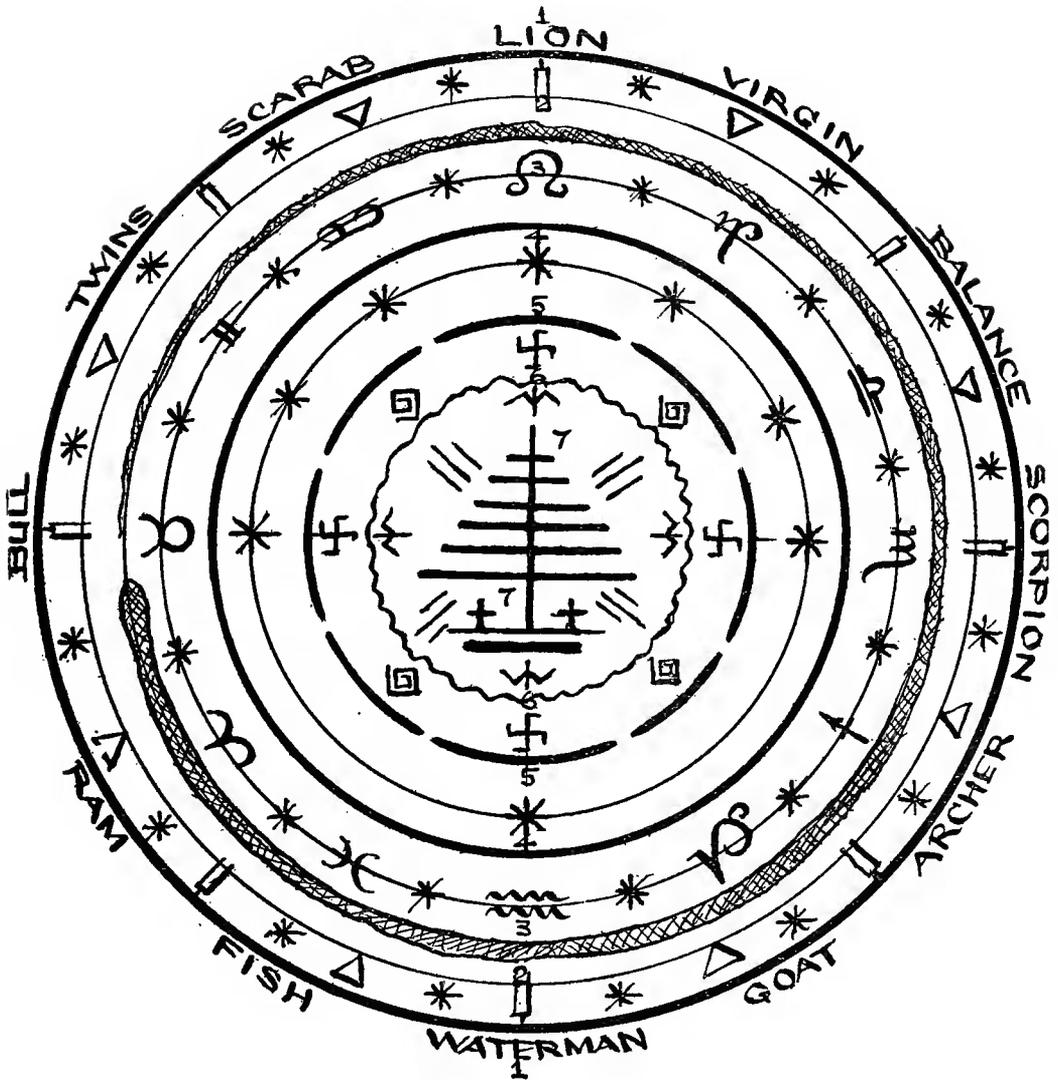
¹ F. H. Cushing, *Zuni Creation-Myths*, 11th. Rep. B. A. E. (Washington, 1891), p. 381.

² *Idem*, p. 404-405. ³ *Idem*, p. 393ff. ⁴ See the sources above p. 181. Want of space forbids a discussion of further details, but consult Casanowicz, *Cosmogonic Parallels*, (Washington, 1917), for a general survey.

ADVANCED PARADISE PICTURE

SHOWING THE "MUSIC OF THE SPHERES"
AND THE MAGIC PALM

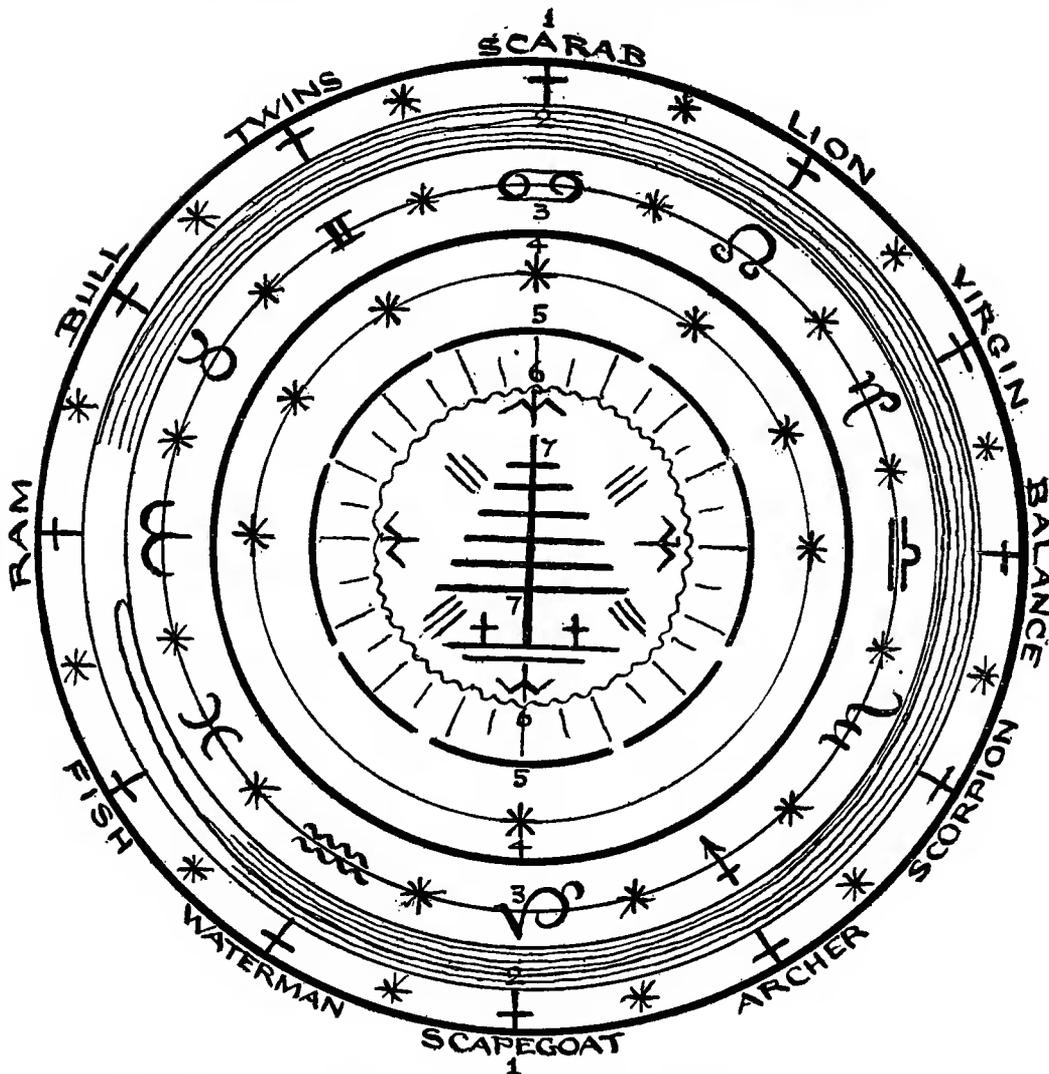
(BABYLONIAN SUBJECT)



- (1) UNDERWORLD—ARALU—BELNERGAL—EA—LAND OF SHADES—UNDER-OCEAN
- (2) UPPERWORLD—ADAPA—ARUBU—EABANI—CULTURE HERO
- (3) SERPENTWORLD—BEL—MARDUK—TIAMAT—ZODIACAL TWELVE—GREAT DRAGON
- (4) STAR-WORLD—SAMAS—SIN—ISTAR—PLANETARY SEVEN—STAR OF DESTINY
- (5) RISING LAND—BEL—MARDUK—NEBO—ISLES OF THE BLESSED
- (6) CLOUD HEAVEN—APSU—LAKMU—LAKAMU—HYDROSPHERE
- (7) LIGHT-HEAVEN—ANU—BEL—ENLIL—EA—ERIDU—TREE-OF-LIFE—CHERUBIM

CONVERTED PARADISE PICTURE

SHOWING THE SEVEN HEAVENS AND THE TREE OF LIFE
AS REVEALED IN THE JEWISH-CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE



- (1) LOWEST HEAVEN—SHEOL-GEHENNA—OUTER WORLD—DARKNESS (APOC. 5, 13, 8, 1)
- (2) SON OF MAN HEAVEN—CHRIST TRIUMPHING OVER THE FALLING STAR (APOC. 8, 10, 9, 1, 19, 11)
- (3) EAGLE HEAVEN—THE TWELVE FOUNDATIONS OR DIVINE CHARACTERS (APOC. 5-13, 21, 14)
- (4) STAR-HEAVEN—THE SEVEN SPIRITS AND THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM (APOC. 1, 20, MAT. 2, 2)
- (5) RISING LAND HEAVEN—CELESTIAL PATMOS—HEAVENLY JERUSALEM (APOC. 21, 1)
- (6) THUNDER HEAVEN—VEIL OF MYSTERY—SEA OF GLASS—MERKABA—RAINBOW (APOC. 4, 3)
- (7) HIGHEST HEAVEN—TREE OF LIFE—FOUR FACES—CHERUBIM (APOC. 4, 6, 22, 2)

SEE THE JEWISH HAGIOGRAPHA AND THE APOCALYPSE PASSIM, AND COMPARE THE EXPOSITION ON P. 183, 186, 217, 218, AND CONSULT A. JEREMIAS, THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT EAST, (1911), VOL. I. PP. 1-237.

COMBINED DATA

Let us make a brief review of the facts that have so far been brought to light. And first, what is the evidence for immortality in general? Can it be said that this persuasion is in any sense universal? Does it concern the body or the soul of man? In what sense is it to be understood?

As to the question of "psychic" immortality,—the survival of personal consciousness after death—, it may be said with some degree of certainty that this persuasion is *morally* universal, that there is hardly a people to whom the immortality of the soul is not a necessary demand of reason, in some cases a self-evident proposition. "And how could it die? It is like the air!"—is the remark of the untutored native. This is well summarised by Frazer in the following paragraph:—

BELIEF IN IMMORTALITY GENERAL

"The question whether our conscious personality survives after death has been answered by almost all races of men in the affirmative. On this point sceptical or agnostic peoples are nearly, if not wholly unknown. Accordingly, if abstract truth could be determined, like the gravest issues of national policy, by a show of hands or a counting of heads, the doctrine of human immortality, or at least a life after death, would deserve to rank among the most firmly established of truths; for, were the question put to the whole vote of mankind, there can be no doubt that the 'ayes' would have it by an overwhelming majority. The few dissenters would be overborne, their voices would be drowned in the general roar. For dissenters there have been among all savages. The Tongans for example thought that only the souls of noblemen are saved, the rest perish with their bodies. However, this aristocratic view has never been popular, and it is not likely to find favor in our democratic age".¹

This conclusion will, I think, stand the test of rigid investigation. It implies, however, that there are some exceptions to the universal chorus of assent, that "dissenters" have been found among all peoples, secret or public disbelievers. This also is capable of verification. Like all other beliefs, it may be lost through a defective mentality or a moral perversity, probably from both combined. But upon one point the prehistoric data are morally unanimous:—*Man was immortal in the beginning*. Nearly all the reports show that man was created to live for ever, and this in both natures—body and soul—, a complete, an integral state of earthly blessedness.²

¹ Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, p. 33. ² Compare the above data passim. The Buddhist "Nirwana" is very late and largely theoretical. Practical Buddhism knows a very real Here-after.

PARADISE

COMBINED DATA

But the mere fact of immortality is of little significance unless some explanation is given of the mystery of death, of the manner in which this ideal state was brought to a close. Let us collate these accounts for the three principal periods of prehistoric man.

I. PRIMITIVE VERSION

THE SITE OF PARADISE

(A) The "Island of Fruits" is the "Rising Land" emerging from the eastern ocean.

(B) The Garden of Pleasure is at Wotaemi, a locality in South-Andaman Island.

(B) The Land of the Mora-Trees is in East-Ceylon, or the "eastern province".

(C) Paradise is possibly a large rock in the Zambales region of South Luzon.

(D) The Enchanted Forest is laid in Central Borneo, the fatal Banana was eaten in Celebes, immortality was lost on a Papuan or Melanesian river (E).

(F) The Australian Paradise is non-local, but the Victorian tradition says that the first ancestors "breathed in a land of the North-West" (sic).

(G) The African Paradise is apparently on the Congo, or on any beautiful river.

(H) The Enchanted Bush belongs to South Africa, but is geographically vague.

(K) The Brazilian Paradise seems to be on the Amazon, but the cosmic setting of the story points to a universal or non-national tradition as its source.

The evidence tends to show that the earliest scene of human activity was located in the far eastern ocean, in what is now the East Indies, or on any "rising land." In many cases, however, the locality is undetermined.

THE TREES OF IMMORTALITY

(A) The Tree of Life is the Coconut-Palm, the Tree of Death the Banana.

(B) The Tree of Life is the Coconut (?), the Tree of Death the Plantain (?).

(B) The Tree of Life is the Coconut-Palm, the Tree of Death not specified.

(C) The Tree of Life is the Palm or Rice-bush, the Tree of Death, the Banana (?).

(D) The Tree of Life is the Coconut, or Betel-Palm. Tree of Death, the Banana.

(F) The Tree of Life, is the "Honey"-Tree, the Tree of Death, the "Bat"-Tree (?).

(G) The Tree of Life is the Moduma-Tree, the Tree of Death perhaps the same.

(H) The Tree of Life is the "Bush"-Tree, but no details are mentioned.

In nearly every case life and death have been connected with certain trees, sometimes with two distinct trees. In the Oceanic regions the Tree of Life is commonly the Palm, while the Banana is the Tree of Death or the occasion of death.

THE SERPENT

(A) The World-Python and the Rahu-Dragon are cosmic powers, apparently evil.

(B) The striped Snakes and the Cobras require special exorcism.

(C) Bamboos and wild berries are used as charms against the serpent's bite.

(D) The Crocodile is "placated" by the mystic flower of the betel-palm.

(E) The Serpent contains the secret of life by "casting his skin".

(F) The Carpet-snake is no longer feared but eaten for his supposed "powers".

(G, H) The Cobras of Central and South-Africa are again cosmic monsters.

(K) The Amazonian Alligators and Boa-Constrictors exert an "hypnotic" influence.

Most of these ideas can be explained by the natural antipathy to the deadly serpent. Only in Borneo and Melanesia is a possible moral role insinuated.

TEMPTATION AND FALL

(A) *Ayer* and *Tanah* lose their immortality by eating the "Soul-Fruit".

(B) *Tomo* and *Chana* incur the same loss for similar reasons. For in both cases death is the result of over-multiplication, the penalty for eating the "source" of life in *remote* times. Life and death are mystically *in* the fruit.

(C) The sacrifice of the Banana shows that this fruit is sacred.

(D) *Amei* and *Djaja* lose their immortality by some form of rebellion. For *Amei* is forced to ascend to heaven to recover the rice which has been suddenly withdrawn. Here also the Palm and the Banana are enchanted fruits. In Celebes *Ilai* and *Indara's* choice of the Banana is looked upon as having a direct moral significance. Death is the immediate consequence.

(E) Immortality passes from man to the serpent because a mother fails to cast her skin. This shows at least that a serpent is the occasion of sin.

(F) A woman breaks into the Honey-Tree, and out flies the "Bat" of death.

(G) If the Moduma Tree no longer works, something is the matter with man.

(H) If the Bushmen have to die, it is because they insulted the "Lord".

(K) If *Keri* and *Kames* are no longer immortal, magic trees are to be blamed(?).

It will be seen that the idea of a moral failure of some kind is practically universal, and the consumption of a forbidden food a very general cause.

GUARDIAN SPIRITS

Guardian-spirits of the Tree of Life are occasionally mentioned. These are among others the Dove, the Argus-Pheasant, and the World-Eagle. The East-Indian Bird of Paradise still hovers in its branches. A more violent guardian is the Semnopithecus, or sacred Ape, and the Australian Bat, the mysterious death-dealing bird.

COMBINED DATA

OBJECTION,—A BORROWED TRADITION?

The first thought that will naturally suggest itself to the critic is that these legends are altogether too Hebrew-Christian in their general contour to be looked upon as unadulterated, as a primitive prehistoric tradition. Can it be possible that these "savages" should be in possession of such strikingly biblical notions without postulating some contact with Christian, Islamic, or even Hindooistic peoples? To this I answer:—

(1) The indigenous origin of the Indonesian folk-lore among our lowest aborigines has already been vindicated in the preceding chapters.

(2) Any further doubt on this subject will be removed when the data are examined in their totality and in their context. Most of these areas,—Central Malakkan, Andamanese, Central Bornean, Papuan or Melanesian—, are beyond the reach of missionaries, admittedly isolated and strongly anti-Islamic. The absence of any Christology among the natives shows that no Christians ever came near them, and the Mohammedan dervishes would have had them circumcised long ago, they would be chanting the praises of Allah's heaven of female delights(!), of unending banquets. The Hindoos would surely initiate them in the doctrines of metempsychosis, the Buddhists would give them a foretaste of Nirwana, the science and art of self-extinction. Now not only are these features very generally absent, but they are directly repudiated by the natives themselves, they are strangely dumb when questioned in the dialect of a "higher" faith, they have no knowledge of these "deep" philosophies. For them the Father on High was once their friend, He gave them the power of immortality, but through some moral rebellion on their part, they lost the gift and have had to perish,—that is the whole story, there are no cosmic secrets, no phantastic embellishments.

(3) Admitting, however, that a filtering-through of later beliefs is not *per se* impossible, it will have to be shown, where and in what instances this occurred. Now although some echoes of a paradise-story may have reached the ears of the natives wherever they have *mixed* with the Mussulmans, such a channel is clearly ruled out where they are entirely isolated, as for instance in the Andaman Islands. But it is here precisely that we find the tradition of a paradise, lost through eating the first fruits of the season, in its most vivid form. Can there be any plainer proof that the legend is prehistoric, that, in view of the numerous and undoubted parallels in other primitive regions and the strongly native setting of the mythology, it embodies one of the earliest traditions of the race?

(4) Monumental evidence in the form of tablets, etc., reveals the fact that fragments of his story were known at least as early as the third millennium before Christ. If then these fragments certainly antedate the coming of the modern civilised nations, we may safely infer that the similar traditions of far earlier peoples are undoubtedly independent of civilised sources.

COMBINED DATA

II. TOTEMIC VERSION

Among the totem peoples the general outlines of the primitive legend may still be traced, though with the advancing nature-worship its historical setting has become more and more obscured. The main points are as follows:

LOCATION OF PARADISE

It is to be noted in the first place that the cradle of humanity is no longer as definite, no longer as real, as in the earlier ages of man. The Mundas of Central India speak of a distant Garden, "untrodden by the foot of man", but the Australian "Dream-Time" is purely ideal, and the North-American "Sun-Wakanda" is the only intimation we have of a former heaven upon earth. There seems to be a studied desire to evade the question, to treat the whole subject as an allegory, as a possible rather than an actual affair.

TREES OF IMMORTALITY

Sacred trees are still conspicuous but they are more rarely connected with the loss of innocence, they are mere curiosities. We have the Ili-Root or the Rice-Tree in India, the magic Flower in Africa, the Hakea-Plant in Australia, the Ash, the Cedar, and the sacred Corn in North America. These are strength-imparting elixirs, "medicines" which are believed to contain the secret of life. But with the exception of the Ili, no further account is given of them, they have no history.

THE SERPENT

The Serpent, formerly dreaded, is now worshipped. He is the source of creation, whether as the Sun-serpent in Indo-Africa and America, or as the great Wollunqua-beast of Australia; he is the symbol of the whorl of evolution.

PROBATION AND FALL

Only in one case has the idea of a fruit-consumption been preserved. In the Munda-Kol legend the first pair yield to their passions after taking the Ili-root; but the probation-idea has been lost, it is simply a stimulant, offered to man for the multiplication of the race. In Africa the idea of a fall is equally vague. In Australia death is the result of a passion, of a neglect to bury the dead, a sin of impatience or anger. In North America it is the punishment for curiosity, of opening the spirit-box or the soul-packet, which contains the spirit of the "mother corn". Culpability is fastened on a female, it is a woman who opens the packet.

INFERENCES

While a definite historical picture is generally wanting, there is still the persuasion that immortality was lost by a moral fault, by a human failure.

COMBINED DATA

III. RECENT VERSION

In the more recent period, known as the second stone age, the old immortality-legend is brushed up with more attention to detail. There is a desire to bring out the primitive couple as they are supposed to have actually lived, to give a "drama" of the fall. This is more especially the case in the earlier legends, but begins to fade away the more we advance into the metal ages, where it is preserved in its purity only by one representative, the Western-Semitic. The following will make this clear.

THE SITE OF PARADISE

(N, 1) The Adapa-legend places the garden of Eridu in southern Mesopotamia, the Gilgamesh-Epic vaguely in the far East,—the Isles of the Blessed.

(N, 2) The Field of Alu is on one of the islands forming the Nile-Delta.

(N, 4) The Garden of Eden is in the far East, and the four Rivers are cosmic streams which bisect the great continents. In historical times they were known as the Indus, the Nile, the Volga, and the Euphrates. (Universal idea).

(N, 5) The Airyana-Veyah is at the summit of Mt. Albordj (Western Himalayas). In the Vedas and Brahmanas it is at the summit of Mt. Meru (Himalayas), from which the four (or five?) great rivers of India take their rise. In the Graeco-Germanic tradition the Olympus or Asgard of the gods is situated on a high mountain, but the Hesperides are in the far West, pointing to America(?). These geographical items are perhaps purposely vague.

(N, 6, 7) In Polynesia and neolithic America the location is not determined. From this it will be seen that the earliest tradition points to an island in the far East. Only the Aryan places it on a lofty mountain.

TREES OF IMMORTALITY

(N, 1) The Tree of Life is the Date-Palm, the Tree of Death the Cascia(?).

(N, 2) The Tree of Life is the Sacred Corn, the Tree of Death not specified.

(N, 3) The Tree of Life is the Date-Palm, the Tree of Death the Fir-Tree(?).

(N, 4) The Tree of Life has no species, the Tree of Death has no species.

(N, 5) The Tree of Life is the Soma-Tree, the Tree of Death, the Taokhma(?).

(N, 6) The Tree of Life is the Crab(!), the Tree of Death, the Banana.

(N, 7) The Tree of Life is the "Mother Corn", Tree of Death unspecified.

It is impossible not to recognise the influence of the national climate in the selection of these trees. In every case they form the staple commodity of life, or grow only in their respective territories. This is especially the case with the Hesperidean "apples", a fruit of little or no importance in the tropics. Only the Hebrew tradition is free from this.

COMBINED DATA

THE SERPENT

(N, 1) *Mush-Tiamat* is a cosmic power and the enemy of *Bel-Marduk*. The seal-cylinder suggests a tempter. Herb Life is lost through a serpent.

(N, 2) *Apophis* is the Nile-Dragon, the enemy of *Ra*.

(N, 4) *Hanachash* of Genesis is a *personal* tempter, the mouthpiece of Satan.

(N, 5) *Azhi-Dahaka* is the incarnation of *Angra-Mainyu*, the enemy of man.

(N, 6) The Melanesian Serpent frustrates the divine command by casting his skin. He is the enemy of *To-Kambiana*, the good Spirit.

(N, 7) Serpent-myths are extant, but have lost their religious significance. The serpent figures, therefore, as the power of evil in nearly every section. He is the immediate occasion of the fall in at least three instances.

TEMPTATION AND FALL

(N, 1) Man fell through eating the fruit, through rejecting the Bread and Water of Life, or through dropping the Herb of Life, frightened by the serpent.

(N, 2) Man fell through eating the sacred corn, or rebelling against *Ra*.

(N, 4) Man fell through eating of the Tree of Knowledge. This is done at the suggestion of the woman and at the instigation of the serpent.

(N, 5) Man fell through an act of prevarication, through telling a falsehood. In India and later Persia he eats the forbidden fruit, incited by the serpent. In Greece and Western Europe he steals the apples of the gods.

(N, 6) Man fell through rejecting the Crab of Life and eating the Banana. Or, he neglects the voice of the serpent to "cast his skin".

(N, 7) Man fell through the criminal act of a mother, or possibly through eating or tampering with the Sacred Corn. It is very probable that the latter tradition is the more ancient. (Compare the Spirit-Box of the prairies).

It is clear that the loss of immortality is here once more connected with a definite moral rebellion against a personal deity. This takes the form of a food-trial in nearly every instance, and is accompanied by some form of serpent-myth. But only among the Hebrews is there anything like a homogeneous account of a first *couple*, dealing directly with the "Lord-God" and acting the entire drama without a break and without any trivial episodes.

THE CHERUBIM

(N, 1, 3) The Tree of Life is guarded by the *Karubu*, adoring or protecting ones.

(N, 2) The Tree of Life is guarded by the rising and the setting Sun.

(N, 4) The Tree of Life is guarded by the *Cherubim* with flaming swords.

(N, 5) The Tree of Life is guarded by *Kar-Mahi*, the sacred Fish, etc.

In Polynesia and N. and S. America the guardian-spirits have apparently faded.

PARADISE

COMBINED DATA

GENERAL RESULTS

The main points of the paradise-legend as preserved in the more recent age are therefore as follows:—

(1) Paradise is a Garden of Fruits in the far East. The Aryan tradition, however, points to the Himalayas, the Graeco-Germanic to the far West.

(2) The Tree of Life is the Palm of the tropics, the Tree of Death the Banana. Side by side we have the Egyptian Corn and the Assyrian Pine-apple, life or death-dealing fruits, and the East- and West-Aryan Soma or Apple-trees reveal the national mountain-climate or the European fruit-garden.

(3) The Serpent is universally the power of evil, wherever mentioned. In many cases, however, his direct connexion with the fall has been lost.

(4) Man has forfeited the gift of eternal life by eating the fruit of the Tree of Death, known in Genesis as the Tree of Knowledge. This is not always distinguished from the Tree of Life. A serpent tempts by frustrating the divine command, by persuading man that the real intentions of the divinity are different, that he need have no fear, etc. (earliest form).

(5) The Cherubim are distinctly Asiatic, they are at least half-human, and they guard the mystic Tree with almost a cult, they defend and adore it.

A COMPARISON

Now in comparing this more recent tradition with the primitive versions, we shall find that all the elements in the latter appear in a more modern Western-Asiatic dress, they have survived the extravagances of the totem-age, and are simply interpreted in the current language of the day,—Babylonian, Egyptian, Iranian, and so on,—as the case may be. The question arises: Which of these versions embodies more clearly the correct tradition. Which is more closely in harmony with the march of events as interpreted by an impartial examination of the earliest data? Have we any reason to believe that such a tradition has any value as a record of real events apart from its theological sanction as a divinely revealed truth, as in some sense descriptive of the elevation and fall of man, however mystical, however incomprehensible?

THE QUESTION OF HISTORICAL REALISM

To answer this question with any hope of success, it will be necessary to remove from our minds certain inherited prejudices, which in this material and utilitarian age are continually dictating a one-sided issue. In spite of the modern vindication of the supernormal, not to speak of the supernatural, the man in the street will always defer his assent to any "improbable story", however well-evidenced.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

Let us examine this whole subject in the light of the scientific and mythological data that are now at our disposal.

THE SUPPOSED CRADLE OF MANKIND

There is considerable evidence to show that the earliest legends of the race point vaguely to an "eastern island" as the first home of mankind. Only the Aryan tradition speaks of a highland plateau which is generally located on native soil, but this is a far later belief connected with the so-called "mountain-myth" of the later neolithic and bronze age. Hence the Himalayan and Hesperidean versions can hardly be balanced against the combined East-Indian, Australian, Babylonian, and Egyptian versions, in which this locality is described as a mysterious fruit-island, or the revealed Palestinian version, in which it is vaguely assigned to the distant east. This idea of

"THE ISLES OF THE BLESSED"

as rising out of the eastern ocean is in striking harmony with the teaching of biology, ethnology, palaeontology, and so on, that the primitive center of radiation must be sought somewhere in the Indo-Australian or Indo-African regions, preferably on the Asiatic side of the Wallace-line, in the East-Indian section of that long chain of land-masses that extend from Ceylon, through the Andaman Islands, to Borneo, and, through Malakka, to Tasmania. This is the home of the most primitive peoples that we know of,—Negritos, Veddas, Dayaks, Tasmanians, etc.—and this alone, together with the African data, should incline the evidence heavily in this direction. It is more especially on those rich spice-laden islands of the Indian Archipelago that nature shows itself in all her tropical majesty and exuberance. Here alone has there been continuity of life from the remote past, here alone do we find the Palm, the Banana, the Plantain, and the Pineapple clustered together in enormous areas, here alone is the air scented with the delicious perfumes of the aromatic gums, the sky illuminated by the gorgeous plumes of the Bird of Paradise. Surely, if any region was ever destined by nature for such a purpose, this would be the one.

"THE RIVERS AND WATERS OF LIFE"

In those early days of the world a Gulf-Stream issued from the far East, and by dividing the great continents became in time the excavator of the four great river-basins of antiquity,—the Indus, the Nile, the Volga, and the Euphrates. In a cosmic sense these are the four Oceans, Arctic, Antarctic, Atlantic, and Pacific. What more natural than than to associate this world-stream with the waters of life, with the four "rivers" of paradise?

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

The objection that irrigating rivers can hardly be identified with oceanic currents is one that is prompted by the accepted definition of a river-system in *modern* times. Few of our so-called "rivers" have been running more than ten-thousand years, and in the ages to which we may have to fall back there were no rivers in our modern sense, nothing but broad estuaries or enormously long drainage-systems, which in the above cases can be proved to have flown through the regions indicated. The discovery of marine shells in the Ganges valley, in Mesopotamia, in lower Egypt, and in the Ural-Caspian basin, shows that the respective "rivers" were largely "under water" during the periods of glacial or diluvial depression. It is only in comparatively late geologic times that the Himalayan shelf was elevated, and this as much as 20000 feet, which, in combination with similar, though less striking elevations in nearly every portion of the globe, postulates the inundation of most of our river-beds during the long periods of subsidence. If, however, the human species sprang into existence during the last interglacial or Riss-Würm period,—an era of mild climate and continental elevation—, it will stand to reason that the waterways of those days must have been gigantic, no mere creeks or rivulets, except in the mountains. But if the first appearance of man be dated back to the pliocene, the geography of the world would be in still less settled condition, and the above description would have to be indefinitely modified. There would be more and more of the ocean, and less and less land by consequence, and to speak of existing historical rivers as flowing through well-known historical landmarks would be clearly an anachronism.

PREHISTORIC GEOGRAPHY

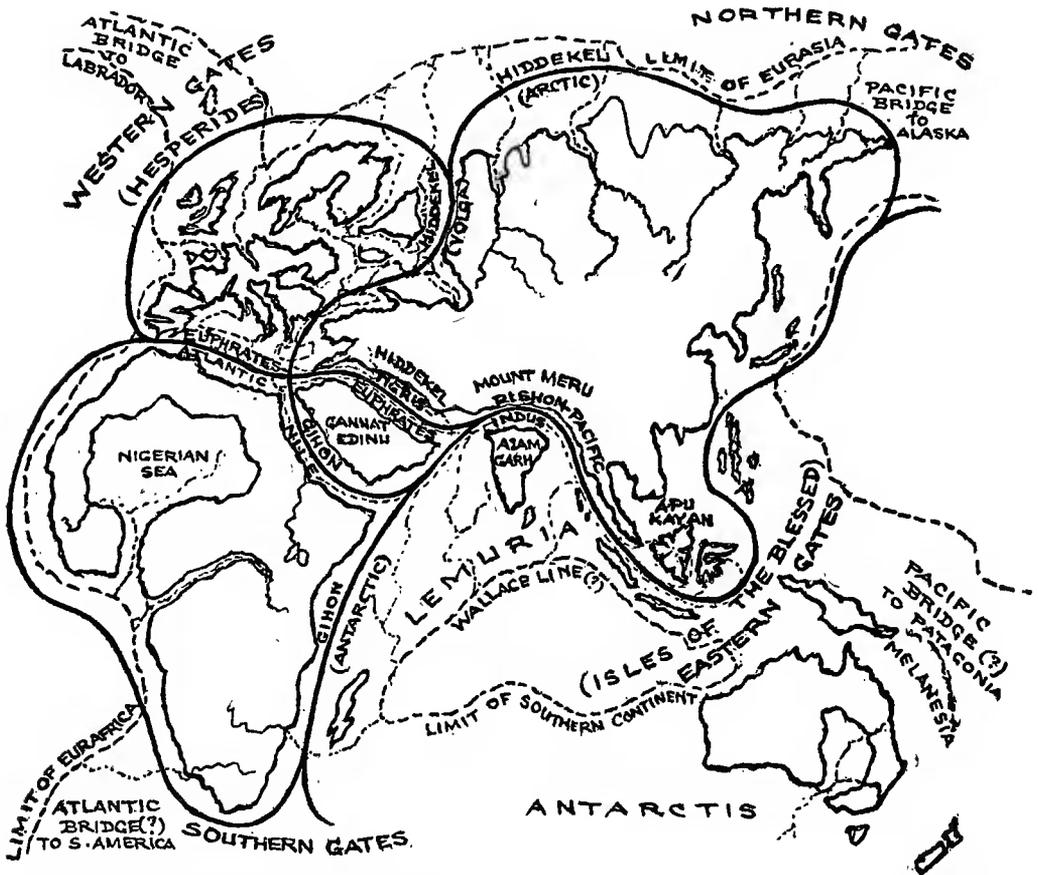
If, then, we have to revise our geography to suit the changed climatic and geological conditions of the period of even the latest possible appearance of man,—third interglacial—, we obtain a picture of the earth in which land and ocean alternately play the leading role. Without inventing any theoretical "continents", it will be possible to obtain a broad glimpse of our surroundings. Leaving all the land-masses and islands approximately as they are, we shall find ourselves in the midst of an enormous archipelago, of which the continents themselves are in part the members, and through which the pulse of Father Neptune may everywhere be felt. The "river of life", issuing from the Banda Sea, gives birth to the four oceans, and by forcing its way through the Straits of Malakka sweeps the Andaman Islands, bores through Northern India, completely encircles Arabia, and by forcing the Hellespont cuts Eurasia and empties into the Arctic Sea.

THE FOUR RIVERS OF PARADISE

WITH THEIR PREHISTORIC AND COSMIC MEANINGS

A TERTIARY MAP OF THE EASTERN HEMISPHERE, SHOWING THE ALTERNATE ELEVATIONS AND DEPRESSIONS OF LAND AS FORMING THE FUTURE RIVER-BASINS.

- (1) GLACIAL MINIMUM—PERIOD OF SUBSIDENCE, OR TERTIARY FORMATION ———
 (2) INTERGLACIAL MAXIMUM—PERIOD OF ELEVATION AND RIVER-EROSION - - - - -
 IT WAS DURING THIS TIME THAT THE ENORMOUSLY LONG PLEISTOCENE RIVERS WERE FORMED, THE SEINE DEBOUCHING IN THE DISTANT ATLANTIC, AND THE RHINE INTO THE ARCTIC OCEAN.



"IN THOSE EARLY DAYS OF THE WORLD A GULF-STREAM ISSUED FROM THE FAR EAST, AND BY DIVIDING THE GREAT CONTINENTS BECAME IN TIME THE EXCAVATOR OF THE FOUR GREAT RIVER-BASINS OF ANTIQUITY,—THE INDUS, THE NILE, THE VOLGA, AND THE EUPHRATES." (P. 231).

SEE A. GUYOT, THE EARTH AND MAN, (NEW YORK, 1893), P. 95. R. D. OLDHAM, THE EVOLUTION OF INDIAN GEOGRAPHY, J. R. G. S. (MARCH, 1894). DANA, MANUAL OF GEOLOGY, (1895), PP 936ff. KEANE, ETHNOLOGY, (1900), P. 229ff. W. J. SOLLAS, THE EARTH, (1914), PASS. IDEM, ANCIENT HUNTERS, (1915) P. 112. OSBORN, MEN OF THE OLD STONE AGE, (1916), P. 49ff.

"THE UNKNOWN ANCESTORS OF MAN PROBABLY ORIGINATED AMONG THE FORESTS AND FLOOD-PLAINS OF SOUTHERN ASIA AND EARLY BEGAN TO MIGRATE WESTWARD INTO NORTHERN AFRICA AND WESTERN EUROPE." (OSBORN)

THE ISLAND OF BORNEO

BEING PART OF THE ASIATIC "SHELF" FORMED DURING THE TERTIARY AGE AND RE-ELEVATED DURING THE GLACIAL EPOCH, SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL RIVERS AND WATERSHEDS, AND THE AREA OCCUPIED BY THE MOST PRIMITIVE PEOPLES (THUS - - -)

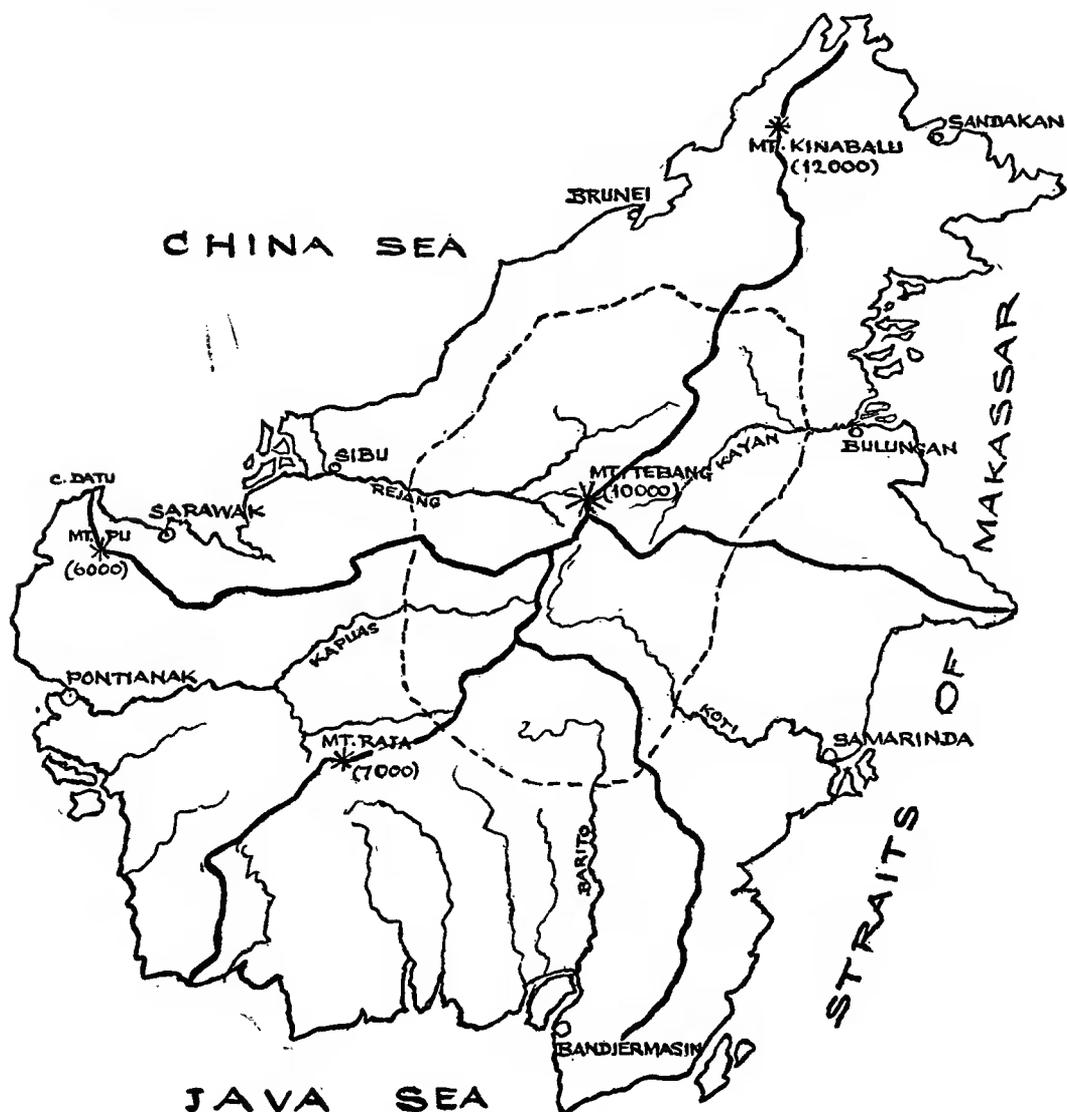


DIAGRAM BASED ON THE COMBINED DATA OF LING-ROTH, NIEUWENHUIS, GUILLEMARD, HOSE AND McDUGALL (OP. CIT. INFRA), GIVING THE DISTRIBUTION OF PUNANS, PENGs, UKITS, OR BAKATANS, WITH KENYAS, KAYANS, KALAMANTANS, AND KANOWITS, ETC. THE IBANS, OR SEA-DAYAKS NAVIGATE THE PRINCIPAL RIVERS.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

PRIMITIVE STREAMS KNOWN TO MAN

Such a world-stream is no mere phantom, but a definite geological fact, and must have attracted the attention of primitive man, or his immediate successors, when the science of navigation had acquainted him with the general contour of the earth's surface. It is clearly implied in all the stories of floating islands, phantom rivers, and submerged continents,—the lost "Lemuria" and the sunken "Atlantis". Together with the Congo-basin and the distant Amazon, these tidal rivers were the chief haunts of man for many ages, and though doubtless unconscious of the fact during his infancy, the "wise" man of post-diluvial fame had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the lay of the land to speak with some confidence of dividing rivers, of bisected continents. Hence the almost universal tradition of a "floating paradise" during the early neolithic age.

FRACTIONS OF THE LOST CONTINENT

If, however, we would place our finger upon that portion of the map in which the first scene of human activity may be presumed to have taken place, we find ourselves at a loss to come to any certain decision. The whole subject is too problematical from the point of view of biology to elicit an unchallenged assent. But if we would obtain an *approximate* picture of the appearance of nature and the conditions of life during those early days of humanity, if we would know where or in what portion of the world the primitive conditions of life and existence have been preserved in their greatest purity and with the least external change, there can be little doubt that the East-Indian region offers on the whole the nearest approach, whether from the biological, anthropological, or cultural point of view. Let us take a typical island of this region,—the gigantic territory of Borneo—, and witness the panorama that opens before our eyes.²

THE HEART OF THE PRIMITIVE OCEAN

The island of Borneo occupies the center of the Indonesian group and is one of the most primitive and mysterious lands in existence. Unlike the rest of Malaysia or even Australia, it is comparatively free from the white or the yellow invasion, the English, the Dutch, and the Malays rarely penetrating into the interior. The approach to this land from the West is one that makes a powerful impression. The lofty range of the Kapuas shoots out into the China Sea, and frowning peaks 6000 feet in height fall in terraces into the waves and give an air of rugged magnificence to the scene.

² Sources in F. H. Guillemard, *Australasia*, (London, 1908), Vol. II. p. 213-274. F. W. Burbidge, *The Gardens of the Sun*, (London, 1880), p. 46ff. Hose-McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, (London, 1912). Beccari, *Wanderings in the Great Forests of Borneo*, (London, 1904).

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE SPIRES OF NATURE'S CATHEDRAL

At the northern extremity of this range the sentinel of Mt. Kinabalu rises in single majesty to a height of 12000 feet, a beacon-light to the mariners for many miles out to sea. The view from this "tower" of Borneo is said to be unapproachable, as the absence of any lofty elevations at its feet affords an unobstructed vision of the entire land and ocean beneath. Pinnacle rises after pinnacle, as we sweep our eyes over the mountain masses to the south, and were we to follow in the trail of the island divide, we should reach the point of intersection of the mountain-system of Borneo, the axis around which the island ranges may be said to turn. In the language of the natives we have arrived at

"THE CENTRAL POINT OF THE EARTH"

This is a volcanic region dominated by a single conical peak, the sloping Mt. Tebang, and it is from these highlands that the river-systems of the island take their rise. Though of far less altitude than its northern rival, Dr. Nieuwenhuis, who first sighted the peak in 1901, estimated it at between 6 and 7000 feet, and it is now marked at "10000." It is from this point that the mountain ranges of Borneo spread out like the spokes of a wheel, and which gives the island its well-known star-shaped appearance. Little wonder that for the natives this is the apex of the world, the meeting-point of the heavens. But what is still more curious, they speak of

"THE FOUR RIVERS"

These are known as the Kayan, the Koti, the Barito, and the Kapuas, they are believed to have a common subterranean source in the bowels of Mount Tebang, and they are without a question the four principal rivers of Dutch Borneo. This of course is a mere local or accidental circumstance. Here, as elsewhere, rivers are looked upon as the natural source of life and fertility, and the association of their waters with a mysterious healing power or some other praeternatural quality is too common a trait to call for any exceptional explanation. (Compare, for instance, the miraculous rivers that issue from Mount Meru, India). But with all this, we are here presented with a very early example of the possible genesis of the idea of a fourfold stream, which cannot be easily paralleled in other very primitive regions. Might it not be possible that some such combination of waters should have suggested to the mind of primitive man the idea of four health-giving rivers as springing out of the mountain of God, and later expanded into the notion of four ocean streams encircling the whole of the habitable world? The rivers of Genesis cannot of course be identified with any existing mountain-torrents; but something similar to this may have been the original irrigation-scheme of the "garden,"—the river of God must have had some definite, however inaccessible source.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

A LAND OF GOLD AND DIAMONDS

But whatever be the course of these rivers in modern times,—and their sources are still largely unexplored—, they are celebrated for their output of precious metals. Gold and diamonds are washed down from the mountain heights, and rich veins of silver, platinum, mercury, lead, tin, zinc, arsenic, copper, and iron, are found on nearly all their banks, the supply of coal and petroleum being well-nigh inexhaustible. Precious stones are concealed in many of their rocks and gravels, and ruby and amethyst here sparkle in the tropical sunlight. All this makes the island a rich field for mining operations, though its mineral wealth has hardly begun to be touched.

THE BOUNDLESS EXUBERANCE OF NATURE

The vegetation of Borneo is exceedingly luxuriant, the whole of the island being, with few exceptions one vast forest. It is said that the Orang could easily cross the island from shore to shore without leaving the trees, so thick is the foliage. "It is especially rich in palms and forest-trees, many of which have not yet been botanically described. The vegetation is of course thoroughly Malayan, but the lofty mountain of Kinabalu contains a curious mixture of Indian, Malayan, and Australian plants. Here are the numerous rhododendrons, forming trees 20 feet high, as in the Himalayas. Here the characteristic Malayan pitcher-plants reach their maximum of size, variety, and beauty, and here are found many typical Australian genera, among which is the Antarctic *Drimys*. In the lowlands too there are rhododendrons growing parasitically on trees, ferns and orchids are in endless variety, and the strange *Vanda Lowii* hangs down its elegant flowers, like crimson stars, strung upon slender cords sometimes ten feet in length". The island can claim to possess the largest flower in the world,—the so-called *Rafflesia*.

A PARADISE OF FRUITS

"Of palms the Coconut is most plentiful, and of course the most generally useful. Its top or heart may be used as a most delicious vegetable equal to asparagus, and the scraped albumin yields the milk so essential to blend or soften a well-made curry. The colorless water in the fresh young nuts is peculiarly luscious and grateful as a beverage, and the coconut oil is one of the most valuable of eastern palm-products". In addition to the green, the yellow, and the golden Banana, we have the Pineapple of South America, the Mango of India, and the Chinese mandarin Orange, and among the more distinctively native fruits, the Mangosteen, the Durian, the Trap-, the Bread-, and the Onion-fruit form a class of their own, and are said to possess a flavor, to appreciate which "a journey to the East is unfortunately necessary".

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE ANIMAL WORLD

The zoology of the island presents the closest affinities to that of Sumatra, and forms as it were the transition from the Indo-African to the Indo-Australian region. Of reptiles there are many native varieties, including two kinds of crocodiles not found elsewhere. The elephant, the "clouded" tiger, and the rhinoceros, are among the principal mammals, and their very names carry us back to the earliest fauna associated with man. Wild cattle are also in great abundance, among which the wild boar and the buffalo, the mountain stag and the forest deer, furnish the chief targets of the native hunter. The island is very rich in monkeys, and of these the Orang-Utang as one of the earliest offshoots of the common anthropoidal stock cannot fail to evoke our interest, if only to show how wide is the gulf that separates the "highest" simian from the "lowest" human.

WONDERFUL BIRDS AND BUTTERFLIES

But it is in the bird and insect department that this region is especially famous. If the whole area from Malakka to the Aru Islands be included, it can easily be shown to be the most splendidly equipped region on the face of the earth. Hornbills, pheasants, humming-birds, and cockatoos here abound in endless profusion, the Australian division containing no less than 200 species of parrots! Perhaps the most lovely and interesting of all are the so-called "Sun-birds", which are found as far west as Ceylon. They are of emerald-green, of vivid violet, or of yellow with a crimson wing, and "as the sunbeams glitter on their bodies, they sparkle like so many precious stones, and exhibit at every turn a variety of bright and evanescent hues". Hardly less extraordinary are the spiders, beetles, and butterflies, some of which are of alarming size, but of exquisite colors,—of pure gold, of amber, or of blue-green, shading into purple. Among rarer volatiles are the red and the blue Bird of Paradise, the Argus Pheasant of Malakka and the racquet-tailed Kingfisher of the east, which arrest attention by reason of their wonderfully developed side-plumage. These and the six-plumed Bird of Paradise, known also as the King Bird of Paradise, are now entirely confined to these eastern lands, the latter being a huge bird of the size of an eagle, with a throat of green, a crown of orange-yellow, breast, wings and tail of chestnut-brown, shadings of blue and indigo, and long flank feathers of richest golden-yellow. It is impossible even to read of this glorious creature without feeling a sense of the divine fitness, that the Creator should have left this bird as a sentinel and reminder of the better days of yore.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

MAN PRIMAÆVAL

But if the plant and animal world are here to be seen in all their natural and unstinted development, the human species is also by comparison unadulterated, the least influenced by social, cultural, and climatic changes. This is one of the few places in the world where man can still be seen as he emerged from the bosom of nature, surrounded by nearly all the flora and fauna of the days of his innocence, unaffected as yet by the great upheavals, physical and social, which were destined to change the face of the earth.

The population of Borneo is by no means homogeneous or uniform. There are at least four or five different rings or layers of civilisation. The coasts are comparatively civilised, they are colonised by the lethargic Malays and the astute Chinese, but are hardly more than "administered" by the Dutch and English. Beneath this however there is a large group of aboriginal Dayaks or Indonesians, estimated at about 2 million, who are marked off from the conquering races by their stone-age culture and their primitive life. Here also there are enormous differences in the level of existence. The Sea-Dayaks of the north-western coast have borrowed much from the incoming races, their industries and their habits of life, including their morals, being partly modelled on the Chinese and Malay standard, among which opium smoking and polygamy are a well-known curse. Apart from this, however, their simple life and their pile-dwellings connect them with the lacustrine age of the neolithic, they are the "lake-dwellers" of the far east. If, however, we should ply one of the large rivers and penetrate into the jungle, we would encounter a far more primitive race. We would pass into the age of head-hunting and masked dances, of the boar and the buffalo-hunt, and the more simple food, shelter, and clothing, with the growing importance of totem-poles, would tell us that we are in the mid-glacial age, we have gone back perhaps 10000 years. This was formerly the level of the Kayans, Kenyas, Muruts, and Kanowits, rough and warlike tribes, who are more nearly related to nature, but whose scalping-propensities make them an object of fear rather than admiration.

Far below all these peoples, ancient or modern, we find a race of primitives that are not sufficiently civilised to handle a dagger, not sufficiently elevated to have learnt the art of cheating, or the delicate science of stealing a wife. They are known as the Orang-Ott or the Orang-Ukit,—wild men of the woods—, whose only habitation is in the depths of the tropical forest, whither they have been hunted like wild beasts by their "civilised" neighbors.³

³ Main sources in H. Ling-Roth, *The Natives of Sarawac and British North Borneo*, (London, 1896), now a classic. Hose-McDougall, *Pagan Tribes*, (supra).

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These peoples, variously known as "Ukits", "Punans", or "Bakatans", are among the finest of aboriginals, of whom we possess the following information:—⁴

"The Punans", writes Dr. Hose, "are nomadic tribes found at the headwaters of all the principal rivers of Central Borneo. I have no doubt in my mind that this wandering race of people are the *aboriginals* of the country. In physique they are a fine healthy race, large-boned and very strong, with fair skins and a *complete immunity from skin-diseases*. They build no houses, and live upon what they can shoot with the blowpipe and on jungle-fruits, and owing to their custom of always living in the shade of the forest, are afraid of the sun. They are an *honest* and *unselfish* people, and they alone of all the races of Borneo *do not regard the human head as a trophy of war*, and when once well known they undoubtedly prove to be the best mannered of any savage tribes inhabiting the island. *They have large families of from seven to ten children*, which is also unusual in Borneo, and though no doubt the weaker members die young owing to the rough life they lead, this fact tends to preserve and improve the physical excellence of the race".

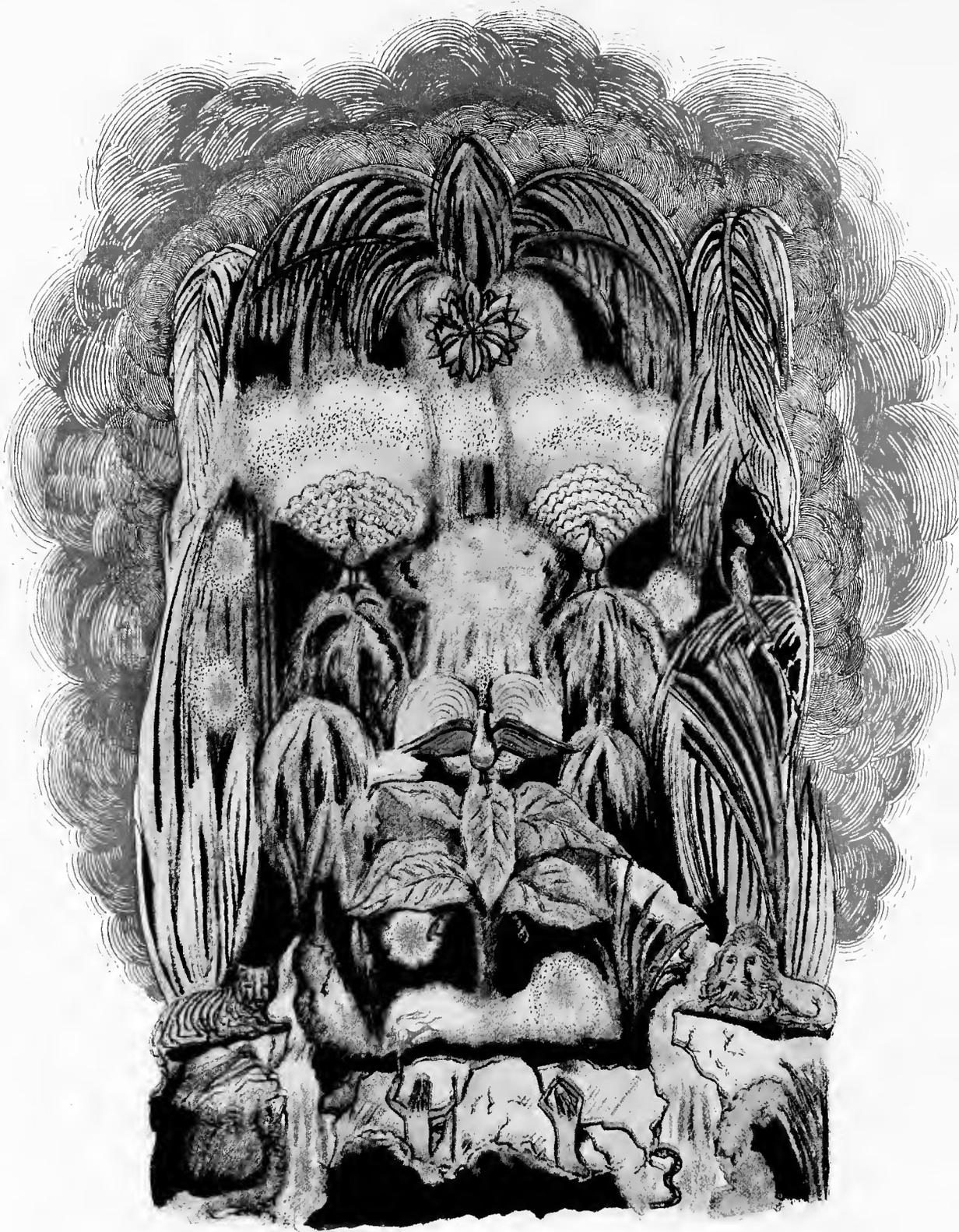
"The wild Punans", says Dr. Haddon, "are very *mild* savages, they are *not head-hunters, do not keep slaves*, are *generous* to one another, are moderately *truthful*, and probably never do any injury by making a false statement. They are a cheerful and bright people, who are *very fond of their children and kind to the women*".

"The wandering tribes of Bakatans and Punans", writes St. John, "are popularly said to be fairer than the other inhabitants of Borneo, as they are never exposed to the sun. Those we have seen were certainly darker, but they themselves assert that their women are fairer". "*The Bakatans are not cannibals*", writes Mr. Brooke. "They were by far *the wildest men we ever saw*, clothed with Orang-Utang skins on their backs and shoulders, with well-shaped heads and fairly good features".

"The Orang-Ott tribes", says Schwaner, "live on the inaccessible mountains of the eastern and southern watershed. They are a tall and handsome race, and of very light color(?). *The paterfamilias is the family chief*, and like the animals in the woods they lead a *nomadic* life, only caring for the necessities of life. Their whole dress consists of a chawat made of bark. The females wear a rotang band around the loins. Neither men nor women are tattooed. A blowpipe with poisoned arrows are their only weapons or means of defence".

However incomplete our knowledge of these peoples must be admitted to be, the combined reports bring before us a picture which cannot but remind us of the Senoi of Malakka, the Veddas of Ceylon, and the Toalas of southern Celebes. Are they not possibly the forerunners of the entire Indonesian race?

⁴ Hose, Brooke, Schwaner, etc. in Ling-Roth, op. cit. Vol. I. p. 16-18. II. p. CXCVI.



THE ENCHANTED FOREST AT NIGHT

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE FATHER IN HEAVEN

These are among the peoples that have preserved the tradition of the All-Father cult,—*Aba, Ama, Amei, Amaka*,—one who was the Author of the moral law, *Adat*, and the Father of *Adja* and *Djaja*, the first human pair. For them He has prepared a paradise, known as the *Apu Kayan*, or “fatherland of the race”. This is a wonderful garden, full of the most delicious and life-giving fruits, and here there was evidently no death nor anything that was evil. It was through a moral failure of these first ancestors that the famine commenced, that the days of abundance were brought to a close. Nay more, we know from the combined sources that a forbidden fruit was eaten, that this was the proximate cause of the fall. Let us picture to ourselves the first human couple as they lived the life in the garden of pleasure.

THE ENCHANTED FOREST

“The earth’s surface is like the sea, inasmuch as it is pretty nearly the same all the world over, but in countries where the temperature is thirty or forty degrees higher than in western Europe, the clothing of the earth, so far as represented by vegetation, is of a luxuriance we can scarcely imagine, and the variety caused by the addition of such distinct types as tall palms, bananas, grasses, or bamboos and tree-ferns to the more ordinary kinds of tree-beauty, and the further clothing of these with epiphytes and parasites of the most singular and beautiful description, makes up a scene of immense interest. In the lowland forests near the equator a peculiar phase of vegetation is not infrequently seen. Trees one hundred feet to two hundred feet in height tower upwards on all sides, and one walks in the shade,—diffused light is perhaps the more correct expression—, the tree-trunks being the pillars of nature’s cathedral, and the leafy branches high up represent the roof. All the vegetation you see around you, on earth, rocks or fallen trunks, is represented by a few ferns, with bright steel-blue fronds a yard high, broad-leaved aroids or gingerworts, with their delicious perfumes. Above you is a world of life and sunshine which birds, insects, and flowers alike enjoy. You feel very small and helpless as you try to catch a glimpse of the plants and flowers so high above you, and almost envy the long-armed red monkeys that swing themselves so easily from bough to bough”.⁵

We know from the earliest traditions that man and woman in those primitive days divided the labor, the man pursuing the animal, the woman the vegetable creation. And so, we can well see them in their first home, the man “calling” the animals, the woman “christening” the beautiful flowers.

⁵ F. W. Burbidge, *The Gardens of the Sun*, (London, 1880), p. 52ff.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE NAMING OF PLANTS AND ANIMALS

Such an occupation can hardly be called "labor", though it was opposed to what we call indolence. Man had been placed in the garden "to dress it and to keep it", which surely implies some action, even if nothing more than that of naming and classifying the numerous plants and animals with a view to their collection or eventual consumption. This is the earliest industrial stage that we know of, and took place without arrow or shot-gun, simply by the overmastering power and instinctive reverence inspired by the "lord of creation", as he brought the lion and tiger prostrate to his feet. We can see him taming the wild elephant, pacifying the murderous jaguar, and as he beheld their physical outlines or heard their distinctive shrieks, he associated each with a definite sound, descriptive either of the size or the cry of the animal. Thus can we account for the "onomatopaeic" character of primitive language, in which *Ka*, *La*, or *Ta*, are vaguely expressive of immensity, height, power, while the sibilants or explosives, *Sa*, *Sha*, or *Cha*, are imitations of the serpent's hiss or the bird's chirp, the roar of the lion being suggested by *Cha*, *Ra*, or *Wa*, and the breath of life perhaps by *Ha* or a similar aspirate. Together with *Pa* and *Ma* for father and mother, these are the earliest syllables uttered by man, and are generally sounded with the initial vowel,—*Aba*, *Apa*, *Ama*, *Ada*, *Ata*, *Aka*, *Ala*, *Ara*, *Asa*, *Acha*, *Awa*, etc. In fact we can almost hear the language of the first pair. In the common Oceanic or Austro-Melanesian tongue, it would sound as follows:—"Thu Darat Amaka!"—"Behold the Garden of God!" "*Aba yaka la-langit!*"—"Our Father who art in Heaven!" . . . "*Tábu nama awaka,—Baia raja awaka,—Buat naham awaka, ilo la-langit, itu batanah. Mangan ma-kami bawah chohóy,—sam lala kami dosha-kami, itu kami lalamu dosha-daya. Neng bawah kami ma-rachek,—bar ancha kami ta-bajau*". (The Lord's Prayer in old Dayak or Indonesian). Again: *Klawah*, *Chawah*, *Rawah*, "ferocious" for Tiger,—*Gajah*, *Gantir*, *Gantal*, "gigantic", for Elephant,—*Chip-Chip*, "chirping", for Bird,—*Sawa*, *Sampah*, "hissing", for Serpent,—*Taju-Talong*, "enormous", for Cobra. Similarly, *Tabu*, *Kayu*, for Tree, because "high", "sacred", or *Buah*, *Chuah*, because "eatable", or *Nipong*, *Pishang*, *Mangosteen*, because "delectable". In this manner words were attached to natural objects in a perfectly unartificial way, for "whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof". These are not ideal reconstructions, but living sounds uttered by living primitives, the expression "Our Father" being demonstrable as an invocation, but the various petitions of the Lord's Prayer are, needless to say, not to be found,—they never rise beyond disjointed cries for help.*

* Sources in Skeat-Blagden, Man, Reed, Ling-Roth, etc. op. cit. supra, and also in the text under each section.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE INSTITUTION OF MARRIAGE

The earliest designations for man and woman imply a sex-difference, which, in combination with the idea of matrimonial unity point to a general persuasion in the past, that "a man shall leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be *one* flesh". Whether as *Adjam* and *Hawah*, *Amei*, and *Djaja*, *Ayer* and *Tanah*, *Ilai* and *Indara*, we are brought before a *single* couple who are known as "Lord and Life", "Father and Mother", "Water and Earth", "Strength and Affection". This means that the earliest state was a monogamous one, for this we possess abundant evidence. Nay more, it implies that marriage belongs to the days of man's innocence, that it is especially sacred. Man was to "increase and to multiply", even in the garden of God, though he was to do so *subject* to the higher law of reason and faith, he was not to live like the animals. For this purpose a special instruction on the sanctity of the tie was surely congruous, and this is hinted at in all the stories of the sanctity and happiness of the primitive couple, of their intimacy with the Creator.

THEOPHANIES AND MANIFESTATIONS

It is in harmony with the simple child-like existence of early man that the concept of divinity should be anthropomorphic, that he should picture the Father in Heaven under human forms, that He should speak and act like a "person". And so, without calling in the aid of extraordinary miracles, we can easily realise the intense consciousness with which he felt a supernatural presence. This, by a simple fact of human psychology,—exceeding indeed the supernormal—, caused him to "hear" and to "see" the Heavenly Father as if He were actually present, to "talk" to Him as if He were one of his own, to "feel" Him in a manner in which He has rarely been felt by any but the saints and mystics of all ages. Now such a "vision" seems to be *absolutely required* by all the mythological data, we cannot explain the phenomena unless we assume something vivid and realistic. Among these the revelation of the higher meaning of sex,—whether in the form of the "soul-bird" or the later "couvade"—, is demanded by most of the sources. He who had issued from the Creator's "Breath", as in Malakka or Celebes,—he who was so phenomenally conscious that he and his helpmate were *one*, could not but hear the words of the same Creator in his sleep, opening his side and revealing to him his "wife". *Nin tulang ba-tulang yaka*", we can hear him say, "This is now bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh". "She shall be called Woman, "*Dayang*", because she was taken out of the Man,—"*Daya*".

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE STATE OF INNOCENCE AND INTEGRITY

All the sources, ancient or modern, speak of a state of primitive innocence and immortality, sometimes even of omniscience. The first man is not only the best, the most perfect, the most godlike, but he is also the wisest of the wise, the most clever, he knows everything. All this is no doubt true enough in its *essentials*, but we must beware of making the paradise of God ridiculous by converting the hero into a frivolous Don Quixote, operating unheard-of wonders. None of the biblical nor the scholastic sources require us to assume anything of the sort. The simple story of Genesis seems to exclude everything that we call the "superfluous", while the Thomistic Adam, though in every sense an ideal being, possesses a science *proportionate to his state*, not necessarily the knowledge of all things in their purely secular relations. (S. Thom. 1, qu. 94). In every other respect he is a child of nature, with a minimum of external equipment,—“And they were both naked, the man and the woman, and were not ashamed”.

Now it is this ideal primitive state, flowing from the praeternatural gifts, that makes the revealed picture so fascinating, so conspicuously true to the facts. Nothing is said of any arts and sciences, any wonderful palaces, any writing of books. The first man possessed them all intuitively, or rather, he had something better than all combined,—for he possessed his God, and in those days “Adam walked with God”, He was the great Reality. For the material picture we can turn again to our own primitives.

THE LIFE IN THE FOREST

The first pair had no need of weapons or implements, much less of raiment or habitations, for nature supplied them with all the necessaries, and even the luxuries of life, there was nothing to “make”, nothing to “hunt”. Life was spent in a continuous round of song and worship, of gathering the fruits of the earth, or of naming the favorite animals. In those days man lived with the quadrupeds, and lions and tigers were his close companions. The palm-leaf was his only couch, the dense foliage his only covering, and yet he was not alone, for he felt the divine presence. We cannot conceive the loveliness of that life,—dimly painted by Milton—, in which the father and mother of mankind drew inspiration from every sight or sound in nature. They followed their daily task to the accompaniment of a “Gregorian Chant”, the Te Deum of Paradise:—“*Shang maki Peng-Amaka-ma, Shang maki Penyalaka! Soma tanah shembayang, Amaka sal-Amaka!*” “We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord! All the earth doth worship Thee, the Father everlasting!”

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

A PAINLESS UNIVERSE(?)

Again, there is considerable evidence to show that the first diet of man was a vegetable one, that like the Orang he lived off the wild fruits of the forest. This is not an *a priori* speculation, but an *a posteriori* fact. None of our primitives hunt the animal creation until their supply of vegetable food begins to give out, and all the early traditions speak of an age of wonderful fruits, never of an age of wonderful animals. Whatever the science of dentistry may have to say on the subject of carnivorous teeth, it would be more correct to say that man is physiologically omnivorous, but primitively herbivorous, the supposed "incisors" being either entirely absent, or, if present in rudimentary form, of no functional importance. The same incisors are found on nearly all the monkeys, who are certainly not carnivorous. Nothing can therefore be found on the basis of dentition, and the existing types show no strong deviation from the normal.

This tradition has been preserved in Gen. 1, 29, where the "green herb" is distinctly given to man as a food,—“To you it shall be for meat”. This of course does not exclude the animal world, for in the next verse the same gift is mentioned to “every beast of the earth”, whom we can hardly regard as vegetarian. But it shows that the inspired writer wishes to emphasise the bloodless and comparatively innocent life of paradise, where there was no necessity either for man or animal to prey upon each other's flesh. The later theologumenon, that originally all the animals lived off the seed of the earth, is clearly absurd. It is a law of nature that the higher should live off the lower creation, and the objection on the score of “intense pain” is largely imaginary. The Catholic Church has never given her sanction to sentimental dreamers of “murdered rats”, though she forbids the needless infliction of suffering. We know that the nervous system of lower animals cannot compare to our own, that their supposed “agonies” are largely of our own invention. When the little fish enters the whale's mouth, it is comfortably buried, when the sparrow falls, it has already expired.

But while some form of pain is a necessary discipline of nature in its present state, a painless universe is surely not inconceivable, and is in any case “that divine far-off event, to which the whole of the creation moves”. Hence the vivid picture of an ideal state of friendship in the short days of man's innocence. This is what every living creature *might* have attained to, had not sin blocked the way to its immediate realisation. It was a change of food that followed the first transgression. And it is here that we feel the most comforting assurance of a brighter possibility for the world at large.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

TREES OF IMMORTALITY AND THE DIVINE COMMAND

But although the vegetable creation looms up so prominently in the earliest records of the human race, though it is the chief source of man's physical life and sustenance, it seems quite clear that any association of its purely alimentary qualities with life and death *as such* cannot by any possibility be derived from a mere shunning or avoiding of this or that enervating stimulant. If it is the majestic Palm of the tropics, that attracts the attention of man by reason of its wonderful height, its beautiful outline, and its extraordinary food-products, it is no less evident that the power of becoming divine, godlike, immortal, cannot be extricated from its purely physical secrets. Whether as the date, the sugar, the betel, or the coconut, we find it identified with the source of life in a super-physical sense, it seems to impart the divine life as such, to be the source of moral rather than physical power. Whence came this persuasion? And if the idea of taboo be traced to purely natural causes, how is it that the Banana, which figures so largely as a tree of temptation and is the most healthful of all tropical fruits, should be associated with the opposite quality? It is these two trees,—the *Nipong* and the *Pishang*—, which are both *tabu*, sacred, though in a contrary sense,—the *Nipong* is the *Kayu Hawah*, the Tree of Life, while the *Pishang* is the *Kayu Kubu*, the Tree of Death! Can this be explained on purely natural or hygienic principles?

A DIVINE INTERVENTION MUST BE ASSUMED

Apart from all this, however, the command itself implies a going beyond the limits of what is humanly useful. However wide the scope of the natural law, it can hardly dictate the observance of a definite command, by which abstinence is enjoined from two definite fruits, and this not for natural, but for *super*-natural reasons. It was the purpose of the Creator to test the moral endurance of the race by a definite trial, and for this reason a definite revelation of His will was clearly necessary. It matters not by what medium we conceive such a revelation to have been made, but it was too important to be merely surmised. We can hear the voice of the Lord in the forest speaking in unmistakable tones:—"*Sham buah darat mangá-wa, bar buah kaya tenga darat, neng manga! La-kol-langit mangá-wa, kubu-wa!*" "*Of the fruits of the garden thou mayest freely eat, but of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden thou shalt not eat thereof. For in the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die!*" Some such command is dimly implied in the united folklore of humanity, though the exact biblical wording cannot of course be found. We must look upon all these profane parallels as the corrupted survivals of a once perfect tradition.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE MYSTIC SHRINE

"Trees of Life" do not grow everywhere or anywhere. They are invariably located near the sources of some stream, or rise in solitary grandeur from the thicket below, bathed in the "living waters" of the mountain-torrent. As we follow the couple in their daily exploration of the forest primeval we can see them approaching the mountain clearing, and "the increasing numbers of ferns and mosses suggest the presence of water, while the patches of graceful calami or rattan palms increase at every step, the stones and trunks become moss-covered, and then at last the sound of many waters breaks on our ears with a cool and welcome noise, and a few minutes later we have struck the stream, as it rushes and sparkles amongst mossy and water-worn boulders down an open and sunny ravine. Some of the larger rocks are covered with a palm-like fern, and filmy ferns of the most delicate form and texture abound on the dripping stones". "The vegetation about the falls was lovely", writes a recent author, "the masses of ordinary forest trees being relieved by graceful palms and shrubs of various foliage".

"As we sit down on the rocks, a small flock of gigantic hornbills 'saw the air' with their wings, butterflies come wobbling down from the sunny clearing formed by the shallow stream, and the somber tones of the cuckoo and the bird of paradise tell us that we have come to the "central point of the earth",—the dividing line of human history. Here is the first altar of man, formed of the rocks of mother-earth, decorated with palm-leaf and banana, and sprinkled with the silver foam of the cascade. Here the first humans worshipped in silent adoration, or offered their burning incense to the Lord of Life, present in the mysterious tree. "We praise Thee, O God, we acknowledge Thee to the Lord!"

THE SERPENT

"But what is that attractive gleam of gold and green swaying to and fro in the sunshine? Ah! that is a beauty of another kind, and the native to whom it is pointed out ejaculates: "*Chulaka ular, Tuhan*". "A wicked snake, sir". We do not have to go very far to find "talking serpents". The *antu* takes possession of the beast, and makes him speak with as little difficulty as any human. And so we can hear him addressing the couple in those insinuating words:—"Chà Péng tà-ika?" "*Neng-kubú-wa!*" "Hath God said this?" "Ye shall not surely die!"—an action which seems to us unpicturable, because we do not understand the psychology of primitive man and his intense consciousness of a supernatural power. For him as for St. Francis nature speaks, birds and serpents have human tongues.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE TEMPTATION AND FALL

It surely requires more than a simple "aversion" to explain the temptation-scene that follows, and which has been preserved in its essentials by some of the earliest traditions of the race. Even here in Borneo the natives speak of a wonderful tree, "whose branches bore every imaginable fruit, and formed the ground of the first great dispute". But the combined Indonesian folk-lore offers considerably more. We know that wherever a serpent is mentioned, he is the power of evil, he cheats or deceives the first couple by persuading them that the intentions of God are different, that they need have no fear. In any case, the main points of the fall stand out in bold relief:—Man eats of the fruit of the tree and has lost his God,—that is the whole gist of the story, and with it has come the reign of sin and death in the world, a universal misfortune which cannot now be healed up.

THE SENTENCE

The divine anger which follows is in most cases well attested. Thunder and lightning accompany the fallen pair, and as they crouch away in the bush to hide their nakedness, they hear the voice of the Lord "in the cool of the day" as He pronounces the death-sentence:—"*Sémba mangá-wa pishàng, hawah-awaka serap hawah-pishàng. Wa putck kaya, kubu tebàng. Itu kubú-wa, anák-wa machup chenih. Kalu ambil-wa batu, hawah darah serap batu, neng-kisar, neng-kubu!*" "Because you have chosen the banana, your life shall be like its life. When the banana-tree has offspring, the parent stem dies. So shall you die and your children shall step in your place. Had ye chosen the stone(?), your life would have been like the life of the stone, changeless and immortal". These strong words come to us from Celebes, where the stone is regarded as all-sacred, but they reveal the main consequences of the fall in language that is almost biblical in its power.

THE CHERUBIM AND THE "EASTERN GATES"

And so the tree of life is withdrawn from man, or rather, man withdraws from the tree, he is expelled from the garden, and the World-Eagle or the Argus-Pheasant protect the tree from further approach. These are the prehistoric Cherubim, which like those of Ezekiel and Daniel are winged beasts with four faces, "full of eyes within and without", and "with the appearance of a flash of lightning". As we catch a last glimpse of their flaming forms, we can see the couple passing the eastern gates to "dwell in the land of Nod, to the east of Eden", a plain intimation that the days of wandering have now commenced,—"*a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth!*"

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE QUESTION OF ULTIMATE SOURCES

Now I have taken the island of Borneo as a typical example in which most of the requisites of a paradise-legend are fulfilled,—climate, geographical situation, flora and fauna, primitive peoples, strong echoes of the days of innocence, and a fairly rich mythology of primitive times. But in doing this, I do not wish to imply that this is the only possible theater of man's earliest activity, or to insinuate that here alone are the mythological data so convincing that any further study of additional areas is superfluous. The above drama has been reconstructed, not so much from the native as from the *combined* sources, and though there are many good reasons for directing our attention to this quarter, the events described might be made to fit any tropical or subtropical region with almost equal propriety. It is simply a specimen of how the story can be pieced together from *aboriginal* sources, showing how convergent the legends, how suggestive the surroundings.

But where are we to look for its final basis, its ultimate source? In this connexion I would like to call attention to the utterly baseless theories that are sometimes put forward to "explain" the supernatural, to make it appear that the biblical data are after all reducible to more or less vivid sense-impressions for which there is abundant precedent in the life of the savage of today.

THE "SUPERNORMAL" CANNOT EXPLAIN IT

It is not long ago since the late Mr. Andrew Lang tacitly if not actually insinuated that "supernormal" knowledge of this kind was an attested and accredited fact, that "to open the gates of distance" was the poetical Zulu phrase for what we call clairvoyance or *vue à distance*. Now while the facts of the "subconscious" are for the most part unquestionable, it is altogether unwarranted to speak of these abnormal, not to say diseased states of the mind as granting "information beyond the reach of chance-coincidences to explain", as the source in fact of real preternatural if not actually supernatural knowledge. The very fact that these strange sensations are on the level with the *petit mal* of epilepsy is a sufficient proof that they are unhealthy, and the parallel phenomena in the moral order,—obscuration of the ethical faculty, occasional murder, admitted laxity in the sexual relations—, all are so many additional testimonies that, if anything beyond the natural, it is the "father of lies", the demon, that is here at work. *God almighty never acts through diseased and perverted channels, whether in the physical or moral order.* Granting, then, that some of these long-distance "visions" do unquestionably point to a faculty in man which is above that of the crude material senses, it is no less evident that so far from explaining the supernatural, they are on the contrary its most shameful travesty, they are the logical opposites of the revealed channels of light.

¹ Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, (London, 1909), p. 65-127.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

A SUPERNATURAL REVELATION PRESERVED IN CORRUPT FORM

For while the "visionary" power of primitive man defies modern analysis, and was evidently far more common in those days than it has been in any succeeding time, it is absolutely necessary to call in a *supernatural* state of consciousness to explain the unique story of the elevation and fall of man. The commanding Elohim and the talking serpent certainly exceed the boundaries of a normal religious "impression"; the above phenomena prove the existence of super-material, not of super-natural powers, they cannot explain what we have found to be naturally inexplicable. Abnormal hearing and seeing are now demonstrable, but only as *pathological* states; they cannot account for a supernatural *elevation*.

CONVERGENCE OF SOURCES

A more common objection is that the beginnings of man are too far off to be accessible to us, that contact with biblical or Islamic ideas is strongly to be suspected, that the transmission of such details through countless generations of mankind is on the face of it improbable, if not actually incredible. I have already considered the main points of this objection on p. 226. Here I would only reiterate, that a criticism on the score of "hoary" antiquity is rather ill-timed. If man himself can survive, so can his thoughts, so can his language, so can his legends, though a literal equation between man present and primitive is not demanded, and is indeed unprovable. As to the native origin, it seems to be fully established, (1) by the isolation of the regions examined, (2) by the purely pagan mythology, showing no traces of Islamic or even Hindoo thought, (3) by the wording of the story, (4) by the relation of the story to the rest of the mythology, which makes them an indivisible unit. Moreover by piecing together these fragments, it is certainly remarkable to find tree, serpent, garden of fruits, temptation and fall, loss of immortality and curse of man, if not always united, at least in many cases directly attested, and this in no other portion of the world but only here in the East Indies, the very spot selected by many biologists as the cradle of mankind! Can this be a purely fortuitous circumstance? Does it not seem highly probable that these are distant echoes of the earliest tradition of man on the subject, of the undivided tradition?

COMBINED EVIDENCE IRRESISTIBLE

Thus we have a strong basis of fact to counterbalance any arbitrary or phantastic theories. Antecedent improbabilities will have to yield to the combined verdict of biology, ethnology, comparative mythology, and the revealed supernatural data, that this tradition is not only historically credible, but that it is the only tradition that is confirmed by the early consciousness of man as revealed by the earliest data that are so far accessible to us.

CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION

INTERPRETATION

It is well known that the biblical exegesis of the paradise-legend admits of considerable latitude. There is the literal, mystical, poetical, and allegorical school, each of which accepts the truth of the legend, but gives its own interpretation of details, the latter taking the extreme position that the whole story is an allegory, a series of symbolic pictures designed to impress upon man the fact that he might have been immortal, but that sin has blocked the way to eternal life, that sin is the origin of all evil, of all misery, of all unhappiness. The temptation and fall repeats itself in every individual of the race, we are all eating of the "tree of knowledge", losing our higher spiritual life by listening to the "serpent" of a stifled conscience, prevented from enjoying the paradise of a divine union by the "Cherubim" of guilt, of unpardoned crime, of deferred repentance. Others will say that the original sin of mankind is equally universal, but more specifically sexual, that tree, serpent, garden of pleasure, etc. are physiological terms, the "forbidden fruit" being suggestive enough without requiring any further comment. Is not unchastity the most harrowing sin of mankind?

After what we have found in the preceding analysis, it is hardly necessary to add, that while the legend may, and no doubt does conceal many secondary, internal, and mystical significations, including all the applications above given, the weight of the evidence is heavily against allegorism. It requires us to assume that the drama of the fall was external and realistic, confined to a definite epoch, taking place in a definite locality,—though precisely where, when, and how, can indeed never be known with certainty. The idea that *immortality was lost by sin* is of course the main lesson, but this has little or no meaning without a definite historical and dramatic setting such as we find in the earliest ages.

THE TREES OF "KNOWLEDGE AND LIFE"

have caused some difficulty by reason of their names, being seemingly appellatives, or symbolic trees, of no definite species. But this is deceptive reasoning. With mere symbols we cannot account for the vivid consciousness of a real fruit, eaten and refused to the deity, and later offered as a sacrifice of atonement. If the sacrifice is real, the fruit is real also. But the fruit has also a mystical sense. It is a tree of knowledge and life because it is through *knowing* the good and the evil that man is *capable* of sinning on the one hand, or of *meriting* eternal life on the other. But on no account can the story be divided into "real" and "ideal" sections,—it is a simple, straightforward, realistic, though also mystical narrative. Moreover, it is only in the inspired Hebrew tradition that we have anything approaching to a pure, primitive and undiluted narrative of the most momentous event in the early history of man.

PARADISE

CONCLUSION

Taking a general review, it will now be possible to follow the transmission of the paradise-legend broadly in three stages:—

(1) PRIMITIVE VERSION

Here the picture is dramatic and realistic, even if sometimes fragmentary and occasionally defective. The biblical story may be traced in outline, though the wording and setting of the narrative reveals its independence. Paradise is vaguely in the far East, an Island of Fruits, guarded by a semi-divine being,—the Argus-Pheasant or the World-Eagle.

(2) LATE-GLACIAL VERSION

Portions of the old tradition have survived in Central India. Among other totemic peoples the story has been reduced to a mere skeleton. Death is the result of passion, pride, or curiosity through large sections of Australia, Africa, and North America, but the guilt is fastened upon two heroes of a later age, not upon the first ancestors. Paradise has become more "ideal".

(3) RECENT VERSION

The old tradition is revived, but with a more modern Western-Asiatic setting. The fragments have been stitched together and form a continuous, homogeneous story. This is more especially the case with the Palestinian version, which we know from higher sources to embody the only perfect picture of primitive man. It is one of the few non-national, non-local stories, it places the garden of God once more in the far East, neither in Palestine, Egypt, nor Babylonia. In this it agrees with the Gilgamesh-epic with its Isles of the Blessed. In other cases paradise has become distinctly territorial or national, whether as the Field of Alu in Egypt, the garden of Eridu in Mesopotamia, or the Airyanah-Vejah of the Himalayan regions. Only the Hesperides seem to reflect the universal idea, but their climate is European, their "apples" distinctly western.

RESULTS

It is therefore within the possibility of proof that the essentials of a paradise-story may be traced to the very earliest ages of man, that it has survived the ravages of the glacial epoch, and that it has been preserved in its purest form in the Hebrew tradition of our day. In other words—

THE DIVINE TRADITION HAS BEEN CONTINUOUS,

however much its area may have been reduced or its frontiers battered by the successive invasion of pantheistic or animistic phases of human thought. There is satisfaction in feeling that Gen .1-3 was as real to the mind of primitive man as to any of his benighted successors.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH

DE DEO SALVANTE

The History of the Idea of Redemption

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM

AS THE GUIDING STAR OF THE MAGI

"WE HAVE SEEN HIS STAR IN THE EAST AND HAVE COME TO WORSHIP HIM" (MATT. 2, 2)



A SUPERNATURAL PHENOMENON WHICH IS BELIEVED TO HAVE OCCURRED ABOUT THE TIME OF THE SAVIOR'S BIRTH, THE FOUR MAJOR PLANETS BEING IN CLOSE OPPOSITION, AND THE WHOLE ILLUMINATED BY AN EXTRAORDINARILY BRILLIANT, EVANESCENT OR MIRACULOUS STAR, SEE W. RAMSAY, WAS CHRIST BORN AT BETHLEHEM? (LONDON, 1898), P. 215. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JESUS THE MESSIAH, (NEW YORK, 1903), VOL. I, P. 212.

From the preceding material it is sufficiently clear that the notion of a fall or a general failure is a very wide if not a universal persuasion of humanity. This fall is attributed in most cases to moral causes, to a failure of mankind to measure up to an ideal standard, to a conscious rebellion of his lower against his higher nature. In this way reason has become the slave of the senses, and the order of nature has become inverted,—there has been a frustration of the divine plan, involving the whole of humanity as the wheels of a watch involve the whole mechanism. The consequences of this fall are also generally well marked. It has brought sin and death into the world, the former a moral, the latter a material stain, both together reducing man to the level of nature, yet leaving the supernatural,—the means and instruments for seeing the All-Father face to face.

It has always been a problem of great importance to understand, how far the loss of integrity and original justice has affected the status of man with regard to the supernatural order, to what extent that order has been rendered inefficient until the coming of the Redeemer, with what propriety it can be said that the nature-peoples are living under the "law of nature" as described by Saint Paul and Cicero, whether that law has dispensed large sections of humanity from imputability to a higher standard in such sense that a man is capable of working out his own "natural" salvation without reference to a law of which he is blamelessly ignorant, and to which he cannot be held responsible. In other words:—

IS THERE A NATURAL BEATITUDE?

This question has been handled with great vigor by the scholastics, especially the moderns, and is generally treated as a hypothetical case rather than a real one,—there is *no* natural beatitude, though there might have been one if man had not been raised to a supernatural state. (Suarez). This is in harmony with the best tradition, biblical and patristic, which knows only *one* means of salvation, and that a *supernatural* one. Moreover the Catholic doctrine of the universality of salvific grace obliges us to assume that the supernatural law is at least potentially universal, that in all ages souls are capable of being the objects of the divine mercy, of being raised to the supernatural state,—"*Facienti quod in se est Deus non denegat gratiam*".¹

¹ An excellent and exhaustive treatment of this subject will be found in Louis Capéran, *Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1912), Vol. I. Partie historique, Vol. II. Partie dogmatique.

Let us see what bearings this has on our present subject, on the condition of man after the fall with reference to his supernatural merit, to the possibility of his own salvation. It means that the loss of integrity and original justice is analogous to the loss of the rationality by the animal passions of man, whenever he rebels against the dictates of reason, loses himself in the attractions of sense. The domination of sense over reason is a checking, a thwarting of reason, not a suppression thereof. The rational faculty still subsists, though its exercise is impeded. And so, in the fall of man, we must distinguish between the obscuration, the rejection of grace, and its complete suppression. Man still remains *potentially* capable of grace and the virtues, though he has *actually* forfeited them. In other words—

Salvation is Free, Gratuitous, Supernatural, and Universal

It is freely offered to man in all ages and under all climates, if only as a “wave” of grace, a transitory impetus, a supernatural stimulus. But this is vague and indefinite unless it descends to further particulars:—

“Good Master, What Must I Do to Inherit Eternal Life?”

Now it is from the well-known answer to this question that the primary dictates of the natural law are derived. Love of God and love of neighbor, these are the minimum conditions of salvation for all those who have not yet entered the “kingdom”,—Jews and Gentiles alike. Furthermore, by analysing these precepts and expanding them in their only legitimate and practical sense, we get the following evolution of the supernatural law as far as it affects the question of justification for the different periods of the race.

CONDITIONS OF SALVATION:—

(1) Under the Primitive Law

- (a) Dogmatic:—Belief in God as Creator and Judge, with *implicit* belief in the Redeemer. (Trinity, Incarnation, and Redemption *in voto*).
- (b) Moral:—Compliance with the primary dictates of the natural law, and the divine positive law, as far as known (Commandments, Rites, Sacrifices).

(2) Under the Jewish Law

- (a) Dogmatic:—Belief in *Jehovah-Elohim* as the Savior-God of Israel, with implicit belief in the Messiah, (Trinity, Incarnation, etc. *in voto*).
- (b) Moral:—Compliance with the natural and the divine positive law as contained in the Torah, (Commandments, Rites, Sacrifices, Circumcision).

(3) Under the New Law

- (a) Dogmatic:—*Explicit* belief in God as Creator and Rewarder, with at least *implicit* belief in the Trinity and Incarnation, some theologians requiring an *explicit* profession of faith in these mysteries.
- (a) Moral:—Compliance with the New Law with the Baptism of Water, etc.

THE CONDITIONS OF SALVATION ARE PROGRESSIVE

From this it is evident that the conditions for entering the kingdom of heaven, though uniform in their supernatural character, have not been uniform in their content,—there has been a progressive demand for higher and yet higher standards with the advance of the ages, a gradual expansion of faith and practice with the fulness of time. These conditions are progressive,

But in Every Age Objective and Absolute.

I am no longer free to live under Jewish or Gentile conditions of justification for the simple reason that I am living under the New Law, which requires fidelity to a higher standard under pain of an eternal loss,—

“He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved,
he that believeth not shall be condemned”.

Does this apply to the whole world, pagan and non-pagan alike? Undoubtedly it does. Saint Francis Xavier would never have sacrificed his life in the far East, had he not been convinced that the eternal gospel was the *only* means of salvation in the present economy, even though individual souls or even entire peoples *might* attain to the same conditions by a blameless fidelity to an anterior supernatural law which in their case was still partially operative. It is simply a case of the survival of prehistoric conditions of faith and practice, which are valid only in so far as the higher standard is invincibly ignored, but which cease the moment that standard becomes sufficiently known to the gentile to be binding in conscience.

TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE GENTILES “EXCUSED”?

From this it will follow that the gentiles can only be excused *negatively*, only in so far as the complete message of salvation has not yet reached their ears, but never positively, in so far as they reject that message when sufficiently evidenced. This is expressed by saying that

THE FAITHFUL GENTILE WILL BE CONVERTED,

that being already in a proximate state of salvation, he cannot resist the divine message of the New Law without culpability, nay, that he may even merit the knowledge of that Law by the message of a preacher, or by a direct internal illumination. (St. Thomas). This consoling opinion shows at least that in the mind of the angelic doctor the conscience of the savage may be *already* so responsive to grace as to become the fit receptacle for truths of a still higher order, in itself a strong admission. It presupposes that

The Gentile Law is the Basis of the New Law,

in such sense that the former “prepares” for the latter by removing the obstacles, by thus allowing full play to supernatural forces.²

² S. Thom. in 14. de Verit. art. 11. ad primum: “*Certissime constat*” etc.

THE STATE OF THE GENTILE BEFORE CONVERSION

The possibility of justification under the gentile law for the would-be "faithful" is therefore clearly recognised, and is not only in harmony with the best Catholic tradition, but seems to be positively demanded by the gospel data. The judgments passed by the people of Niniveh upon the crimes of the Jews imply the possibility of a gentile conversion, however remote or exceptional such a "conversion" may be taken to be. What then is the position of the modern "savage" with regard to his own salvation? Given that he is in good faith and blamelessly ignorant, what must he believe and do in order to be saved?

CONDITIONS OF GENTILE SALVATION

(1) He must believe in a supreme Being as the Creator and Judge of man,—that is the minimum,—the belief in a Saving-God being *ipso facto* included.

(2) He must follow those evident precepts of the natural law which are written in the heart of man, as the decalogue, and which include in addition the observance of certain rites and customs which vary with different ages, but which for him are sacred,—acts of penance, sacrifice, atonement-rites.

The former is known as the objective, the latter as the subjective redemption.

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE REDEMPTION

It will be our present purpose to ascertain how far the prehistoric data tend to support the idea that a redeeming God has been virtually believed in from the earliest times, reserving for a succeeding chapter the allied problem as to how far such a redemption requires the observance of certain rites or sacrifices in order to make it efficient, in order to apply the fruits of the redemption promised to the soul of man as he yearns for deliverance, in order to make it vivid, continuous, realistic. (Institutional aspect).

CRITERIA OF THE OBJECTIVE REDEMPTION

Let it be understood once for all that we are not searching for *the* Redeemer, but for faith or hope in *a Redeemer*, however vague or confused or perverted such a faith or hope may prove itself to have been. It is a question of finding:—

(1) Evidence for the belief in a Savior, Mediator, or Messiah that is to come.

(2) Some evidence that this Savior is more than man, possibly a divine being.

ONLY ONE REDEEMER

In this way we shall avoid the insidious trap of identifying the Son of God with any prehistoric demiurge, however sacred. All prehistoric redemption is wrought solely through the merits of Christ *anticipated*, for "there is only One Name given to men under heaven, whereby we must be saved" (Acts, 4, 12). It is only through Him that the various hopes of the gentiles take on any real value, that they are in real sense prophetic.

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

In the very first cycle of human development, among the lowest aborigines yet known to us, there seems to be an obscure consciousness that the divine Being is more than Creator,—that He is also a Helper, a Savior of man, in such sense that He is willing to restore the human race to the primitive conditions of friendship provided they will call upon His Name, provided they have real confidence in His own power to help them. In many cases, moreover,—and this is the important point,—this power of helping, of reconciling man with the offended deity, is the prerogative of a certain being who seems to be distinct from the All-Father, though he derives all his power from Him, a fact which cannot be explained except as a relic of a past supernatural light.

(A, 1) THE NEGRITOS OF MALAKKA

Among the Malakkan Negritos of the Province of Perak we hear of a mysterious being called *Ple* who seems to occupy the position of an intercessor, of a mediator between the supreme Being and His rebellious creatures. Note the following story:—

(1) When *Kari* created men, they were very good. Death was not yet established, and the Semang living on fruits prospered and soon got numerous. But *Kari* saw that they were getting too numerous. . . He blew them away with His Breath—and sent the wicked souls to the infernal regions. But *Ple* pitied them and got the Thunder-God to stop slaughtering the Semang, arranged with Him in what cases souls should be sent to Paradise, wrote his decision upon the Burial-Bamboo to be shown to Him, and obtained from Him the power to avert diseases.¹ Moreover *Kari* shows pity, and listens to the pleadings of *Ple* on man's behalf.² *Ple* often appeared as a Semang, but with long thick bushy hair covering his body. Some say he returned to *Kari* with *Simei*, others that he sleeps in the Jelmel Mountains and will soon return.³ (Human character).

(2) *Kari* created everything except the earth. He told *Ple* to complete this part of the work, and *Ple* did so. *Ple* created men, but *Kari* "gave them souls".⁴ Like the latter, *Ple* appears to require blood-sacrifices, (thunder-charm), he can convert winds into lightning, and has the power of self-transformation.⁵ (Divine traits).

It seems quite possible that this is an early case of a half-human, half-divine personality,—a possible logos. From the above details it may be inferred:—

(1) That *Ple* is a mediator, that he can save man, that he will one day return.

(2) That he is a semi-divine being, a creating divinity, or a demiurge.

It is not always easy to distinguish dualism from redemptive monotheism, but in this case the transcendence of *One Being* seems certain, though *Ple* is sufficiently powerful to appease His anger, to avert the destruction of man.⁶

¹ Skeat, Pagan Races, II. p. 211-212. ² Idem, p. 177. ³ Idem, p. 214. ⁴ Id. p. 213. ⁵ Idem, p. 215. ⁶ Compare also the Myth-Bamboo, No. 1, page 7 above.

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

(A, 2) THE SENOI OF MALAKKA

Among the neighboring Senoi we find the same idea of a mediator, but in female form. Here the chief divinity is *Ta-Peng*, the "Great Master", and He alone is recognised as all-powerful, as the ultimate source of benevolence, to wit:—

"After *Peng* had annihilated the demons, he observed that the chiefs and the people were suffering greatly from hunger and thirst. So he touched the ground where the Seven-Bamboos had been growing, until there shot up a number of fresh sprouts, such as are willingly eaten by the Senoi, as well as full-grown bamboos which contained water. Thus all the chiefs had enough to eat. Later on, as a remembrance, people took to burning into their quivers patterns representing the marks left by *Ta-Peng's* red hot hands upon each separate part of the bamboos".⁷

This absurd anecdote shows at least that *Peng* is a helping and saving divinity, that he wishes man to live in spite of his failures. But in the figure of *Lanyut*—the "Great Woman"—, we have the picture of a female mediator, whose office it is to *pilot the souls of the dying over the paradise-bridge, or to wash them in the purgatorial waters until they are fit to enter the island of fruits*. This reveals the distinctive role of a helper who is probably more than a mortal, and yet clearly below the Master above. It is through her purifying hands that the sinful soul is finally saved.⁸

(A, 3) THE JAKUNS OF MALAKKA

Among the wild Malays at the southern end of the peninsula the idea of a redeeming god has been mixed up with that of the national ancestors. Here it is *To-Entah*, "the Lord-knows-who", that is par excellence the protecting deity. He is the son of the first humans, and thus remotely the son of *Tuhan-di-Bawah*, the Lord of the Underworld,—a semi-divine hero. It is through his pleadings that *Tuhan* is besought to save the race and to make it immortal, though the prayer is rejected and men have had to submit to death on account of their violence. Disappointed at this, *To-Entah* then arranges the seasons, fixes the sun, moon, and stars in the heavens, prepares the earth as the habitation of man, and finally saves the race from the deluge.⁹

Here again we have a more or less corrupt account of a personal deliverer, who, however playful and light-hearted, is probably more than an ordinary human. He not only helps to make the world, but intercedes with the chief divinity for the salvation of man,—in fact he saves him. This may serve as a typical example of some of the earlier beliefs in this part of the Asiatic Continent.

⁷ Skeat, op. cit. II. 234. ⁸ Ibid. II. 239ff. ⁹ Ibid. II. 336-341 (folk-lore).

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

(B, 1) ANDAMAN ISLANDS

In the Andamanese tradition the role of a mediator is not so clear. *Puluga* is himself a redeemer, for he saves select souls from the flood, who then re-people the world from the earthly paradise.¹ This shows that in spite of the depravity of man, he is still capable of meriting salvation by invoking the divine name, by following the divine precepts, though this is not clearly expressed in the legends. For it is implied in the doctrine of the fall,—through which the friendship of *Puluga* was lost,—and in that of the future life, according to which the faithful pass over the paradise-bridge to the sky-palace, where *Puluga* reigns with his numerous family. This means that faith in *Puluga* is a necessary condition of salvation, as all the enemies of *Puluga* are consigned to the underworld.²

But is there no evidence at all for a mediator as distinct from a creator, for some person who fulfills the office of reconciler between the divinity and his rebellious creatures? Some such office may be implied in the character of *Pijchor*, though the scanty materials furnish only a fragmentary picture, showing a relation of divine sonship and nothing more:—

“*Puluga’s* son is called *Pijchor*. He is regarded as a sort of archangel, and is alone permitted to live with his father whose orders it is his duty to make known to the *Morowin*, or sky-spirits”.³

Pijchor is therefore an only son and has the power over all archangels. But he is bereft of the power of creating, he is not the object of any special cult, and he is not associated, as far as we know, with any of *Puluga’s* plans for saving mankind. This would seem to exclude the office of intercessor, though perhaps the mythology has not yet been sufficiently sifted to force the conclusion that such is non-existent. In default of further information, we must conclude that the Andamanese have a belief in a saving divinity, who may be a divine “son”, but whose independent office cannot be proved from the data. The materials are altogether inadequate.

(B, 2) CEYLON

The *Kande-Wanniya*, or “Mighty Hunter” of the Veddas is either an idealised shaman, or, what is more probable, a humanised Heaven-God, his quasi-divine attributes being more clearly recognised by the wilder tribes. “*Kande-Yaka* was essentially a friendly and helpful *yaka*, who, unlike many other *yaku*, usually beneficent, never sent sickness. In fact *Kande-Yaka*, the spirit, scarcely differs from *Kande-Wanniya*, the mighty hunter, still living, and showing kindness and helpfulness to the people among whom he dwelt”.⁴

¹ Man. Andaman Islands, 98. ² Ib. 94, 96ff. ³ Ib. 90. ⁴ Seligman, Veddas, 132.

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

But whatever the origin of the *yaka* belief, it is from this "Lord of the dead" that the *nae yaku* or deceased spirits obtain permission "to accept offerings from their living relatives, and to obtain power from him to assist them in return for their offerings, or to injure them in the event of their bad behavior". This reveals an essential connexion between divine assistance and good or bad behavior, and shows moreover that salvation is centered in the great *Yaka*, is dispensed by Him alone.⁵

From this it may be inferred that the "Great Spirit" of the Veddas is capable of saving his children under the usual conditions that they obey his laws, that they invoke his name. These invocations are well represented in this region and breathe a spirit of lofty confidence in the divine power to help. But as to the *Bilindi-Yaka*, his supposed "brother", it should be noted that "*Kande-Yaka* and *Bilindi-Yaka* were both known at Godatalawa, though they were not recognised as brothers, and *Kande-Yaka* was said to be greater than all other *yaku*. They are the two principal *yaku* invoked in order to obtain game".⁶ But the strange thing about *Bilindi* is the story that he was murdered by *Kande-Yaka* because he felt lonely as a *yaka* and longed for his company:—

"For fear of what solitude did you kill your own younger brother?"—runs a versicle addressed to *Kande-Yaka*, here called *Nayide*, or "Great Artificer".⁷ It is evident that this is no revengeful or criminal murder but rather a divinely permitted martyrdom, born of the intense love of *Kande-Yaka* for his own "brother", who was still condemned to roam the earth as a hunter while he himself was in celestial glory. It is a kind of prehistoric "assumption", by which the Lord of heaven delivers his dearly beloved from the pains of existence. In the figure of *Bilindi-Yaka* we may possibly discern the first premonition a suffering divinity,—one who was to redeem the race by the sacrifice of his life,—though the story is couched in strongly mythological garb. It is for this reason that *Bilindi* is always invoked in the sacrifice.

(C) PHILIPPINES

The same notion may be concealed in the great *Anito* of the Philippine negritos. If he punishes sinners, he blesses and rewards the just, he accepts the sacrifice, he hears the invocation, "*This for Thee!*",—which shows that help and protection come from him, that he is its author. Of the lesser *anitos* too little is yet known to establish the office of mediator, though the Aetas have a great number of guardian spirits. In any case the dead return to the great *Anito*, he is both able and willing to deliver them.⁸

⁵ Seligman, Veddas, 132. ⁶ Seligman, 1. c. 150. ⁷ Seligman, 1. c. 288-289. ⁸ Reed, Negritos of Zambales, p. 65. and compare above pp. 21-24.

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

(D) BORNEO

This idea of a savior-god, whether in male or female form, will be found to be fairly prominent among a large section of the East-Indian aborigines. Almost invariably there is a special "pleading" divinity.

The High Father of the Bakatans or Forest-Dayaks is evidently more than a mere Sky-being. He is *Bali-Pen-ya-long*, the Spirit-Master-on-High, whose triumph over the insidious crocodile implies his power of saving mankind from a violent death. That is why his name is invoked at the critical moment, it is always the *Aba-lingo*, (*Ba-lingo*, etc.), that brings relief. But besides the Father there is frequently also a "Mother" of humanity, though this is less conspicuous in the very earliest period, where the Father-Mother God is not often clearly distinguished. Here, however, we have the female *Doh-Pen-ya-long*, to whom the Kenyah-women pray as the "wife" of the Father-God. This is a slightly later stage of sex-cult, which shows however that a mediating divinity is recognised, she "prays" for her worshippers. But it is more especially the *Balli Flaki* or Omen-bird,—here the Hawk—, that is looked upon as the messenger or intermediary between themselves and the High Father. It matters not what form such a messenger may assume, it is evidently a personal being that is looked upon as an all-powerful intercessor. "*O Spirit of this Bird. Ask Bali-Pen-ya-long to take away all sickness from us and to keep us from all harm!*" This formula of the Kenyahs may be duplicated by a very similar invocation among the Kayans, where the Hawk is known as *Laki Neho*, who carries a similar prayer to *Laki Tenangan*, the "grandfather" of the race. All this shows that the All-Father is believed to be accessible by prayer, that he hears the petitions of his people, that he is able to help them, either directly or through an acknowledged mediator. Moreover the strong eschatology helps to bear this out. It is *Amei, Tamei*, (*Amaka*), who punishes the wicked, but saves the good, and admits to heaven all those that are faithful to *Adat*,—"moral law". We have already seen that the relatively high standard of most of the interior tribes is a guarantee that these utterances are not purely theoretical. They mean what they say and argue for a strong sense of the divine power to save, provided that man will co-operate with the plan, will avail himself of the means of salvation. But whatever the value and portent of these various mediators or go-betweens, it is sufficiently clear that the divinity is looked upon as benevolent, as morally powerful, as a salvific God. This must not be taken in the full Christian, but in the prehistoric, dispositive and limited sense; it means that the first obstacles to a divine union are being removed.¹

¹ Sources in Hose and McDougall, Haddon, Nieuwenhuis, etc. op. cit. supra p. 25.

REDEMPTION

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

CELEBES

The Makkassars of Southern Celebes have the same idea of a divine couple, described as *Adji* and *Datu Palingo*, who have in addition a divine child known as *Batara*, the "Lord". This being seems to be another *To-Entah*, a demiurge, who descends from heaven on a bamboo, and arranges the earth as the future dwelling-place of man. Among the Toradjas again it is *Ilai* and *Indara* that are the father and mother of *Samoa* who breathes into man the breath of life. These are special creating or saving divinities, as they act immediately with man, while their "parents" seem to be more far off. The *Kalangi* of the Minahassa is in some respects a similar figure.²

THE MOLUKKAS

Again, the *Amaka-Lanito* of Amboina is assisted by the *Amaka-Ume* of the same region, both of whom are addressed as *Aamina-Lanito*, or "Father-Mother-Heaven". It is evident, therefore, that while a divine unity is for the most part provable, such a unity is not inconsistent with the separate office of a mediating "mother" or "son", who are looked upon as in some respects nearer to man than the Father of all, but who derive all their power of helping or saving the race from Him alone. This is a very general, however corrupted, persuasion among the earliest and most primitive peoples that we know of.³

(E) PAPUA-MELANESIA

In the Aru Islands it is *Boitai* and *Tadue*, the "Lord of the Earth" and the "Lady of the Sea", that reveal the same notion, the divine "lady" being by a natural instinct of humanity a kind of intercessor at the throne of her "lord", though the latter is the all-ruling Father, the only Creator.

In German New Guinea it is *Wonekau* himself that will save man, that will listen to all his petitions:—"O *Wonekau*, come down and look upon my children!"—a prayer which is expected to be answered under the condition that they obey his laws, among which chastity and honesty are all-important.

In British New Guinea they will tell you of a mysterious person called *Chidibey* who was once with them and who taught them all they know. They cannot explain his disappearance, but they regret his having left them and point to certain rocks as the vestiges of his presence.

In the Banks Islands, Melanesia, the notion of all-saving "lord" is about all that is left of a native theology. It is *Quat-Marawa*, the "lord-spider" that "beats down the waves", that "prepares the sea", that saves the helpless mariner,—a prayer which is believed to be immediately efficacious.⁴

² Sources in Wilken, Kruyt, Adriani, etc. op. cit. supra p. 29. ³ Comp. Riedel, etc. supra p. 30. ⁴ See above, pp. 31-36 for the sources.

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

(1) *Baiame*-Region:—The Kamilaroi of New South Wales believe that the office of mediator and intercessor devolve upon two separate personalities, if we are to credit the reports of an early and apparently reliable witness, Mr. James Manning, who is convinced of the native origin of this persuasion. He says "They believe in a Supreme Being called *Boyma* (i. e. *Baiame*), who dwells in the North-East in a heaven of beautiful appearance. He is represented as seated on a throne of transparent crystal, with beautiful pillars of crystal on each side. *Gregorally* is his son, who watches over the actions of mankind. He leads the souls of men to *Boyma*. The first man made by *Boyma* was called *Moodgegally*, who lives near the heaven of *Boyma*. He lives on the earth and has power of visiting *Boyma*, whose palace he reaches by a winding path round a mountain, whence he ascends by a ladder or flight of steps. There he receives laws from *Boyma*".¹ "Mr. Manning", says Howitt, "has built up on these facts a superstructure which represents Christian dogmas, and he has done this evidently with full faith in his convictions. The following are his words: 'They not only acknowledge a supreme deity, but also believe in his providential supervision of all creation, aided by his son, *Gregorally*, and by the second mediator in the supernatural person of their intercessor, *Moodgegally*'".²

It is needless to remark that these strong epithets are evidently of Mr. Manning's own devising. Expressions like "supernatural person", "intercessor", and so on, must always be taken in the native and more or less anthropomorphic sense, they cannot be made to stand for the strictly philosophical concept of a creating logos, a divine mediator. We must beware of attaching Christian terminology to what are nothing more than the vague gropings of the savage mind trying to explain the mystery of redemptive grace by clothing its own heroes with "supernatural" attributes, by making the first ancestor a semi-divine intercessor. This is the commonest of phenomena among the nature-peoples, and of this we have had abundant illustrations above. Mediator and ancestor are very often synonymous. On the other hand Mr. Howitt's criticism is perhaps too severe. He admits himself that these are "facts", and we know from other sources that *Baiame* is more than a mythical "headman", that he "listens to the prayer of the orphan", that he is an "all-seeing spirit", that he brings salvation to his people. This and the above data should make us reconsider the point. We must always be prepared for the possibility that the nucleus of these and similar legends is authentic and thus traceable in part to a remote supernatural source.

¹ James Manning, Notes on the Aborigines of New Holland (Sydney, 1882), quoted by Howitt, Native Tribes, p. 501-502. ² Howitt, 1. c. 502.

EARLY OCEANIC BELIEF

(3) *Bundjil*-Region:—Further evidence for the belief in a savior-man of more or less divine character but of distinctly native concoction may be gathered from the similar myths of the Kulin tribes of North-West Victoria. *Binbeal*, the rainbow, is the divine “son” or “brother” or *Bundjil*, the Heaven-God and as *Paliyan* he is a possible demiurge.³ The former suggests peace, the latter power, but there is little to indicate the office of pleader, or helper of man other than that of a filial relation to deity and of co-operation in his plans. These are probably personified nature-powers.

(5) *Mungan-ngaua* Region:—More vivid in some respects is the tradition of the Kurnai of South Victoria. Here again the office is merged with that of the first man, *Tundun*. He also is a “son” of the “Our-Father”. *Mungan-ngaua*, he instituted the first *Jeraeil* or initiation-ceremony, and received from his father the sacred wand or “bull-roarer” which is still known as the *tundun*, or magic *churinga*. The very fact that this instrument is regarded as possessing a superhuman virtue, that in the hands of the righteous it is capable of delivering man from the thralldom of misery and death, shows that the original *Tundun* was himself to some extent a saving personality. But his essentially limited and human character is brought out in the deluge-story. For whatever *Tundun* may have been in the past, he is no more imperishable than the rest of his race. *Mungan-ngaua* overwhelms the whole earth with a volume of water, and he and his wife are turned into porpoises(!),—that is the end of the quondam-redeemer. This however is not the climax, for the righteous few were saved from the flood, and *Mungan-ngaua* is still their Father, which tends to show that he is a merciful and pitying divinity.⁴

(6) *Marra-Boona*-Region (Tasmania):—Echoes of a similar intervening-god are found in the extreme South-East, though the details become increasingly meagre. The “benevolent being” of South Tasmania is assisted by another heavenly one, who, full of sympathy for the half-formed mortals, completes the work of creation, and lubricates their knee-joints(!). Moreover they “sing to the Good Spirit” who has power to “protect their friends” and to see that “they return in health and safety”, an evident proof of His desire to save.⁵

Taking the Australian region as a whole, the only safe conclusion seems to be, that, although the idea of redemption by some powerful advocate is frequently hinted at, it falls short of a distinct belief in a divine Savior that is to come. The mediators are not promised, they are “proclaimed”. Only in one case was a certain *Brewin* identified with Jesus Christ, but this is a solitary and doubtful instance.⁶

³ Howitt, 1. c. 491. ⁴ Howitt, 1. c. 493, 630. ⁵ Supra, p. 45. ⁶ Howitt, 1. c. 504.

EARLY AFRICAN BELIEF

(G) THE NEGRILLOS OF THE CONGO-BELT

With the exception of a few culture-heroes, there is little in the way of a saving divinity in the Congo-region. Such a being is more often identified with God Himself, or if existent, he is of little moral consequence to the race. We hear of a first man,—*Ryangombe*—, among the Urundi-Watwa, which is one of the few examples of a national hero bedecked with semi-divine attributes. It is worth while, however, to call attention to the numerous instances in which the supreme divinity is recognised as the source of salvation, as containing in himself the power of reconciliation.

(1) "*Waka, grant me continued strength and life, and that no harm may come to my children!*" Such is the prayer offered by the Boni-Watwas to the "High-Man-above", and the repeated asseverations of the natives that He will and does help them, is a sufficient indication that such is really the case, that the breach between man and the Creator is to some extent healed. For if it is "dangerous to live under the eye of God", it is because man has fallen; if He can still be approached, if He "gives us everything that you see", it is because He has forgotten their sins, He has forgiven them, however inceptive such a "pardon" maybe assumed to be.

(2) *Indagarra* sends the good upwards to a place of enjoyment, and the wicked downwards to a place of misery. This means that he is willing to rescue those who are faithful to his laws, which in this case are fairly stringent. Homicide and adultery are among the things that are morally fatal in Central Africa, or must be atoned by severe penances. There is no getting to heaven until the crimes have been wiped out,—then there is hope.

(3) *Nzambi* loves the penitent man, for if he is burdened with sin, he descends to a kind of purgatory and then rises to meet his Creator, if he has been "good", God says: "*Stay here, you will possess great forests and want nothing*",—another instance of redemption promised under moral conditions.

(H) THE BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI

The Master, *Kaang*, of the Bushmen, is described in very similar language. Whatever follies were committed by *Kogaz*, the first ancestor, he shows his forgiving power by raising *Kogaz* to life and converting the demons into scorpions. But even now "*Kaang* has made all things and we pray to Him", and when they are in need of bread "He gives us both our hands full". Evidently *Kaang* has the power of forgiveness, or he would not listen to them.

These are among the many examples which tend to reveal the quality of mercy in One who is otherwise severe, an exacting judge.⁷

⁷ Sources in Le Roy, Van der Burgt, Stow, Arbousset, etc. loc. cit. supra. p. 47ff.

REDEMPTION

EARLY AMAZONIAN BELIEF

(K) CENTRAL BRAZIL

It has already been pointed out that the Amazonian region is particularly rich in savior-gods. It would be quite impossible to enumerate all the creating, destroying, and renovating divinities of the Brazilian forests. Their number is legion. But to take the typical instance selected in the preceding chapters, it is not a little remarkable that the High-Father of Shingo people, though a faded and forgotten personality, should be looked upon as the remote source of a former as well as a future happiness. It is *Kamushini* who says to the rebellious couple in paradise, "*I will stay*", thus hinting that in spite of the mortality of man, he still wishes him to live, or perhaps to deliver him by some means of his own devising. And throughout the conflict of justice with mercy is the all absorbing theme. Though *Kamushini* is rigorous, and destroys mankind in the fire because of their growing laxity and disobedience, he is also compassionate because of their repentance, because *some* at least are faithful. These are invariably saved or admitted to enjoy the old-time days of innocence or to live with him in the clouds. Whatever their precise fate in individual cases, it is clear that as in the days of *Keri* and *Kames*, the gates of heaven are still open to them, or will some day be opened to them; mankind can still under conditions merit eternal life.

This is brought out with considerable force in the current accounts of the destruction and re-elevation of man that are here so abundant. The Tupi legend of *Monan*, who saves the race from a "deluge" of fire, is only one of the many similar stories in which the chief divinity is invariably on the side of the righteous. Dr. Ehrenreich has collected these anecdotes with considerable care, and they show that in nearly every case the burning or the drowning of man is the punishment for serious violations of the moral law, while the salvation of the few is attributed not simply to their superior sagacity, but very generally to their more blameless lives.⁸

(L) FUEGIA-PATAGONIA

The same idea of a pardoning and reconciling divinity may be traced far into the Fuegian archipelago. In spite of the consciousness of a former rebellion, it is still possible to approach the "good spirit", whether among the Yahgans, the Onas, or the Alacalufs. "He sends good and bad things to men", the "good go to a delightful forest", etc. implying that the deity is still benevolent, that his hand is still extended in blessing. Further than this however the scanty materials will not allow us to proceed.⁹

⁸ See Von den Steinen, Ehrenreich, etc. *supra* p. 54ff. ⁹ Cooper, 1. c. *sup.* p. 58ff.

LATER ASIATIC BELIEF

(M, 1) THE MUNDAS OF CENTRAL INDIA

Among the Kolarian races the ancient concept of an All-Savior may still be found, though the idea of "sonship" is less pronounced, it is a female that saves the race from extinction. By her foresight the seed of mankind is preserved and those are distant echoes of a better age to come, when the divine and the human shall at length be reconciled, though a clear-cut prophecy is equally absent. The following legend of the destruction and reconstitution of man will probably help to illustrate this subject with enough detail to bear out the main points of our contention.¹

"The *Horo honko*, or the sons of men, threw off their allegiance to *Sin-Bonga*, whereupon he sent a warning to men on earth through his servant-bird, *Kaua*, the Crow, and *Lipi*, the Owl(?). But men refused to obey *Sin-Bonga*. Enraged at this impious contumacy of man, he showered down on the earth below a terrible rain of fire to destroy mankind. And the race of man would have been altogether extinct but for the saving pity of the sister of the Sun-god,—*Sin-Bonga-Misi*. The compassionate goddess carried off a man and a woman, related as brother and sister to each other, and kept them hidden underneath a certain *jovi*, or marsh. And to reach this hiding-place one would have to pass successively through ten massive doorways. The wary Sun-God had his suspicions, and he dispatched the two birds to look out for any human being that might have escaped the general conflagration. Long and patiently did the sagacious birds search for some trail of the existence of man. They had well-nigh despaired of their success, when at length the crow alighted on a leaf-cup, such as men use for drinking(!) It lay on the marsh and betokened the presence of man. But no human being could anywhere be seen. Straightway the crow picked up the leaf-cup and carried it to *Sin-Bonga*.

Thereupon *Sin-Bonga* himself went down to the marsh. Here he was met by *Nage-Era*, the presiding spirit of the marsh. And of her he demanded to know if she had any human beings in her custody. The marsh-spirit promptly replied:—"All men hast thou struck down with fire and brimstone. Where shall I get one now". But the Sun-god was not convinced. At length, however, he won the confidence of the marsh-spirit by promising not to destroy mankind again, and added:—"Henceforth you shall have two parts of the sons of men, and I shall take only a third part to myself". At this the marsh-spirit brought out the surviving human pair from inside the *jovi*-marsh.

¹ To be found in S. C. Roy, *The Mundas*, (Calcutta, 1912), pp. IX-X (Appendix).

LATER ASIATIC BELIEF

Now this man and woman were called *Lutkum-Haram* and *Lutkum-Buria* respectively. They lived together as man and wife at *Ajamgarh*, and the world was peopled by their progeny. Since then, as a mark of the power of the marsh-spirit over them, most men have some mark or wart on their skin".(!)

This legend contains some undoubtedly antique elements. The description of the "sons of men" as throwing off their allegiance to the Sun-god, as hiding in a distant marsh, as revealing their presence by the "leaf-cup", and finally re-peopling the earth from the *Ajam-Garh*,—these may be called the archaic nucleus, around which stories of a later age have grouped. But what is more distinctive,—the pleading goddess, *Sin-Bonga-Misi*, reveals the same fundamental idea of *salvation promised even to the first ancestors* which is dimly implied in the earlier legends. It is nearly always a prominent intercessor that saves either the first couple or their distant descendents, there is always some chance for humanity to escape destruction. The fact that the intercessor is here a female, is nothing strikingly new. As the "sister" of the God of heaven, she obtains a semi-divine character which may be paralleled in the earliest mythologies, whether of Malakka or Borneo. The bird messengers and the protecting marsh-spirit are also suggestive, the former carrying out the divine sentence, while the latter pleads for stricken humanity quite after the manner of a guardian angel. Finally the verdict of the Sun-god, that *he will punish only a third part of humanity* shows that the remaining *two thirds* are in future to be saved—an evident proof of benevolence, of the ultimate triumph of mercy.

On the other hand the moral causes of the punishment and the partial salvation of man are here no longer as clear. The "rebellion" spoken of has no definite ethical content, there is no specific sin that is mentioned as the remote or proximate cause of the trouble, and we know that the consciousness of the Mundari peoples on this head are by no means as vivid as in the earlier days of the race. This, combined with the doctrine of metempsychosis, of the return of a large portion of humanity into the bodies of animals, reveals a scheme of "redemption" which is after all little more than a survival of the physically fit. And this is only to be expected in a region where the strong development of totemism has robbed the people of the clear notion an all-commanding, all-exacting Personality. The totems are in so far useful, however, in that the marsh-spirit is in league with the "queen of heaven" to procure the redemption of man. When coupled with the old wind-spirits, they assume a dignified role.

LATER AFRICAN BELIEF

(M, 2) THE BANTUS OF EAST AFRICA

The idea of deliverance by some special guardian spirit is in fact a very common feature among the totemic peoples. If the sun represents the creating and preserving side of divinity, it is quite often the moon, the earth, or the morning star that is symbolical of hope or of rejuvenation, the harbinger of a better age to come. But it is more especially the animal and the vegetable creation that is looked upon as the direct source of salvation, as containing the power of bridging over the gulf that separates the human and the divine. Thus we find the sun, the serpent, the buffalo, and the mystic-tree not only as mysteries, but as *medicines*, and this throughout the totemic region, whether in India, Africa, or North America, the Australian emu taking the place of the buffalo in the far South-East.

Side by side with the plant or animal totems, however, we find the ultimate source of redemption quite frequently traced to the ancient Heaven-God, it is a divine or semi-divine Person that is back of the scheme. If it is a goddess in India, it is *Mulungu* himself in eastern Africa. I have already called attention to the Bantu formula for exorcism: "*May God forget it, may he live!*" and the fact that the person exorcised is believed to live and to be admitted to the heaven of *Mulungu* when he comes to die, is sufficient evidence that the latter is merciful, that the sins of man can be cancelled. The definition of God as *Ahendaye*, "He who does good", agrees with the common tradition of a divine benefactor, who will reward man not only in the present, but also in the future life. The numerous prayers and invocations throughout Bantu Africa testify to a belief in a redeeming spirit, even if this spirit is often identified with a charm or some other magical power. In very few cases is the belief to be found in its purity, without a confusion of the god of heaven with some animal ancestor, which detracts greatly from its moral and personal value.²

Thus among the Nandi it is the hyaena that is all-absorbing, that is the mouthpiece of the ancestor, that is the channel of communication between the living and the dead. If cures are wrought or a deliverance in any way possible, it is through this beast that the salvation must come, there is no other way of approaching the Father of all. Similar views are entertained in other parts of East Africa of the snake and the world-serpent; he is not only the ancestor but in some sense the redeemer of man, which shows how far it is possible to drift from the simple if crude traditions of an earlier age. However tarnished these earlier legends may be taken to be, they at least have a dignified ring; they tear us away from the eternal serpent, the power of evil.

² Comp. LeRoy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, pp. 191-192, 293-327, and *supra* p. 67ff.

LATER AUSTRALIAN BELIEF

(M, 3) THE ARUNTAS OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

With the growing importance of the totem-cult the idea of a personal redeemer begins to fade more and more into the background. Here and there it is true we have the dim outlines of a culture-hero,—more often the first ancestor—, who is believed to possess the power of operating wonderful cures or of helping mankind in a variety of ways. Yet even he soon disappears in the magical herbs and fabulous monsters that are believed to be all-powerful, the only source of physical or what is left of spiritual strength. *Altjira* himself is incapable of saving man, unless we take the few stories of a heavenly fate for the righteous as a sign that formerly at least the deity was benignant, was willing to give the earthly wanderer a well-earned rest. The same of *Tukura*, *Atnatu*, and other totemised gods. We are therefore obliged to turn to the totems themselves as the only life-savers.

Among these the sun and the emu take the principal rank, both together being known as the aboriginal ones,—the *Altjira* above. We have already seen that in the so-called *Intichiuma* ceremonies there is little of any moral or theological content. The primary object of these ceremonies is to obtain the control of the totem, and thence the supply of the article required, whether it be rain or sunshine, bird, beast, or reptile. Now it is quite true that in so far as a supreme personality is still recognised in these rites, they take on a semi-religious character, it is the Heavenly One that is still operating in them, they are to some extent "sacred". But we know that in practice this is not the case; *Altjira*, the person, is rarely if ever invoked, it is the sun-dial with the emu feathers that merit the attention of man *as such*, they are the bringers of fortune. This is in harmony their purely utilitarian nature, they are in no sense sanctifying, but simply useful, and the faded eschatology of these peoples shows that there is no deliverance from nature, they are condemned to be reborn and to commence the cycle of life with the lizards. In other words, *there is no redemption in any proper sense of the word* except for the exceeding few who cling to *Altjira* as the original source and dispenser of existence.

The same remarks apply to the *Mura-Mura* of the neighboring Dieri. Here the ancestor-cult has entirely obscured what was in earlier times no doubt a saving divinity. Nay more, *mura-mura* is the carpet-snake and will furnish you with as many of his own species as you may desire. In this respect he is like the great *Wollunqua*-serpent of the Waramunga,—a giant reptile, who will supply his clients with every imaginable comfort.³

³ Sources in Spencer and Gillen, Northern Tribes, p. 177ff. and supra p. 71.

NORTH AMERICAN BELIEF

(M, 4) THE PRAIRIE INDIANS

North America is well supplied with saving divinities. Indeed, this is the region above all others where the divine is looked upon as essentially helpful, if not exclusively so. The idea of justice recedes more and more into the background, and what we have in the Prairie States is above all things a pitying and condescending God, rarely a vindictive one. This is expressed by calling the deity the "medicine", One who is in a special sense the fountain of all that is benevolent, even if only in a lower material sense of what is immediately useful, immediately practical. It is this utilitarian aspect of the divine which is here developed to its logical issue at the expense of the higher notion of an exacting God, one who demands a life of strict integrity as a condition of moral salvation.

THE WAKANDA AS THE "GREAT MEDICINE"

It is fairly evident, for instance, that although the Sun-Wakanda is the "Man above" who "rules over them", who "regulates everything that moves", who "decides when my last day shall come", He makes but the slightest moral demands on his worshippers as a condition of meriting his friendship. We know that apart from the fasts and bodily mortifications by which the guardian is secured, there is little of a higher spiritual content in these prayers. Too often they wind up with monotonous refrain, "*O Wakanda, pity me*", in itself an inspiring petition, but which is rarely coupled with any consciousness of sin, any strong sense that the divinity has been outraged. This can hardly be called a confession-formula, for the admission of moral guilt is very generally wanting. It is rather analogous to the magical rain-making prayers of the Aruntas just considered, where the chief object of the ceremony is the control of the weather or the acquisition of some *material* advantage. This is revealed among other things by the national Sun-Dance and by the Corn and Buffalo-Mysteries, in which the idea of influencing the weather, the harvest, the crops, the supply of buffalos, and so on, is apparently uppermost; there are no direct signs that the worshipper wishes to atone for any past transgressions, for any moral culpabilities.

But here again we must be careful not to draw conclusions that are too sweeping. It is always unsafe to argue from the absence of a penitential formula to the absence any consciousness of guilt, and the very fact that the Wakanda is asked to "pity" his client and that the general tone of morality is at least theoretically high, culminating in such invocations as "I am pure, I am pure!", should make us proceed with great caution.

NORTH AMERICAN BELIEF

On the basis of a merely negative argument, it might be inferred with equal propriety that the negritos and others have no sorrow for sin because no catalogue is made of the faults committed. We know from the general absence of gross crime and the comparatively high standard of these peoples that their religion is efficient, that their divinity can as a fact save them, which must include some horror or destination of sin as a condition of its operation. In like manner, the general respect for decency, for right living, and sometimes even for moral heroism, that characterises so many of our wild prairie Indians, should make us hesitate in throwing over their religion as a mere charm-cult. While much of their ritual is undoubtedly of this nature, there are occasional beams of a Higher Light which are all the more inspiring, because they are unexpected.

"Wakanda! Here needy stands he, and I am he!" Even if the sinner is here crying for merely earthly bread, for the material necessities of life, it surely argues for a strong conviction that all good gifts come from a heavenly "Giver", that He has the power to supply their needs, the essential note of a saving deity. Again,—though a majority of the race are condemned to reenter the buffalos, the heroic few are given a vision of the Man above, the Wakanda is strong enough to save his clients from the fate of animals provided they will recognise Him as their Father. To what extent this is the case, can indeed never be determined. As in the preceding instances, the reward is hypothetical and visionary, but it seems to be offered to all, each soul *may* enter the Great Wakanda.

Of the lesser wakans the "Morning Star" is one of the most important. He is the natural symbol of hope, of better days to come. This alone suggests a bright and cheerful aspect of divinity, one who is to deliver man if he will but have patience, if he will wait for the duly appointed time. The fact that Christ Himself is called the "Morning Star" in the Apocalypse of St. John shows how appropriate this symbol is for conveying the idea of a Redeemer that is to come. Needless to say, there is no distinct prophecy to this effect among any of our savage peoples, but these are nevertheless beacon-lights that help to keep the hope in future expectations brightly burning in the hearts of men. However much this hope has been mixed up with the sordid and the trivial, however remote and exceptional salvation appears to be, there can be no doubt that behind the totems the helping hand of God is still reaching out to the faithful few.⁴

⁴ Sources in Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults, and Omaha Sociology*, l. c. supra, p 75ff.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(N, 1) EARLY BABYLONIAN FORM

With the increasing years of humanity, the notion of a deliverer begins to assume a more definite though largely astrological form. The attribute of mercy is not only applied to the divinity in general, but it is more especially the attribute of a particular "savior" who either promises salvation or points to some future source of deliverance. This last concept begins at length to occupy the only attention of man, it is the consciousness of the general failure of the pagan divinities that makes him look more and more to the land of Palestine as the only cradle of hope, as that portion of the world in which the only real Redeemer is to be expected.

Beginning with the earliest Western-Asiatic tradition, we cannot expect anything very definite or theologically precise from the ancient lands of Sumer and Akkad. It is only by degrees that the idea of a "deliverance" begins to be formed, and then it is only of the vaguest and generally astrological character. Very early, however, we find the gods described as *Salamu*, *Salmu*, *Šulmu*, (Sum, *silim*), in which the idea of integrity, peace, happiness, salvation is seemingly contained. This is even applied to the heaven-god, *Anu*, who with his numerous progeny is otherwise a rigorous judge. *Anu mu-šal-lim epšit katia*,—"May Heaven bless this undertaking!"—and one of the earliest kings of Kish was *Mesilim*, the "Friend of Peace". Though the word has undergone a variety of secondary and even opposite meanings, there can be no doubt that its primary sense is health-bringing, benevolent, well-minded.¹

But apart from the lexical evidence, the oldest prayers and invocations leave no room for doubt that the quality of mercy was distinctly recognised and was more especially vested in *Bel-Enlil*, the great savior-god of Mesopotamia. Such petitions as "Look down upon the city", "Have mercy upon the people", "Give me power to rule with a strong hand", are a sufficient index that such a power exists, that he is benevolent. Nor would the confession-formula have any meaning, unless the deity was believed to pardon and to reconcile the penitent sinner. "O Lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins!"² But as to an actual deliverance, it is only *Bel-Marduk* that is capable of saving humanity from the great serpent, *Tiamat*, the power of evil: "*If I indeed as your savior deliver you from the great monster, (Tiamat), and keep you alive,—then call an assembly, announce to all men my destiny*".³

¹ Compare Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 663-665 (under *salamu*, etc.) Jastrow, *Die Religion Babylonien und Assyriens*, Vol. II. p. 1043, 1046, giving index of passages. Dhorme, *La Religion Assyro-Babylonienne*, p. 291 (*sullumu*). For *Anu*-inscription, Sarg. Cyl. 69. ² See below p. 363 for text and translation. ³ Close of the second tablet of Creation, King op. cit. Vol. I. p. 37 and below, p. 273.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

The same thought is revealed in the deluge-story, though here it is the ocean-god, *Ea*, that pleads and finally prevails upon the mercy of *Enlil*: "*Be merciful, let him not be cut off, yield, let him not perish*" etc. Though *Enlil* is the cause of the flood, he is evidently the cause of its cessation, as the few are ultimately saved and deified.⁴

But the idea of forgiveness, of tenderheartedness, is brought out by nothing so powerfully as by the words in which the divinity is supplicated. It is even a question whether the tender side of divinity was not unduly exaggerated at the expense of his justice, whether he was not all too helpful, all too easy-going. Many of these prayers have a decidedly "soft" tone, they appeal to the "liver or heart" of the deity in a manner that is almost sentimental and, though doubtless genuine exhibitions of faith, they are not always sufficiently masculine to be altogether inspiring. They show, however, that ancient Babylon was not without what we call "pathos":—

*"O Lord, Madanu, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.
Lord of E-rap-ri-ri, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.
Lady, who takest our life, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be
appeased.*

Lady of Isin, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.

Lady of E-gal-makh, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.

Lady of E-rap-ri-ri, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.

My Lady, Bau, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.

Lady, Mother Bau, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.

Bau, merciful Lady, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be appeased.

*Ishtar, heavenly Queen, may thy heart be pacified, may thy liver be
appeased.*⁵

This lamentation is directed apparently to *Ishtar Bau*, an ancient female divinity. But the invocation of the "Lord Madanu", the "Almighty One", at the beginning of the prayer is just as good evidence that the almighty *Bel* is its chief object, that he is willing to answer the call for mercy. We have a sufficient number of *Bel*-invocations of a similar nature to prove the point. In most cases this power is expressed by *libbu*, (Sum. *sa*), and *kabittu*, (Sum. *bar*), the heart and the liver being recognised as the seats of the emotions. In the words of Father Dhorme, "the liver was an important organ of the victim. With the heart it was the center of life, and when they wanted to mark the seat of the feelings, anger, love, or hatred, they employed the heart and the liver in a parallel sense".⁶ Though many of these expressions were undoubtedly perverted (with a lower and sexual meaning), they furnish abundant proof of the benevolent and condescending character of the divinity.

⁴ See below p. 438ff. — ⁵ Rawlinson. V. 52, Kol. IV, 3-15. Jastrow, op. cit. II. 44.
⁶ Dhorme, l. c. p. 295.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

But are these yearnings in any sense prophetic, do they point to a Savior that is to come? This can hardly be inferred from the existing data. The redemption was believed to be operated there and then, man was already in part saved, or saveable, he had no need to look to the future. There is only one element that seems to point in this direction. It is the absence of any certainty that the sins are forgiven *apart from a successful augury*, apart from the fact that the deity had revealed his good will by sending the people good fortune, and this generally of a military nature. The repeated national disasters and the final overthrow of the Babylonian empire by the Parthian Gomates dashed all these hopes to the ground and could not but convince the more thoughtful that the deliverance was yet to come, that there was something inherently deficient in the national theology. Hence we may look upon these gropings as preparing the world for something better *through their own miserable insufficiency*.

THE EVIDENCE OF ASTROLOGY

A different line of argument is that derived from the belief that the heavenly world is in some sense the picture of the earthly, that what is going on in the skies is a certain indication of what is about to happen in the terrestrial world. Here we stand on a more solid footing, as it is quite certain that the *baru*-priests looked upon the different groupings and conjunctions of the heavenly bodies as portentous of great world-movements, as a sign that something wonderful would be sure to occur. And if such a cluster of stars should be grouped around the quondam savior,—*Jupiter-Marduk*—, it would be a proof positive, in their minds, that the real Marduk age was about to be inaugurated, that a special deliverer was about to appear. Let us see to what extent this is borne out in the Anu-Enlil series, the astrological charts of the nation.⁷

THE TABLES OF DESTINY

(1) Jupiter-Sign:—"Peace on Earth", Salvation is promised. Apart from the solar and lunar eclipses, which are naturally of evil portent, the brightness and position of the planet Jupiter is all-important as revealing the mind of *Bel-Marduk-Taurus*, the "mighty bull", who is also an illuminator, a lord of the conjuration, a master of hidden knowledge.

"If Jupiter shines with brilliance, the king of Akkad will be victorious, (the land will prosper, the country will be blessed). If Jupiter is strong, there will be floods and rains. When rising in the meridian, the gods will send salvation, cares will be obliterated, complications unravelled. Does he move to the West, peace and merciful salvation will come to the land".

⁷ Virolleaud, *L'Astrologie Chaldéenne* (Paris, 1905). Jastrow, l. c. I. 415ff. Detailed sources on the opposite page.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(2) Jupiter approaching Mars,—“Danger”, Misfortune is coming. *“Does Jupiter stand before Mars, there will be crops, but also the defeat of a multitude, the overthrow of a large army. If Mars approaches Jupiter, great discomfiture in the land. If Jupiter and Mars are in conjunction, misfortune will fall upon the land. This omen is unfavorable for the nations”*.

(3) Mars-Portent:—“War among the nations”—Change of Dynasty. *“If Mars sparkles and becomes brilliant, the King of Elam will die. If he approaches the Scorpion, a Prince will die of a Scorpion’s sting and his son will take his throne after him. The dwelling of the land, the lord of the land, and the frontier of the land will not be secure”*—“Mars is the star of Amurru” (the West-land) (Compare the death of Herod?)

(4) Jupiter approaching Saturn:—“Peace and Justice”(?).

“The position of Saturn in this case is favorable, but not entirely”.

(5) Saturn-Sign:—“Good Will toward Men”, Triumph of Justice. *“If Saturn stands near the halo of the moon, there will be justice in the land, the son will be faithful to his father, salvation for world-rule. (The world-rule of the Messiah?)*

(6) Jupiter approaching Venus:—“Confidence and Hope”. *“If Jupiter approaches Venus, the prayer of the land will reach the heart of the gods”*. (The climax of expectation).

(7) Venus-Sign:—Star of Motherhood,—“Triumph of Love.” *“If Venus stands in the Fish, mercy and salvation will come to the land”*.

(8) Meteoric Sign:—“Conquest of the Enemy”, Final Victory. *“If a bright star shines like fire at sunrise and sets with equal splendor in the West, the enemy’s host will be vanquished in battle”*.⁸

In view of the fragmentary and at times conflicting nature of many of the minor portents, it is manifestly impossible to arrive at conclusions which shall be in any sense convincing. But the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn as portending “Peace” and “Justice”, followed by Mars the planet of “War”, Venus, the planet of “Love”, and this again by the flashing meteor, the star of “Victory”, should be suggestive enough to the ordinary mind that something wonderful was about to happen.

Now such a conjunction is believed to have occurred about the time of the Savior’s birth, and this in the constellation of the Fish, and therefore not far from the Pleiades.⁹ Its cryptic meaning is therefore obvious. To the Babylonian astrologer the four major planets would suggest:—

(1) Mars,—subversion of former power, (2) Jupiter,—light and salvation, (3) Saturn,—triumph of peace and justice, (4) Venus,—inauguration of love,—which in combination with a brilliant variable is sufficiently eloquent of a new era in humanity. To this extent they are prophetic, though as purely natural omens they do not of course reveal the Messiah; they are simply portents which direct the attention of mankind to the heavens above, *supernatural only when informed by a special ray of light*.

⁸ Passages in Jastrow, op. cit. II. pp. 639-662. ⁹ See below, p. 289.

THE "TABLES OF DESTINY"

(2) JUPITER APPROACHING MARS---"DANGER"(NO.195)



 ANA MUL ŠAG-MI-GARANA PAN MUL ZAL-BAT A-NU LIZIZ (B)
 ŠI-IM IRŠŠI (ŠI)-U-MAAMILU ŠUMKUT(UT) UMMANU RABU ŠUMKUT(UT)
 ANA MUL ZAL-BAT(A-NU)ANA MUL ŠAG-MI-GAR ITTI MU-IR-TI
 DAN-NU INA MATI IBAŠŠI (ŠI) ANA MUL ŠAG-MI-GAR U MUL LU-BAT
 KAKKABANI-ŠU-NU MIT-NA-RU LIMUTTIM (TIM) MATAM (AM) IŠKAN (AN)
 ITTI AN-NI-TI LIMUTTI ŠA MATATI ŠI - I

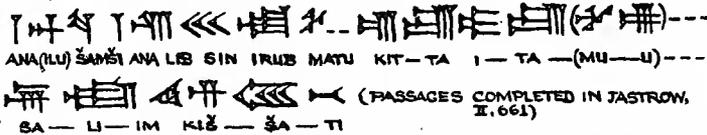
(3) MARS-PORTENT ---"WAR"----- (NO. 232+239+101)



 ANA MUL ZAL-BAT (A-NU) UM-MU-LIŠ-IPPUJA-MA ŠARURI - ŠU IŠRUP
 ŠAR ILAMA (MA) (KI) IMAT ANA MUL APIN ANA MUL GIR-[TAB ITTI]
 RUBU INA ZI-KIT AKRABI (MAT) ARKU-ŠU MĀRU-ŠU KUŠŠA (ISABBAT)
 ŠUBAT MAT ŠARUTANI MATUBILU ŠANUMĀMA KUDUR MATI LA KINI (1) (LU) ŠAMŠI
 MUL ZAL-BAT (A-NU) KAKKAB MATU AMURRU

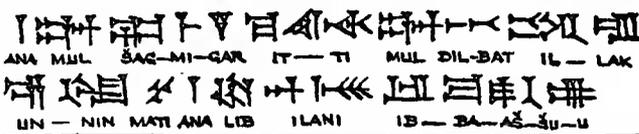
(4) JUPITER APPROACHING SATURN--"PEACE AND JUSTICE"?
 BY COMBINATION OF (1) AND (3) BUT OTHERWISE DOUBTFUL (JASTROW, II. 658)
 ANA GA-MUR-TI LA AŠ-ŠU. "FAVORABLE, BUT NOT ENTIRELY"

(5) SATURN-SIGN ---"JUSTICE" --- (NO. 175)



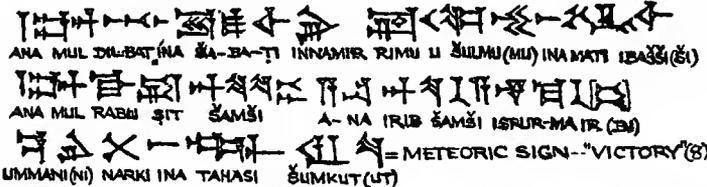
 ANA (LU) ŠAMŠI ANA LIB SIN IRUB MATU KIT-TA I-TA --(MU-U)---
 (PASSAGES COMPLETED IN JASTROW, II. 661)
 SA-U-IM KIŠ-ŠA-TI

(6) JUPITER APPROACHING VENUS--"CONFIDENCE"(NO.162)



 ANA MUL ŠAG-MI-GAR IT-TI MUL DIL-BAT IL-LAK
 UN-NIN MATI ANA LIB ILANI IB-BA-AŠ-ŠU-U

(7) VENUS-SIGN--"HEAVENLY LOVE"--(NO. 211+202)



 ANA MUL DIL-BAT INA ŠA-BA-TI INNAMIR RIMU U ŠULMU (MU) INAMATI IBAŠŠI (ŠI)
 ANA MUL RABU ŠIT ŠAMŠI A-NA IRIB ŠAMŠI IŠRUR-MA IR (B)
 UMMANI (NI) NARKI INA TAHAŠI ŠUMKUT (UT) = METEORIC SIGN--"VICTORY"(B)

(5) FOR ŠAMŠI AS ŠAG-US-SATURN, SEE JASTROW, "SUN AND SATURN"
 (REV. D'ASSYRIOLOGIE, 1910, P. 163ff.)
 (7) FOR ŠABATI AS ANUNIT-DILGAN, NEAR THE "FISH", SEE JAS-
 TROW, R. B. A. II. 616.

EGYPTIAN PARALLELS ON THE ADVENT OF A BETTER AGE

THE TRIUMPH OF HORUS-RA OVER THE SERPENT AS A DIM FORESHADOWING OF BETTER THINGS TO COME

THE TOMB OF SETI I., (ABOUT CONTEMPORARY WITH THE EXODUS), SHOWS US THE DESCENDANTS OF ATUM, GODS AND MEN, LIVING IN A TERRESTRIAL PARADISE, WHILE RA WAS TRIUMPHING OVER APOPHIS, THE PRINCIPLE OF EVIL



FOR IN THE DAYS OF INNOCENCE THE FEAR PRODUCED BY THE 'EYE OF HORUS' WAS STILL UNKNOWN TO MANKIND



"FEAR CAME INTO BEING THROUGH THE EYE OF HORUS"

THE "COUNSELS OF PHTAH-HOTEP" AS SHOWING THE MORAL BENIGNITY OF THE DIVINE

PRISSE-PAPYRUS, VI. 9-10. VII. 10-11



"MAY NO TERROR INVADE THE HEARTS OF MEN,—IT IS THE COMMAND OF GOD!"

"IF THOU ART A WISE MAN, TRAIN A SON WHO SHALL BE AGREEABLE TO GOD!"

SOURCE: VIREY, LA RELIGION DE L'ANCIENNE EGYPTTE, (PARIS, 1907), P. 11-12. TRANSLITERATIONS BY PROF. DUNCAN (BALTIMORE, 1917) LEFEBURE, LE TOMBEAU DE SETI I. PT. IV. PL. XV-XVIII, IN VOL. II. OF THE MEMOIRES PUBLIES PAR LES MEMBRES DE LA MISSION ARCHEOLOGIQUE FRANCAISE AU CAIRE. VIREY, I. c. P. 7-8. ALSO EDOUARD NAVILLE, "LA DESTRUCTION DES HOMMES PAR LES DIEUX," IN TRANSACTIONS DE LA SOCIETE D'ARCHEOLOGIE BIBLIQUE, VOLS. IV. 1-19, VIII. 419-420

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(N, 2) EGYPTIAN DEVELOPMENT

But if the idea of personal deliverance is comparatively dim on the Euphrates, it is more clearly developed on the Nile, where the belief in personal immortality is also far more vivid. From the earliest times we find the idea of a pardoning and saving *Ra* dimly implied in his triumph over the serpent *Apophis* and his promise of a better fate to come. To those who remain faithful to him, he still dispenses his graces, and for their sakes he extends the privilege to humanity at large. In the Prisse-Papyrus these "counsels of divinity" are brought out with considerable force:—

"May no terror invade the hearts of men, it is the command of God!"¹ The appearance of the divine sign in the singular number, and the literal sense, "may the terror of man not be produced", is taken to indicate that an obscure message of hope is here implied, that the divinity is essentially benevolent, the "principle of wisdom and goodness".

Now we have already seen that *Ra* is the first emanation of *Atum*, and therefore it is *Atum-Ra*, (*Tum-Ra*), the "Father-Sun", that is the earliest basis of this hope; in the very dawn of Egyptian history an optimistic note seems to be sounded. But the transfer of these qualities from a father to an equally divine "son" is such a universal feature of Egyptian religion that it is quite impossible to speak of any one of them as a unique "redeemer". At the very outset *Ra* is stung by the serpent whom he conquers, and all his saving power passes to his son, *Shu*, who becomes the first mediator between heaven and earth, and is finally translated without dying to the abode of the blessed. He is the "Air" that supports the starry vault, and is thus in some sense an Atlas, a kind of Titan. He is followed by his sister, *Tafnut*, the "Dew", and again by *Geb* and *Nut*, who as "Earth" and "Sky" are equally essential to his being. Finally the whole culminates in the *Osiris*-triad, who as "Heaven, Earth, and Ocean" inherit the wonderful qualities of their ancestors, it is they alone that possess this power in all its fulness.²

THE OSIRIS-LEGEND

Osiris was thus the fourth Pharaoh of the divine dynasties. He was one of the sons of *Ra*, who devoted his life to doing good, subduing the world by the arts of peace, transforming humanity from savages into civilised men. During this mission he left his sister-wife, the well-known *Isis*, to govern the land in his absence. On his return his brother, *Set*, conspired against him, imprisoned him in a chest, and cut his body into fourteen pieces.

¹ Papyrus-Prisse, pl. VI. 9-10. Comp. Virey, *La Religion de l'ancienne Egypte*, (Paris, 1910), p. 9-12. ² Virey, *op. cit.* p. 136-153ff.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

At the news of this tragedy *Isis* took to boat and searched for the pieces until she had recovered all save one. Carefully she collected the fragments with the help of *Nepthys*, the sister of the typhon-god, and it was the latter's son, *Anubis*, that embalmed the body and thus produced the first mummy in the world. In the mean time *Horus*, the younger, had been born to *Isis*, and secretly nursed in the marshes of the Delta. When he had come to man's estate, he set out with his partizans to avenge his father's death. He captured *Set*, made him a prisoner, and at the attempt of his mother to release him, he cut off her head in a fit of anger, which was immediately replaced by *Toth* with the head of a cow(!). Carrying his cause before *Toth*, the celestial judge, he obtained a verdict in his favor, he succeeded to the throne of his father and the usurping *Set*, and became the sixth Pharaoh of the celestial dynasty. His immediate followers were known as the "Horus-Worshippers", the semi-divine kings, that preceded the reign of Menes.

HORUS AS A DELIVERER

This pathetic story is not without a religious and mystical significance. From the first the position of *Osiris* is that of a compassionate father of the land. His designation as *Unnefer*, "the Good Being", and the tender lamentations of *Isis* and *Nepthys* over his death, show how strong was his hold on the hearts of the people. "*Look upon me, I am thy sister who loves thee, says Isis, "do you not see me? My heart is in bitterness because of thee, my eyes seek thee, . . . To see thee, that is happiness, O God An, to see thee, that is happiness. Come to her who loves thee, come to her who loves thee, O Blessed One! Come to thy sister, come to thy wife! Gods and men turn their faces towards thee to deplore thee. . . . Nobody has loved thee more than I, thy sister, thy sister!" "Come to thy home, come and see thy son Horus, the supreme master of gods and men. He has taken possession of cities and lands by the grandeur of the respect that he inspires. Heaven and earth are in fear of him, the barbarians in terror of him. Thy son Horus offers for thee the oblation of bread, thy son Horus salutes thy name in the temple of mystery. Come to thy companions, great Lord, keep no longer from us"*.

These touching appeals reveal for the first time a martyred god, whose wife is a compassionate lady, and whose son is evidently a deliverer, nurtured by a "queen of heaven". But apart from the moral flaws of the story, introducing vengeance and violence, not to speak of carnal love, the whole scheme is a badly twisted attempt to clothe the forces of nature with powers which they can never yield, to make the cornstalk and the phallus the only principle in the higher life of man.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(N, 3) ASSYRIAN FORM

It will be seen that the early Babylonian and Egyptian beliefs run to a certain extent on parallel lines, that in both cases the idea of a moral deliverance, at first confused, is finally connected with distinct personalities, whether as *Bel-Marduk* in Babylon, or as *Osiris-Horus* on the Nile. Moreover in each case the "saviors" are vaguely looking into the future; as the personified forces of nature they point to a time when the revolution of the heavens shall have been so far completed that the *Marduk-Horus* age will be either repeated or consummated; there will come a time when the divinity shall be "reincarnated", when the mystery of sin and death shall be finally solved. If not directly stated, this is certainly implied in the numerous cries and hopes for deliverance, which can only mean that the cycles are yet in the making, the great solar and planetary conjunctions are yet to come.

The same thought is revealed in the *Ashur-Ishtar* combination, which plays such a prominent role in the lands of the Tigris. Here also the deity is *šalamu* from the earliest times, he brings health, salvation, good fortune, he invariably answers the call for help. *Ki-i ša a-na Ašur am-hu-ru iš-li-ma*,—"Just as I prayed to Ashur, thus has it come to pass".¹ This is further illustrated by the supplications to the divine couple which are nowhere so powerful as here in the kingdom of Niniveh. "*Mighty Heart, subtle Intelligence, Lord of our fate*", these are but a few of the titles of *Ashur*, while the devotion to *Ishtar* as the "merciful Lady" surpasses anything to be found in the neighboring lands. "*O Lady, majestic is thy rank! Over all the gods is it exalted! Where thou lookest in pity, the dead man lives again, the sick is healed. The afflicted is saved from his affliction when he beholds thy face. I, thy servant, sorrowful and sighing, cry unto thee. Look upon me, O my Lady, and accept my supplication. Truly pity me, and hearken unto my prayer*".² But the failure of *Ishtar* to save from habitual moral corruptions,—amply testified in the temple archives,—is a strong though negative proof that the real "*Ishtar*" is yet to come.

THE TAMMUZ-ISHTAR MYTH

But the most distinctive of all the Assyrian cults, though of remote Babylonian origin, was that to the romantic pair, who as the *Venus* and *Adonis* of the western nations became the symbol of passionate love, of heroic self-sacrifice. These are the sun-god *Tammuz*, and the earth-goddess *Ishtar* of Arbela, later of Ninniveh, the *Ashtaroth* of the Jews.³

¹ Rawlinson, V. 2, 117. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 664. ² See the texts given above, p. 99. ³ Sources in *Jeremias*, op. cit. I. pp.96-100, 117-134.

REDEMPTION

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

Tammuz, (*Sum. dumu-zi*, "son of life"), is a very ancient figure in Mesopotamia. He is the god of sunshine and harvest, and represents the active, life-giving principle in nature. As such he is the husband and lover of *Ishtar*, the mother of earth, out of whose substance all things, even the high gods, take their rise. Hence her designation as the "queen of heaven", *sharrat shamami*, the "mother of gods", *banat ilani*, the "queen of the stars", *sharrat kakkabe*, the "star of the sea", *kakkab tamti*, =Venus. Now in the yearly succession of the seasons it was believed that *Tammuz* was born in midwinter, grew to manhood in the spring, and finally died in midsummer, the cycle being repeated from year to year. It was natural, therefore, that the suffering earth-goddess should be pictured as pursuing her lover into the realm of shades in order to restore him to life, in order to bring back his health-giving power.

ISHTAR'S DESCENT INTO HELL

*"To the land from which there is no return, to the realm of darkness, Istar, the daughter of Nannar, turned her mind,—yea, the daughter of Nannar turned her mind to go. To the house of gloom, the dwelling of Irkalla, to the house from which those who enter depart not, the road from whose path there is no return,—to the house where they who enter are deprived of light, a place where dust is their nourishment, and clay their food. The light they behold not, in thick darkness they dwell,—they are clad like bats in a garb of wings, on the door and the bolt the dust is laid".*⁴ Here the virgin-goddess meets her lover and raises him from the dead, (his winter sleep), and from that time onwards the couple increase in happiness and prosperity with the advance of the season, and at the approach of the summer solstice,—the feast of *Tammuz*—, the "son of life" again grows old and dies, leaving a mourning *Ishtar* in his trail.

The lamentations of the queen for her dying "son" and husband are pictured partly in the *Gilgamesh*-epic, partly in other fragments of Sumerian antiquity.

"The Lord of my fortune dwells no more, the lord of my fortune dwells no more.

The man of sorrows, the lord of fate, my spouse, my Damu, he dwells no more.

*I will eat no more, I can drink no more, the lord of my fortune dwells no more".*⁵

TAMMUZ AS A VEGETATION-GOD

And yet *Tammuz* holds in his custody the secret of life, of rejuvenation, even if only in a lower physical sense. He is to this extent an "example" in that he tunes his followers to a brighter hope for the future, even if through pain and suffering. Though soiled by the sexual and unnatural, his message is on the whole useful, generally encouraging.

⁴Text, see below. p. 479. ⁵C. T. XV. 18. Zimmern, *Bab. Hym. u. Gebete* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 13-14.

THE PROTEVANGELIUM
OR
THE FIRST GOSPEL GIVEN TO MAN IN PARADISE
ACCORDING TO THE REVEALED HEBREW ACCOUNT
(GEN. 3, 15)
MASSORETIC TEXT

וַאִיבָה אֲשִׁית בֵּינְךָ וּבֵין הָאִשָּׁה וּבֵין זָרְעֶךָ וּבֵין זָרְעָהּ
דָּוָה יִשׁוּפֶךָ וְאִתָּה תִשׁוּפֹנּוּ עָרְבָה

SEPTUAGINT

καὶ ἔχθραν θήσω ἀνὰ μέσον σου καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον
τῆς γυναικός, καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος σου καὶ
ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτῆς. Αὐτός σου τερήσει
κεφαλὴν, καὶ σὺ τερήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέρναν.

VULGATE

INIMICITIAS PONAM INTER TE ET MULIEREM, ET SEMEN TUUM ET SEMEN ILLIUS. IPSA
CONTERET CAPUT TUUM, ET TU INSIDIABERIS CALCANEO EJUS.

ORIGEN'S HEXAPLA

TRANSLATES YESHUPHKA 'CONTERET TE', GIVING LXX, 'TERESEPE', AQUILA 'PROSTRIPSEI',
SYMMACHUS 'THLIPSEI', CONTAINING THE IDEA OF BRUISING, CRUSHING, SEEKING, LYING
IN WAIT, ETC.

IN FIELD'S EDITION (OXFORD, 1875) WE HAVE THE FOOTNOTE—

HIERONYMUS: "IPSE SERVABIT CAPUT TUUM, ET TU SERVABIS EJUS CALCANEUM".
MELIUS IN HEBRAEO, "IPSE CONTERET CAPUT TUUM, ET TU CONTERES EJUS
CALCANEOUM".

ALL THE EVIDENCE POINTS, THEREFORE, TO A MASCULINE BRUISER OF THE
SERPENT'S HEAD, WHICH SHALL IN TURN BRUISE HIS HEEL. BUT THE ASSOCIATION OF
THE SERPENT WITH MORAL EVIL, BOTH HERE AND IN THE CONTEMPORARY PERSIAN,
EGYPTIAN AND BABYLONIAN LITERATURE (Q. V.), SHOWS WITH SOME CERTAINTY THAT
THIS IMPLIES A CONQUEST OVER SIN, THE CRUSHING OF THE HEAD BEING FATAL, WHILE
THE MANGLING OF THE HEEL IS ONLY TENTATIVE

SEE COELUY, SPICELEGIUM IN GEN. 3, 15. HOBERG, GENESIS, 49-50. DILMANN, GENESIS,
77. DRIVEE, GENESIS, 48. SKINNER, GENESIS, —. J. MORGENSTERN, "THE ROLE OF
THE SERPENT IN SEMITIC MYTHOLOGY", ZEITSCHR. F. ASSYRIOLOGIE (STRASSBURG, 1915),
P. 284ff.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(N, 4) PALESTINIAN FORM

But it is only on the banks of the Jordan that we find the messianic concept for the first time revealed in its fulness,—the distinct promise of a future deliverer, who is not to be a mere nature-power, but a definite personality, who is to be born, suffer, and die in a very special and supernatural manner,—a triumphant, yet martyred King. It is not my purpose to expound the prophetic argument in all its detail,—this would require a separate volume—, but I simply wish to call attention to the well-known passages in which this promise is gradually unfolded and which in their united force can be truly said to furnish us with a powerful argument for the divinity of Christ, and one which is quite commonly overlooked.

THE MESSIANIC PROPHECIES

Taking them in their literary order, these passages appear as follows:—

(1) The Protevangelium,—A future Redeemer

The paradisaic promise is admittedly vague, but eminently typical:—

"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed. He shall crush thy head, and thou shalt crush his heel". (Gen. 3, 15). In the Massoretic text:—*We-eibah 'ashith beineka u-bein ha-ishah u-bein zar'eka ubein zar'ah. Hu yeshuphka rosh, we-attah teshuphennu 'aqeb.*

The grammatical objection that there is here no indication of gender, that *hu* and *hi* are used indiscriminately for male and female alike, is not of much consequence. Whether as the "woman" (fem.) or the "seed of the woman" (masc.), both will answer the purpose equally well. For the sake of argument, however, it should be mentioned that the masculine *hu* is now generally accepted, *zera'* being a masculine noun and *yeshuphka* a masculine construction, a reading which is supported by the LXX. *autos*, though the V. has *ipsa*.¹ In both cases however we have the triumph of the woman or the seed of the woman over the serpent's head, which can only mean that redemption is to come through a woman or through her offspring, both being preserved from the serpent's bite, as *shuph* contains the idea of "lying in wait", not always "bruising", though such a bruising might refer to the Redeemer's death.

That this is a moral redemption, implying a complete conquest over sin, is evident from the fact that the serpent is himself the power of sin, and therefore the triumph is to come through a sinless woman and her equally sinless son. This can hardly apply to an ordinary savior, but must be taken as dimly prophetic of the Immaculate Conception and the Incarnate Word.

¹ See Kautsch, *Hebräische Grammatik* (1909) p. 113.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(2) THE PROPHECY OF NOAH,—A SEMITIC SAVIOR

"Blessed be the Lord God of Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant". (Gen. 9, 26). The first intimation that the victor is to belong to the Semitic race.

(3) THE PROMISE TO ABRAHAM,—A HEBREW SAVIOR

"In thee shall all the kindred of the earth be blessed". (Gen. 12, 3).

(4) THE PROMISE TO ISAAC,—A JEWISH SAVIOR

"In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed". (Gen. 26, 4.)

(5) THE PROMISE TO JACOB,—A JUDAIC SAVIOR

"The scepter shall not depart from Juda, nor a ruler from his thigh, till He shall come that is to be sent, and He shall be the expectation of the nations". (Gen. 49, 10). In the Massoretic text we have:—

Lo-yasur shebet mihudah umechoqeq mibein raglau ad ki-yaboh shiloh, welo yigqehath 'ammim.

Here *s-l-h* (*shiloh*) may be read in three different ways:—

(1) As a simple phrase, "that which belongs to him" (*ta apokeimena autou*), LXX.

(2) As *shaluach* (from *shalach*) "He who is to be sent" (*qui mittendus est*), Vulg.

(3) As *shiloh* (from *shalah*) the "peaceful one", "the pacifier", etc. (Is. 9, 6).

But whether as the Kingdom that belongs to him, or as the Deliverer that is to come, or as the Prince of Peace, it is quite certain that the Talmud and the Jerusalem Targums understood it in the messianic sense, and this is sufficient to prove that the savior is to come from the tribe of Juda, the expression "until" implying continuous duration (Comp. Gen. 42, 15. Deut. 7, 24, Matt. 1, 25).

(6) THE PROPHECY OF MOSES,—A LEVITICAL SAVIOR

"The Lord God shall raise up to thee a prophet of thy nation and of thy brethren like unto me: Him shalt thou hear". (Deut. 18, 15).

(7) THE PROPHECY OF NATHAN,—A DAVIDIC SAVIOR

"I will raise up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy bowels, and I will establish his kingdom. He shall build a house to my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be to him a Father, and He shall be to me a Son" (2 Kings, 7, 12-14). Though this refers proximately to Solomon, the idea of an "eternal sonship" can hardly apply to him.

(8) THE MESSIANIC PSALMS,—A SUPERNATURAL SAVIOR

The second and the hundred and ninth psalm describe the Messiah in language that can only refer to a superhuman person. "Unto which of the angels said He at any time; Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee"? (Heb. 1, 5). "If David in spirit called Him Lord, how is He then his son". (Mat. 22, 43). The use of *yalad* in these passages points to a unique divine generation.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

A UNIVERSAL KINGDOM

Thus He enjoys the prophetic office as Teacher,—“Receive instruction, ye that judge the earth” (2, 10),—the priestly office as sacrificer,—“Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedech” (109, 4),—the royal office as King,—“He shall judge among nations, He shall fill the ruins, He shall crush the heads in the land of many” (109, 6), (Hebr. 110).

“My opinion”, says Cheyne, “is that the second psalm”, (and therefore *a fortiori* the hundred and ninth), “can in no sense be referred to any historical event of the time, for there is no period of time, in which any king of Israel could, even by a poetic license, be considered as the King of the entire earth”.³

(9) THE PROPHECY OF ISAIAH,—AN EXTRAORDINARY “SON”

“For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and His name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace” (Is. 9, 6).

TO BE BORN OF A VIRGIN

“Behold a virgin shall conceive and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel”. (God with us) (Is, 7, 14). The word *alma* (LXX. *parthenos*) must be taken in the sense of *unmarried virgin*, for this is generally its meaning in the Hebrew text, the Septuagint *parthenos* is opposed to a married *neanis*, and only in this sense would it be a “sign” to Achaz,—something extraordinary. (Comp. Gen. 24, 43. Ex. 2, 8. Ps. 67, 26. Matt. 1, 23. 1, 25).

TO SUFFER AND DIE

The pains of the Messiah, already hinted at in the psalms (29, 68), are brought out with striking force in the famous fifty-third chapter. “No form nor comeliness—despised and rejected—a man of sorrows—wounded for our transgressions—bruised for our iniquities—he was offered because it was his own will—he opened not his mouth—he shall be led as a sheep to the slaughter, as a lamb before his shearers”—and so on. Even if this is a post-exilic addition, which is still to be proved, its prophetic value is not diminished.

AND YET TO TRIUMPH

“Therefore will I distribute to him very many, and he shall divide the spoils of the strong” (v. 12), which cannot but refer to a great victory.

(10) THE PROPHECY OF MICHAEL,—TO BE BORN IN BETHLEHEM

“And thou Bethlehem Ephrata art a little one among the thousands of Juda, yet out of thee shall come forth He that shall rule my people Israel: and His going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity” (Mic. 5, 2).

³ Cheyne, The origin and religious contents of the Psalter, p. 238.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

It is useless to pretend that Zorobabel or some other ruler is here referred to. For in the first place Zorobabel was a Babylonian by birth, and in the second place, to speak of his "going forth from the days of eternity" even if permissible as a metaphor, would be an altogether absurd expression to apply to such an evanescent and comparatively trivial personality.

(11) THE PROPHECY OF DANIEL,—JERUSALEM TO BE DESTROYED

Whatever be the meaning of the "seventy years" of Jeremias, it is clear that the vision of Daniel reveals the future Messiah and the destruction of the city and Temple of Jerusalem.

"And after sixty-two weeks Christ shall be slain, and the people that shall deny him shall not be his. And a people with their leader that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary: and the end thereof shall be waste, and after the end of the war the appointed desolation" (Dan. 9, 26). Here again the reference cannot be to Onias or any other ephemeral hero, but must be plainly assigned to Him who preceeded the great calamity of A. D. 70.

(12) THE PROPHECY OF MALACHI,—A UNIVERSAL PRIESTHOOD

"I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of hosts, and I will not receive a gift of your hand. From the rising of the sun even to the going down thereof, my name is great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered to my name, and a pure oblation. For my name is great among the gentiles, saith the Lord of hosts". (Mal. 1, 10, 11).

The universality of the Kingdom, already expressed in the Psalms, is here combined with a universality of worship, which implies the cessation of the old Law. The worship is to be international,—everywhere and for ever.

SYNOPSIS

These, I repeat, are but the barest links in the chain of Messianic prophecy, they furnish but the skeleton of the full Messianic ideal. Their accomplishment in the person of the historic Redeemer may be further illustrated by those more detailed statements concerning the Messiah, which are quoted in the gospels, and which are too *overwhelmingly convergent* to be accidental,—for which consult any standard work on the subject.⁵

Here I would only emphasize that it is in the Jewish tradition alone that the entire scheme of redemption is unfolded without a break,—a series of prophetic utterances whose cumulative power can only be rejected either by denying the historicity of Christ or by wilfully mangling the prophetic sources. The greatest rabbinical experts have come to see this.⁶

⁵ Maas, *Christ in Type and Prophecy* (New York, 1896). Lagrange, *Le Messianisme chez les Juifs* (Paris, 1909). ⁶ Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, (N. Y. 1903), Vol. I. p. 160ff. For a criticism of apologetic values see Th. Labouré, "The Argument from the Messianic Prophecies," *Eccles. Review* for April, 1917, p. 337ff.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

APOCALYPTIC SOURCES

But in addition to the canonical scriptures there is an immense body of apocalyptic lore, which although of secondary value, is nevertheless of some import as exhibiting the tendencies of Jewish thought even during the time of its greatest decadence. The Book of Enoch and the Sibylline Oracles are equally emphatic on the subject of a universal Messianic rule, and the proximity of a new era is painted nowhere in more glowing colors than in the Assumption of Moses and the Apocalypse of Baruch, though their messianic theories are conflicting, the latter preparing the hearts of the people for a possible reverse, a fresh dispersion.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE LOGOS

A far more difficult question is that of the nature of the messianic "Person", his relation to the divinity as such, and the degree to which his "hypostatic union" was recognised, if at all, in the pre-Christian ages of mankind. Is there any hint of a unity of nature in the filial relation of Father to son that is so strongly brought out in the Jewish Messiah? Is the "Servant of Jahwe" in any sense the equal of Jahwe Himself, and therefore a strictly divine being? Is the Logos of St. John absolutely new and original? These questions are more easily asked than answered, but some orientation on this subject seems to be called for, if it is only to grasp the problem.

It is clearly beyond the scope of the present work to handle this subject even in outline. I will only bring the state of the question before the reader with a view to calling attention to the following points:—

(1) THE TRINITY IS ADUMBRATED, BUT NOT REVEALED

The so-called "trinitarian" passages both of the historical and the prophetic books have already been referred to in a preceding chapter (p. 103). From the combined texts it is not too much to conclude that although a hidden or mystical allusion is for the most part provable, it falls short of an explicit revelation of three distinct though consubstantial Persons. If an essential part of the Jewish faith, we should expect these passages to be far more prominent and numerous and clearly worded than they actually are. As it is, they prepare for the mystery rather than define it.

(2) THE MESSIAH IS A DIVINE "SON OF GOD"

On the other hand the language in which the Anointed One is described in the above places is so exalted as to be applicable only to a *divine being*. Eternity, omnipotence, elevation above the angels, power of creation, redemption, eternal salvation,—could these belong to any but an Infinite Person?

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

It is true that in the later Rabbinical literature, with its denial of original sin, these ideas were largely obscured and secularised, yet even here the boundary-line between the human and the divine was of the slenderest, He was still a super-angelic, supra-mundane being. Now if He was *One* with Jahwe in his supernatural attributes, He was equally distinct from Jahwe as His "Son" or "Servant", and thus a twofold personality in the divine nature seems to be insinuated, while His appearance under human form points with equal emphasis to the union of two natures,—the essential point in a true Christology. However perverted in later times, this was undoubtedly the original notion.

(3) THE MEMRA IS THE "WORD" OF GOD

The expression *memra* is found only in the Targums, where it occurs about 600 times in the sense of "the Word of Jehovah", in one case as His creative act:—"By His Memra was the world created" (Targ. Onkelos. in Deut. 33, 27). That the Memra is distinct from Jehovah seems certain, but as to its nature there is much speculation. Some hypostatisation seems to be called for, yet the "Word" of God in the Jewish sense was not a person, but rather the revelation of a person, his living manifestation. As such it was neither Jehovah nor the servant of Jehovah, but the revelation or word proceeding from both.

(4) THE SHEKINAH IS THE "SPLENDOR" OF GOD

In a still more attributive sense the Shekinah represented the material and local side of His manifestation. It was the "splendor" of the divine presence, the place where His glory and majesty were revealed,—the Mercy-Seat.

(5) THE ALEXANDRIAN LOGOS IS THE "IMAGE" OF GOD

An entirely different view is represented by the Logos of the Alexandrian schools. This is not a theological but a philosophical concept designed to interpret the act of creation in terms of the Greek metaphysics. So far from being a person, the Logos of Philo is an immaterial essence which mediates between God and nature, the bridge between the world of light and the world of darkness. Though revealing itself also in man, the Logos is essentially cosmic, it represents the archetypes or exemplary ideas as they exist in the divine Mind and projected into the universe,—it is the "cosmic image" of God.

(6) THE JOHANNINE LOGOS IS THE "SON OF GOD AS WORD, SPLENDOR, AND GLORY."

In the fourth gospel all these ideas are welded together into a higher synthesis. For the first time the Word *is* God, though it is also *with* God, He is "the Light that shineth in darkness, by Him all things were made", and "we beheld His glory even as the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth". *Whatever may be said of terminologies, this is clearly a new revelation,*

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

ASTROLOGICAL SOURCES

We have already seen that the change from the Marduk-Taurus age to that of the Ram and the Fish is vaguely indicative of a new dispensation,—of a time when a fresh and perhaps unique redemption is to be expected. In any case this was its meaning for the early Christians, who transformed the old pagan zodiac into the twelve characters of Christ and peopled the sun, moon, and planets, nay the entire universe, with the saints and divine Persons of the New Era. (See under Creation, p. 174). This must be called providential rather than miraculous, though the symbolism is certainly striking and suggests a gigantic plan. Furthermore, to the Chaldaean astronomer, the approach of the four greater planets and the appearance of a “new” star has a definite meaning, which we have attempted to elucidate above. It means war, peace, justice and mercy combined, together with a special era of salvation.

THE JEWISH EXPECTATION

The subject of Jewish astrology is involved in much obscurity. While it is certain that divination of all kinds was strongly condemned in the Torah, it is equally undeniable that moderate forms of astrology in the sense of religious symbolism were readily countenanced, and became in fact a powerful means for raising the thoughts of the people to higher things, for keeping their hope in the Messiah brightly burning in their hearts.

THE STAR OF JACOB

Among these there is one at least that is sufficiently explicit to merit our attention. “*A Star shall rise out of Jacob*”. (Num. 24, 17). The Midrash to this text is contained in the *Haggadoth Mashiach*, and runs as follows:

“A star shall come out of Jacob,—and the star shall shine from the East, and this is the Star of the Messiah. And it will shine from the East for fifteen days, and if it be prolonged, it will be for the good of Israel”.

Here the star is to appear in the fifth year of the heptad of the son of David, and at the close of the seventh “the Messiah is to be expected”. A similar statement is found in the “Book of Elijah” and in two other Midrashim, which is sufficient evidence that the Star in the East was to appear *two years before the birth of the Messiah*. Now such an astral phenomenon is believed to have occurred shortly before the birth of Christ, and hence there are two points to be established, if this prophecy is to be of any value:—

- (1) Do these passages antedate the coming of Christ the Messiah?
- (2) Can the Star of Jacob be interpreted in terms of the Star of Bethlehem?

REDEMPTION

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(1) IS THE PREDICTION AUTHENTIC?

Now it is quite true that most of the Midrashim in their present form were not composed during the early centuries of the Christian era. But neither was the greater portion of the Talmud, and this alone is of little significance when there is evidence to show that the *ideas* which they embody can be traced to a far higher antiquity, that, like the fourth gospel, their appearance was late, but their message comparatively primitive. In the present instance there are internal reasons for believing that this *Midrash* is a pre-Christian conception, that it is a testimony which, in the words of Edersheim, is "not only reliable, but embodies the most ancient Jewish tradition". But the point that we wish to bring forward is this: Whatever be the date that we may assign to these "commentaries", it does not in the least impair the fact that in the mind of the Jews *before* or *after* the time of Christ the advent of the Messiah was to be heralded by a wonderful sign in the heavens, which, precisely because it was independent of the evangelical account, was for this reason all the more valuable. This expectation survived in fact far into the middle ages, as witness:—

THE TESTIMONY OF RABBI ABRABANEL, (XV. CENT. A. D.)

In his commentary on Daniel the author asserts that the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation of the Fish is of far-reaching consequences; and this especially for the people of Israel. His further argument that as this phenomenon occurred three years before the birth of Moses, so would it precede the birth of the Messiah, is chronologically erroneous, but shows nevertheless that among the Jewish commentators of all ages, the Messiah was still to be preceded by his prophetic "star".

THE POST-CHRISTIAN BELIEF PROVES ITS AUTHENTICITY

It is therefore of prime importance to note that the continued belief of the Jews in the Star of Jacob in spite of their rejection of the historical Messiah is a *proof positive* that this tradition is independent of Christian sources, that it is a bona fide Jewish belief. But

IF AUTHENTIC, WHY NOT APPLIED TO CHRIST?

Why did they fail to apply the symbolism of the heavens to the early Augustan age, when, as they must have known, the expectation was at its height and such a sidereal apparition was known to have occurred? It is because in these as in other matters their minds were obscured and their hearts hardened,—it was simply impossible that this could be the Messiah promised. The whole subject was too humiliating to the contemporary Jewish mind not to furnish the traditional "stumbling-block". This is a notorious illustration of the fact that God is "no respecter of persons", that, however much favored in the past, no nation, not even the children of promise, can afford to be independent of His never-failing light. If they reject that light, they have only themselves to blame for their deplorable ignorance.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(2) IS THE STAR OF JACOB VERIFIED IN THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM?

It is plain that the entire controversy turns upon two further points:— Can the star of the Messiah be identified with the star of Bethlehem? Can the star of Bethlehem be referred to the great conjunction of B. C. 6?

(a) THE STAR OF JACOB IS IN ITSELF INDEFINITE

The expression *kokab Yaqob* gives no definite clue to its astronomical meaning. As the *aster* of the Septuagint, however, we know that any stellar phenomena might be designated, the sense of constellation or grouping of stars being fairly well certified. The "star" is therefore of vague description,

But of Supernatural Portent.

Of this there can hardly be any doubt. For the Rabbis it is to be a sign, sufficiently manifest in the heavens, that the Messiah is immediately to come, that his reign is about to commence. It is therefore a divine sign,

And Probably of a Planetary Nature,

as the Jewish-Babylonian astrologers must have been acquainted with the current tradition of a new Marduk-Jupiter age, to be inaugurated by a new grouping of stars or planets in the constellation of the Fish. This is true,

But Does Not Exclude a Single Bright Phenomenon,
which would be so conspicuous as to be infallible in its portent.

(b) THE STAR OF THE MAGI IS OF THE SAME NATURE

Now this description will apply to the Star of the Magi with equal force. Here also *aster* is indefinite for star or "grouping", it is of supernatural character at least in its portent and possibly in its nature, it may be fittingly applied in a broader sense to the planets, but points with greater propriety to a single center of brightness,—a "guiding" star.

THREEFOLD INTERPRETATION OF THE ASTRON

We therefore get the following three possibilities in regard to the star.

(1) It is entirely symbolical,—for the "wise men" only. This is the "star of conscience",—whether visible or purely internal.

(2) It is a planetary group,—for the star-gazing Orient. This is the "conjunction", of chief interest to the professional observer.

(3) It is a brilliant meteor,—for the "shepherds" of all nations. This is the bright variable that would naturally attract universal attention.

THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM COMBINES ALL THREE

There are reasons for believing that the traditional star is primarily of cosmic nature,—that it is meant to reveal Christ to *all* men,— and secondarily of psychic nature, that it is meant to guide the believing few.

REDEMPTION

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

WHY SHOULD THE STAR BE VISIBLE TO ALL?

The reasons for this seem to me to be obvious. In the first place Christ came to redeem all men, and it was only fitting that the message should be written in the skies, so that shepherds and kings alike could read the portent without misgiving, so that all could have as it were an equal chance. If some found the Savior and others did not,—this was because their minds and hearts were already prepared for the mystery—, the case of the Magi,—or because they had not arrived at a sufficient spiritual height to follow the star,—the case of Herod,—or because again there were many whose astrological phantasies drove them to the West, but whose want of zeal in ascertaining “when and where Christ should be born” would naturally cause their expedition to be a failure,—the case of the numerous “magi” who invaded the Roman empire at this period. In no case does God refuse the light to those who prayerfully seek Him, even if they find nothing but His heavenly sign. In the second place, we know that there was a general invasion of the West during the Augustan age, that many were looking for some great catastrophe in the Roman Empire by reason of the signs in the skies, that this went hand in hand with a belief in a Redeemer to come,—all of which seems inconceivable unless we suppose the Creator *intended* that this should be in part at least the messianic sign, unless He wished that the world at large should know that the time of mercy had at last arrived. Finally, a moving supernatural star, to be visible by all, would be a standing miracle, for which there is no warrant in the divine economy. Where nature herself speaks in emphatic tones, there is no necessity for calling in a supernatural prodigy.

WHY IT SHOULD HAVE A SPECIAL MEANING TO THE MAGI

On the other hand it is no less congruous that those who are already equipped with supernatural wisdom, those who have a special desire to see the expected of the nations and have taken the necessary means for ascertaining the time and the circumstances of His birth, should be rewarded by a special vision in the heavens, in which the star would “go before” them and “stand over where the child was”. Yet even this requires no extraordinary wonders. The setting of the star over the house of Bethlehem would naturally be described as a standing-over and halting, though a miraculous phenomenon cannot of course be excluded. But whatever the nature of the “moving” star, it is sufficiently clear, that the Magi saw more in the constellation than the remaining Jews and Gentiles, precisely because they were better prepared, they had taken enormous pains to find Him. Moreover, we shall now see that there are additional reasons for believing that at this momentous crisis in the world’s history a phenomenon did appear in the heavens which challenges the natural powers of man to explain.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

THE QUESTION OF FACT,—DID SUCH A "STAR" APPEAR?

The famous calculation of Kepler, according to which the three major planets were conjoined in the Fish about B. C. 6, and accompanied by another bright and evanescent star, still holds its own, in spite of the many doubts that have been raised against it. Here are a few recent comments on this subject:—

JUPITER, MARS, VENUS, AND SATURN AS A PROPHETICAL UNIT

"Professor Patterson reminds me", says Dr. Ramsay, "that the result which we have attained agrees with the celebrated calculation of Kepler, who fixed on the year B. C. 6, because in March of that year there occurred a conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, which would present a most brilliant appearance in the sky, and would naturally attract the attention of observers interested in the phenomena of the heavens, as were the Wise Men of the East".¹² We have already seen that in the Babylonian system this betokens Peace, War, and Justice, in the Messiah-Haggadah the Star of Jacob is to appear two years before the birth of Christ, and with the mediaeval Rabbis this meeting of the planets in the Fish is heralded as the special sign of the Messiah's coming. Does this not sound a little suggestive?—"Peace on earth, and Good Will toward men,—but War among the gentiles and Universal Love to come, the portent of Venus as the star of Maternity, conjoined with Jupiter in the same year according to many?

THE BRILLIANT VARIABLE AS THE STAR OF BETHLEHEM (?)

"Kepler's theory was that just as the conjunction in 1604 of Jupiter and Saturn culminated in 1605 in the conjunction of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mars, and was followed by the appearance of a new and brilliant star, which disappeared again after eighteen months, so in B. C. 7 and 6, the exactly similar conjunctions were followed by the appearance of a new star after the triple conjunction, and that this was the star of Mat. 2, 2". Can this be the Babylonian star of "victory", the finding-star of the Magi?

Dr. Edersheim writes in a similar strain:—"Astronomically speaking, and without any reference to controversy, there can be no doubt that the most remarkable conjunction of planets,—that of Jupiter and Saturn—in the constellation of Pisces, which occurs only once in 800 years,—did take place no less than three times in the year 747 A. U. C. or two years before the birth of Christ (in May, October, December). *This conjunction is admitted by all astronomers.* It was not only extraordinary, but presented the most brilliant spectacle in the night sky, such as could not but attract the attention of all who busied themselves with astrology. In the following year, (A. U. C. 748), another planet, Mars, joined the conjunction".¹³ Then he says:—

¹² W. Ramsay, Was Christ born at Bethlehem? (London, 1898), p. 215. ¹³ Alfred Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah, (N. Y. 1903) Vol. I. p. 212.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

"The merit of discovering these facts belongs to the great Kepler, who accordingly placed the Nativity of Christ in the year 748 A. U. C. This date however is not only well-nigh impossible, but it has also been shown that such a conjunction would, for various reasons, not answer the requirements of the evangelical narrative, so far as the guidance to Bethlehem is concerned. But it does fully account for the attention of the Magi being aroused, and, even if they had not possessed knowledge of the Jewish expectancy above described, for their making inquiry all around, and certainly, among others of the Jews. Here we leave the domain of the *certain* and enter the domain of the *probable*. Kepler, who was led to the discovery by observing a similar conjunction in 1603-4, also noticed that when the three planets came into conjunction, *a new, extraordinarily brilliant, and peculiarly colored evanescent star* was visible between Jupiter and Saturn, and he suggested that a similar star had appeared under the same circumstances in the conjunction preceding the Nativity. Of this of course, there is not, and cannot be absolute certainty. But if so, this would be the star of the Magi in its rising".

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN

It is well known that the exact date of the birth of Christ cannot be fixed with certainty, being generally placed between A. U. C. 747 and 749, that is, between B. C. 7 and 5. Dr. Ramsay, however, who has made a life study of the subject, has hit upon A. U. C. 748, or B. C. 6, as satisfying the synoptic data more perfectly than any other, and this is precisely the date of the triple or quadruple(?) conjunction, when Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Saturn shone together as one star.

On this principle the quadruple star is the planetary group as synchronising with the birth of Christ (B. C. 6), while Jupiter-Marduk precedes it as the special Star of Salvation.

But as to Kepler's "variable", it may well have given an additional lustre to the group, or it must be frankly put down as a *supernatural apparition*,—*it is nothing less than the Star of Bethlehem!*

Now this is in harmony with the certain results of astronomy, with the most approved biblical chronology, with the united voice of eastern astrology, and with the common expectation of Jewish prophecy. Can all this, I ask, be accidental? We know that what to us is accidental is in the mind of God a pre-established harmony, that there is nothing that happens by what we call "chance". Here, however, the element of the fortuitous is ruled out, the sources are too convergent, the message is too plain, the coincidences too striking,—the very heavens are declaring the advent of the new King.¹⁴

¹⁴ Further light on this subject in the International Critical Commentary, (New York, 1910), Gospel of St. Matthew, p. 11-14. Articles on Biblical Chronology, Jesus Christ, (Catholic Encyclopaedia, 1910), and see Plate, p. 251 above.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(N, 5) IRANIAN FORM

It is beyond the scope of a prehistoric study to sketch the further development of these ideas except in their barest outline, except in so far as they show how the common yearnings of humanity were gradually crystallised into a more definite hope. If we take a glance at the Iranian soteriology, it is only to bring out a few of its salient characteristics, and because it is from this region that the salvation-seeking Magi are believed to have come.

"REDEMPTION" IN THE GATHAS

There can no longer be any doubt that "benignity" is promised in the Gathas or oldest portion of the Avesta. Apart from the invocations to Ahura, Mithra, Haoma, the Amesha-spentas, the fravashis, etc. which imply some power to help, it forms the opening theme of the forty-third chapter of the Yasna:—

*"Salvation's hail be his, whosoever he may be:
May the All-Ruling send it, He who is supreme o'er strife.
Long-lasting strength be ours,—of Thee I ask it.
For the upholding Right, this, Holy Zeal, vouchsafe us:
Rich power, blest rewards, the Good Mind's Life".¹*

By a singular coincidence this ancient text reveals the first triad of the Iranian "seven". For if the All-Ruling One is *Ahura-Mazda*, who "sends" salvation, who is "supreme" over the two worlds of light and darkness, it is *Asha-Rita*, the "upholding Right",—the Holy Order of the Law,—that is desired as the result of "rich power, blest rewards, the Good Mind's Life",—evidently *Vohu-Manah*, the *Spenta-Mainyu*, or "Holy Spirit", of Persian theology.

ASHA-RITA AS THE MAZDEAN LOGOS

With the regard to the position of *Asha-Rita* as a possible "logos", and its supposed derivation from the Greek Stoics or the Alexandrian Philo, the following summary will furnish abundant material for thought:—

(1) THE AMESHAS ARE ATTRIBUTES, NOT CREATED LOGOI

"Ahura Himself arranges and plans. *He* is the endiathetos of Philo, and Asha in one place is the *object*, not the subject of manta, as compare Y. 31. He, Asha, constitutes, however, a good prophorikos, but then *he* is inferior to the original Reason. *It is by the exercise of his Asha or Vohumanah and his other attributes that Ahura himself performs those acts of creation and providence which are denied to Philo's God as beneath His sublimity.* The kosmos aisthetos and the kosmos noetos look very like our two worlds in Yasna, 28, 2, but they are not logoi".²

¹ L. H. Mills, *The Gathas of Zoroaster*, (Leipzig, 1950), p. 3. S. B. E. XXXI. p. 98.

² *Idem*, *Zoroaster, Philo, the Achaemenids, and Israel*, (Leipzig, 1906), p. 161.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

(2) THE AMESHAS ARE SOMETIMES *IN* PERSONS, BUT NOT *AS* PERSONS

"The dim presence of these distinctions in the Zend-Avesta is not only not remarkable,—they are simply unavoidable because necessary to all speculation of the kind. And the activity of Ahura in exercising these attributes is entirely simple, corresponding to the activity of a supreme good Creator in all theogonies, though it is often actually impossible to tell whether the passages in the Gathas mean to describe God as *immediately working through His attributes, or through the men in whom these attributes have implanted themselves*. Both Asha and Vohumanah are executive, fast enough, 'bearing forth' the plans of God, but they have no such position as the Logos of Alexandria.

(3) THE PHILONIAN LOGOS IS THE SUM-TOTAL OF PROPELLING FORCES

"According to Philo, then, the world is created through reason, nous, or its manifestation, the Word, the Logos. This world is an *imprint* of the Divine Reason, and so the most complete work. *Moving ideas which were the forces propelling life were active, and the Logos was the sum of them*". (The Seal).

(4) AND THEREFORE NOT APPLICABLE TO THE DIVINE "IDEAS" AS SUCH

"It is easy to see that neither Vohumanah nor yet Asha correspond to such a Logos. They are more like one of 'the ideas'". By this is meant that they are immanent not transient entities, that they have no real existence outside of the divine Mind, that they are in fact the attributes of God.

(5) THE ASHA-RITA *IS* GOD AS "ORDER" AND "TRUTH"

"It is again Ahura who does this thing, that is, who creates something physical, which was considered impossible to Philo's God. It is not Asha who does it". And yet "Asha is under God the rhythm of order, keeping all things in balance", and therefore God creates the world *through* His Asha.

(6) AND ONLY INAPPROPRIATELY A SAVING "SON"

"It is He himself, Ahura, who through Asha keeps ruin from all". (Y. 44, 2), and "Ahura is Asha's Father, as in Y. 44, 3, 4, Asha being in that place the rhythm of the physical universe, the thing produced". (sic).

(7) BUT NOT THE LOGOS PROPHORIKOS OF PHILO

which, like all the Greek logoi, is a *cosmic* force, distinct from the *Nous*.

(8) NOR THE MEMBRA OF THE TARGUMS,

for this also is clearly distinguished both from Jahwe and the Messiah.

(9) NOR FINALLY IS IT THE LOGOS OF ST. JOHN,

for the Johannine "Word", though one in essence with God, is a distinct Personality in the Divine Nature,—and moreover an *incarnating* Personality.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

I do not pretend that these conclusions are beyond criticism. It still remains to be clearly proved,—(1) that the Ameshas are never nature-powers; (2) that the logoi are never personified or treated as persons,—(3) that the Johannine Word has never in any sense been anticipated. For it seems certain that the seven spirits are sometimes used *terminatively* for the finished product of divine action, the planning and executing logos comes perilously near a personal word, and the Johannine logos is by this very fact brought into closer touch with the Alexandrian philosophy, even though its application to the historical Messiah is altogether unique, and the two concepts are otherwise diametrical. *No Prophorikos was ever incarnate.*

But perhaps the whole subject is too abstruse to lead to a final settlement, and in the mean time it behooves us to note that, whatever may be the nature of *Asha* as a separate hypostasis, He is certainly in no sense a unique "Son", but should rather be considered as a major attribute of God, sometimes personified, and who as the Order and Symmetry of the divine Plan, became vaguely associated with a salvation that was yet to come.

THE POSITION OF MITHRA

A more definite thought is revealed by that popular demi-god who under the name of Mithra became synonymous with divine "Friendship", the diffused "Light" of the world. From the oldest times he is mentioned side by side with the great Mazda, and was evidently a separate personality:—

"I will announce and complete my Yasna to Mithra of the wide pastures, of the thousand ears, and of the myriad eyes, the Yazad of the spoken name".

"I will announce and complete my Yasna to the two, to Ahura and to Mithra the lofty and the everlasting and the holy, and to all the stars which are Spenta Mainyu's creatures, and to the star Tistrya, the resplendent and glorious, and to the Moon which contains the seed of the Kine, and to the resplendent Sun, him of the rapid steeds, the eye of Ahura-Mazda, and to Mithra, the province-ruler".³

This formula is so frequently repeated that some connection between Mithra and the all-seeing sun, though without confusion, seems to be postulated.

He is the Angel of Light and Truth

and the spirit of Friendship, and this is as far as our Avestic sources can lead us. In no case is he identified with the creating Mazda, nor with any of the Ameshas, nor with the sun, moon, and stars in a purely material sense, which makes the latter interpretation on the whole the most plausible one.⁴

³ Yasna, I. 3, 11. (S. B. E. XXXI. 196, 199. ⁴ Comp. Franz Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithras* (Leipzig, 1911) showing historical development from early Avestic times.

REDEMPTION

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

THE MITHRAS OF HELLENISM

Far different is the Mithras of Graeco-Roman times. He is sprung from a rock, he is very generally confused with the sun, he is the slayer of the sacred bull of Ormazd, which is itself the source of all the higher powers of man. He is neither a logos nor in any sense a mediator, but should rather be considered as nothing more nor less than the fiery orb of heaven shedding his genial rays of light over a world of physical and moral darkness.

It is not difficult to trace Babylonian and perhaps even Jewish influences in this make-up. It is simply Bel-Marduk-Taurus, the "mighty bull of Anu" slain by Gilgamesh, and combined with the Messiah-theme of the Jews, the Attiscult of the Phrygians, and rounded off with a liberal sprinkling of Alexandrian philosophy. It is therefore not surprising, that with such a rich history, Mithras should represent the highest "savior" of the gentile world.

THE PERSIAN EXPECTATION OF A VIRGIN-BORN REDEEMER

The well-known allusions in the Persian Yashts to a Virgin-born Redeemer show a gross deterioration from Gathic times, are admittedly late and were undoubtedly influenced, in part, by the Hebrew prophets:—

"We worship the guardian-spirit of the holy maid Eretatfedhri, who is called the all-conquering, for she will bring him forth who will destroy the malice of the demons and of men".³

But the maid is to conceive from the seed of Zoroaster miraculously preserved in the Lake Kasava, hardly a worthy thought to connect with the prophet of Iran. In the Bundahesh this seed is regarded as all-sacred, and *ninety-nine thousand nine-hundred and ninety-nine myriads of the guardian spirits of the saints are entrusted with its protection*"(!)⁴

THE FAR-SEEING MAGI

As it is next to certain that the Magi of the gospels were Persian astrologers, we can now understand to what extent their minds were "prepared" for Christ. They had the Asha-Rita of old, the saving "symmetry" of the divine Order,—in itself only a confused longing for a reign of peace,—then they were looking for Jupiter-Mithras in the skies,—for them, as for other orientals, the symbol of hope, the bringer of a brighter age,—but finally, their certain expectation of a virgin-born Deliverer, *of undoubtedly Jewish, biblical, and supernatural origin*, would, with the miraculous "star" of the gospels, infallibly lead them to the land of the West, the land of Amurru, to search for Him who was to be born the "King of the Jews".

Here then we have an historical "preparation" of which the Aryan race may well be proud. It was *we* alone of all the races of antiquity that were the first to recognise the omnipotent God in the helpless Child of Bethlehem.

³ Yasht, 13, 142. ⁴ Bundahesh, S. B. E. Vol. V. p. 144.

THE FINDING OF THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

THE PERSIAN MAGI DISCOVER THE REDEEMER

"WE HAVE SEEN HIS STAR IN THE EAST"

Էհաաբելսց. աաճ. քսց. ապս
 ASHĀ, KAṬ THWĀ DARSĀNI,
 Էհաճեցըանց. զտեց առաաչս
 MANASCHĀ VOHŪ VAĒDEMANŌ?



"O RIGHTEOUSNESS, WHEN SHALL I SEE THEE,
AND THEE, THOU SPIRIT OF TRUTH?" (YASNA. XXVIII, 6)

FACSIMILES OF TWO FRESCOES FOUND IN THE CATACOMBS OF ST. PRISCILLA AND ST. CALLIXTUS, ROME, THE MOST ANCIENT PICTURES OF THE MOTHER AND CHILD IN EXISTENCE, (II-III CENT).

(NOTE THE PERSIAN UNIFORMS)

"THE KINGDOM OF GOD SHALL BE TAKEN FROM YOU, AND SHALL BE GIVEN TO A NATION YIELDING THE FRUITS THEREOF." (MAT. 21, 43)

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

IMPORTANCE OF THE PERSIAN QUESTION

We may now take this opportunity to call attention to the enormous biblical and theological value of the study of Aryan religion in general and of Iranian or Medo-Persian religion in particular. Theologically speaking, and without any reference to critical controversy, there can be no doubt that the greatest social, moral and religious upheaval of any age was the sudden expansion of the Jewish-apostolic Church from a simple offshoot of the synagogue into the enormous, international world-empire of the historic Papacy. Though the foundations of Christianity are undoubtedly Semitic in a proximate and dogmatic sense, though we have received the highest and purest ideas of God and the most untarnished tradition of primitive belief and practice through Jewish channels, it is not commonly realised, that the further propagation of that Faith under the New Law has been entrusted to a race which by its very Founder was destined to become the chief inheritor of revealed divine lore of the ages.

"We have seen His star in the East, and have come to worship Him" (Mat. 2, 2).

We have not far to go to find abundant proofs of this promise. The very birth of the Messiah is heralded by men clad in oriental garments, speaking a non-Jewish Medo-Parthian dialect, they have travelled many hundreds of miles, through mountain passes, through the scorching heat of the desert, to find the Light of the World, the supernatural guiding-star of the New Era. This alone seems strange, an unexpected phenomenon, when we consider, how strongly Jewish was the consciousness of the early Church, how desirous of reconciling the Faith of Calvary with the Hebrew mind. Yet it is in the most Jewish of all gospels, that of St. Matthew, that this incident is narrated with the greatest care, put in the very forefront of the glad tidings. What a strong ray of divine illumination must this imply!

But more than this. One of the first and greatest of Christian converts of all time was to be found, not among the rags of Jerusalem, but among the Roman nobility, it was the centurion of Capernaum, who first enunciated the formula now to be found in the Roman Mass, the prelude to the divine banquet as such:—*"Domine, non sum dignus"!*

"Lord, I am not worthy that thou shouldst enter under my roof, but speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed" (Mt. 8, 8).

And it is notorious that the same Jewish evangelist immediately adds, that when Jesus heard it, "he marvelled" and said to them that followed him,—

"I have not found so great faith in Israel" (Matt. 8, 10).

Whence came this faith, and how was it acquired? from the surrounding Jews?

REDEMPTION

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

THE NEW FAITH IS TO BE INTERNATIONAL

Furthermore, to make the new Kingdom more intelligible to His simple-minded followers, the Messiah boldly denounces its artificial Hebrew limits:—

“And I say to you that many shall come from the east and the west and shall sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven” (Mat. 8, 11).

The coming of strange races from the east and the west can only be interpreted as a supernatural prophecy that other and more potent peoples shall take the Kingdom, while the sons of Abraham shall be turned away.

“But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out into exterior darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth” (Mat. 8, 12).

THE KINGDOM PASSES TO ANOTHER NATION

“Therefore I say to you, that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to another nation, yielding the fruits thereof” (Mat. 21, 43). Here we have the explicit statement of the coming transfer of the kingdom, of its complete severance from the Jewish Covenant.

WE HAVE FOUND THE MESSIAH, WHILE *THE JEWS* HAVE LOST HIM

If then the children of promise could do nothing more original than to persecute the Messiah, to spit in his face, and finally to crucify Him, it is no less evident that we of the Aryan race were destined to become His principal adorers, the custodians and promoters of His celestial empire.

THE ARYAN RELIGION SUPERSEDES THE SEMITIC

For it may be said without exaggeration, that if to this day the faith of humanity is in the hands of Aryan, not of Semitic peoples, if we chant the divine praises in our native Indo-European tongue, if we have woven our Christianity into the very soul and marrow of our culture, and consigned the Hebrews to an appropriate though inevitable “Jewish quarter”, it is precisely because we are the heirs of the Kingdom, we have been called by the Messiah Himself to be the great vehicles of His truth.

NOW ALL THIS DEMANDS AN HISTORIC ANTECEDENT

Here then we have the basis for searching into the past, for discovering the roots and mainsprings of the pre-Christian faith of the race. As every effect demands a proportionate cause, it will stand to reason that, as this faith was not derived from the contemporary Jews *in globo*, but rather in spite of them, it must be referred to a remote stream of Jewish-Persian tradition from the days of the exile, *a pre-Christian contact with the inspired prophets of the Old Law*. On the other hand, in the ancient Gathas of Zoroaster we find what we may call the purely “natural” religion of the Aryan race, the common longings of the pre-exilic Aryan religion in their purest and most beautiful form. Hence the surpassing interest of their contents.

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

BRAHMINISTIC FORM

But if ancient Persia represents the purest and loftiest development of the pre-Christian hope, its migration to eastern lands has not been a happy one by reason of its alliance and partial fusion with lower forms of belief. For if the early Vedic theology, as being the identical system, is still comparatively elevated, the later Brahminism exhibits a mass of contradictory notions which has given the proverbially nebulous character to the modern Hindoo mind. It will be quite impossible to enumerate all the mythical saviors of the lands of the Ganges, but upon two of them a few very brief remarks should be made, if only to show how wide has been the degeneration.

THE "LIGHT OF ASIA"

As against the Iranian system, with its creating Mazda, its personal archangels, its strong eschatology, and its bright rays of hope, the *Brahma-Vishnu* belief is but a shadow, the attempt to combine the theism of all ages with the pantheism of the totem-cult. Hence the appearance of Gautama, the great Buddha, must be interpreted by the mental atmosphere of the times, and these were comparatively late,—the sixth century before Christ. So far from claiming anything like a "sonship", a filial relation to the Godhead, this Aryan prince distinctly repudiated all speculations of this nature as unprofitable, and in this indeed he was wise, he made no pretence to divinity. Again, the *Nirwana* towards which he aimed, though apparently pessimistic, is after all not far removed from that blissful repose of the faculties, that paradisaic "sleep", which is the negative content of all beatitude, deliverance from the painful side of mortal existence. His noble renunciation and his lofty ethical code are also inspiring. But on the other hand, his asceticism is out of all proportion to what is universally practicable, the great majority of mankind are outside of his scheme of redemption, and perhaps it is safe to conclude, that, although a sleeping Buddha represents the highest ideal of the middle Orient, *he is incapable of saving mankind as such, his message is far too narrow, too unscientific, too exclusive.* Only as the far-off deliverer from the pains of reincarnation can he be called the "Light" of Asia.⁷

BUDDHA AND THE GRAND LAMA

Still more faded is the devotion to *Amitabha*, the Buddha of the sensuous *Sukavati* paradise. He is the emanation of the so-called *Adhi-Buddha*, and lord of the sensuous heaven which has replaced the old *Nirwana*. This deity was believed until recently to reside in the Grand Lama of Thibet and to have the faculty of continually reappearing. Here also it is important to note that the deity is not incarnate, but *re-incarnate*,—a fundamental distinction.

⁷ General sources in S. B. E. VIII, XII, XV, XXV, XXVI-XXX, XXXII, XLVI, and compare: *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, by Charles Francis Aiken, D. D. (Boston, 1900).

REDEMPTION

RECENT ASIATIC BELIEF

TAOISTIC FORM

What Buddha is to the Aryan races, Confucius and Laotse are to the Mongolian, religious teachers and reformers, but nothing more. In comparison with the Brahministic systems, which are one and all tinged with a pantheistic pessimism, the Chinese development is somewhat more hopeful; there is a positive side to happiness in which filial piety and ancestor-worship are regarded as all-powerful. Here is it *Sui-Jen*, the first man, who is the great benefactor of humanity, though it would be more true to say that the emperor himself is the source of salvation,—he is the ever-living *Ta*, which in its cyclic reappearance represents the highest evolution of the world-monad.

WESTERN-ARYAN FORM

Turning from Persia to the Aryan West, it is not surprising to find the old Tammuz-cult of the Euphrates reappearing in a more modern and distinctively national dress,—whether as the *Tammuz-Ashtaroth* of the Canaanites, the *Adonis-Astarte* of the Syrians, or the *Attis-Cybele*-cult of the Phrygian populations of Asia Minor. The two first are Semitic or mixed forms, while the latter may be said to furnish the transition from the classic Orient to the Indo-European Occident, where as the *Adonis-Aphrodite* of the Greeks or the *Adonis-Venus* of the Romans they form the background of the popular mythology. Together with the Egyptian *Osiris* and the Persian *Mithras*, these are the chief “saviors” of the pre-Christian West, to which may be added the figure of *Prometheus*, the crucified fire-winner of mankind.⁸

THE HANGED AND MURDERED GOD

This is not the place to pursue this subject at further length, but upon one point I wish to call the attention of all who are interested and perhaps disquieted by the existence of hanged, burnt, and crucified “saviors” before the advent of the one Redeemer. So far from being explicable by natural causes, it would indeed be a miracle if the old theme of the birth and death of the seasons did spontaneously bring forth its more vivid representation by means of a *divine tragedy*, in which the deity is mocked, scourged, and finally sacrificed for the sins of humanity,—an impossible development from the idea of nature’s “death”. This is the so-called “Sacaenic Sacrifice”, of which so much has been written, but which for us is simply another vestige of the finger of God in human history, the revelation of a human yet priceless holocaust.⁹ For the rest, it seems certain that the messianic eclogue of Virgil indicates a very widespread belief in the proximity of His advent.¹⁰

⁸ Comp. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, (London, 1907), *Studies in the History of Oriental Religion*. ⁹ H. Vollmer, *Jesus und das Sacaenopfer* (Giessen, 1905). ¹⁰ Even if remotely derived from the Sibylline Oracles.

RECENT OCEANIC BELIEF

(N, 6) (a) LATER INDONESIAN FORM

The migration of these ideas to the far East is only to be expected and to some extent provable, though it would be a mistake to put down every superficial resemblance as implying an historical connexion. Among the late neolithic Sea-Dayaks the notion of a mediator between *Batara* and the under-world appears in the figure of *Pulang Gana*, who is the tutelary deity of the soil and believed to be of superhuman parentage. Vestiges of the idea of martyrdom are revealed in the story which represents him as being cruelly robbed of his possessions,—the whole earth—, by the felling of trees:—

"Why did you wrong me by not acknowledging my authority?", he says to the usurpers, *"I am Pulang Gana, your elder brother, who was thrown into the earth, and now hold dominion over it. Before attempting to cut down the jungle, why did you not borrow the land from me?"*. *"How?"*, they asked. *"By making me sacrifice and offering"*.¹

And from that time onward the custom of sacrificing to *Pulang Gana* the first fruits of the season was perpetuated, he became the main object of the yearly Seed-Festival. *Pulang Gana* is, in the words of Perham, an important power in Dayak belief, as upon his good will is supposed to depend in great measure the staff of life. But the important point is that reconciliation with the divinity is offered by the divinity himself, the "son" of *Batara*, though outraged, is willing to listen to man, to accept his sacrifice.

I have already considered the possibility of Hindoo influence in regard to the names, if not the functions, of some of these Dayak gods. But although there are Braministic traits in the cosmology, and a few vestiges of Sanscrit in the terminology, it is altogether unsafe to trace *Batara* directly to the Hindoo Avatars, or *Pulang Gana* to a transplanted Vishnu-cult. As far as I know, *Batara* has nothing to do with metempsychosis, and his accompanying demiurge is as far removed from the Indian Light-god as can well be imagined. Perham also testifies that "the terms are an accretion and not an original possession", but that "*Pulang Gana*, (the idea), is all their own". As to a reconciling god, it is one of the earliest persuasions of humanity, as we have seen, and need have no connection with a western savior.

THE KLIENG-LEGEND

An entirely quixotic phenomenon is that of Klieng and his supposed "war-raid to the skies". Apart from his role as a helper of man, he is too facetious to be taken seriously, and may be dismissed as of no religious importance.

¹ H. Ling-Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North-Borneo* (London, 1896), Vol. I. p. 177-178, 181, (*Pulang*), p. 311ff. (*Klieng*).

REDEMPTION

RECENT OCEANIC BELIEF

(N, 6) (b) MELANESIAN FORM

A similar position is occupied by *Quat-Marawa* in the folk-lore of central Melanesia, though here we have a somewhat nearer approach to a semi-divine being, who was formerly a real Heaven-God, but was later mixed up with the ancestor-cult. In the more recent *Quat*, there is little that is inspiring, he is more like a jack-of-all-trades or a good-natured Santa Claus, who will give a *quid pro quo* for any mark of his appreciation. Relics of his cult as a savior-god are however abundant. "*Quat-Marawa, save us!*"—this is more than a mere figure, as the earth, the winds, and the waters are believed to obey him, to be immediately pacified by his presence.

(N, 6) (c) POLYNESIAN FORM

Another illustration of a cosmic triad, but one which is strongly sexualised, is revealed in the Polynesian pantheon. Here heaven and earth are literally married, and their divine child is *Tangaroa*, the moon,—a being of sad and sinister influence. Now we know that the moon with his changing phases represents the human and mortal side of divinity, and hence the interpretation of *Tangaroa* as the continually dying "son of heaven" is simply natural, and furnishes a good instance of the way in which a purely cosmic divinity supplies the foundation for a dying and martyred god. In nearly every case the lunar cult, though associated with a spinning spider or with the eagle-hawk and crow, has produced the figure of a *maimed or humiliated* divinity,—whether as the one-legged *Dara-mulun*, the lizard-shaped *Puluga*, the spider-headed *Amaka*, the stone-evolved *Quat-Marawa*, or the outraged and violated *Pulang Gana* above. The moon is thus the symbol of suffering, whether mental or physical, though his continual re-birth gives promise of a periodic brightness, of a monthly resurrection or restoration.

THE DAWN OF A BETTER AGE

In like manner *Tangaroa*, though essentially sombre, holds out to his clients an ever-recurring promise of rejuvenation, and to this extent he is an inspiring example of the "triumph of failure", a teacher of moral perseverance. But there are other signs that the full redemption is yet to come. It is through the union of *Tangaroa*, the eternal night, with *Mutuhei*, the eternal silence, that is born *Atea Tane*, the eternal light, and *Rongo*, the eternal sound, and through the conquest of night and silence by light and sound, there breaks forth *Atanua*, the beautiful "Dawn", the bringer of a new era of peace and salvation. Whatever be the blessings of "lunar sympathy", it is destined to be dissolved in the full light of the coming day.²

² A. Bastian, *Die heilige Sage der Polynesier*, (Leipzig, 1881), p. 29ff.

RECENT AMERICAN BELIEF

(N, 7) (a) NORTH AMERICAN FORM

In the North-American highland belt we meet with further examples of the same tendency to personify the forces of nature, to read a definite message into their good or evil influences. Here also the world tends to better and brighter things by its own impetus, there is a graduation of being from lower to higher and yet higher forms, implying the ultimate triumph of the All-Father-Sun and his redeemed children. When, however, we come to designate any particular individual as the bearer of that message or the mediator of that salvation, we find ourselves in a world of inconsistencies, of half-digested truths.

Poshaiyankya AS A "REDEEMING" GOD

This applies more especially to the *Poshaiyankya* of the Zunis, who, as in so many other cases, is partly a national ancestor, partly a divine deliverer. Rising out of the ocean as the "wisest man", the most perfect of beings, he is evidently meant to be human, and is certainly dependent on the Sky-Father above. Yet he is bedecked with semi-divine qualities and is at least an intercessor. For "*he came among men and the living things and pitied them*". (sic). This implies that humans are already on the earth and that he came to raise them to a higher life. For "*alone then did Poshaiyankya come from one cave to another into this world, then, island-like, lying amidst the world-waters, vast, wet, and unstable. He sought and found the Sun-Father and besought him to deliver the men and the creatures from that nethermost world*". From this it is fairly safe to conclude that he is one of those mixed characters who is partly an ancestor, partly a deluge-hero, partly again a divine being who has an intimate relation to the Sun-Father. Again, as the morning-star of Hope he is dimly looking into the future. More than this, however, we have no warrant to affirm.³

THE MYSTERY OF *Quetzalcoatl*

But the strangest figure in all the pre-Columbian past is that of the Aztec "prophet", who under the name of *Kukulcan* or *Quetzalcoatl* came to deliver a new message of salvation, and this in astoundingly Christian terms. Want of space will forbid the discussion of this unique personality except to barely indicate the present state of the problem.

It seems to be fairly certain that this was an historical character who appeared in the Aztec empire as late as the tenth or eleventh century of the Christian era. Before that time the records are silent in regard to him, though this of course is only negative evidence, not in itself conclusive.

³ F. H. Cushing, *Zuni Creation-Myths*, (B. A. E. 13th Rep. Washington, 1891), p. 379ff. The above is a condensed, not a complete or literal version of the report.

RECENT AMERICAN BELIEF

Father Crivelli, S. J. thus writes of him: "He was said to have come from the province of Panuco, a white man, of great stature, broad brow, large eyes, long black hair, rounded beard, and dressed in a tunic covered with black and red crosses. Chaste, intelligent, and just, a lover of peace, versed in the sciences and arts, he preached by his example and doctrine a new religion which inculcated fasting and penance, love and reverence for the divinity, practice of virtue and hatred of vice. He predicted that in the course of time white men with beards like himself would come from the east, would take possession of their country, overthrow their idols, and establish a new religion. Expelled from the central provinces, he sought refuge in Yucatan, where he repeated the prediction, introduced the veneration of the Cross, and preached Christian doctrine. Later he set sail from the Gulf of Mexico, going towards the east, to his own land, as he himself said". As a result the high-priest of Tixtacayon is said to have uttered the following prophecy: "*There shall come the sign of a god who dwells on high, and the cross which illumined the world shall be made manifest, the worship of false gods shall cease. Your father comes, O Itzalanos! Your brother comes, O Itzalanos! Receive your bearded guests from the East, who come to bring the sign of God. God it is who comes to us, meek and holy!*"

According to the above author these and many similar traditions were the result, most probably, of the evangelical labors of some Icelandic or Norse priest of the eleventh century, who accidentally drifted or got shipwrecked off the coast of Panuco. This is on the face of it very probable, as the advent of the Norsemen synchronises with the historical appearance of Quetzalcoatl. But on the other hand we must not ignore the possibility of their pre-Christian origin. This identification of Quetzalcoatl with one of the Mayan demiurges and the well known pre-Christian expectation of a savior, in some cases martyred and humiliated, are as we have seen a sufficient basis for explaining their appearance in the New World, at least in substance. Except for the predicted advent of the Christian invaders, there is nothing strikingly new in any of these beliefs; the main current is Asiatic.

(b) SOUTH AMERICA

For similar ideas associated with the Peruvian *Pachacamac* and other world-mediators, see the data furnished in the preceding chapters, and consult the sources. The subject cannot here be further discussed.

⁴ Camillus Crivelli, S. J. Article "Mexico" (Cath. Encycl. Vol. X, pp. 252ff.) giving a bibliography of sources up to 1910,—fairly recent. Comp. Brinton, *American Hero-Myths* (Phila. 1882), Idem, *Religions of Primitive Peoples* (1897). Also Häbler, *Religion Mittel-Amerikas*, (Münster, 1899).

GENERAL SUMMARY

This completes the cycle of prehistoric beliefs on the subject of redemption. If in tracing their development we have wandered far into the metal ages, it is because it is impossible to explain the existence of many of these latter-day hopes without taking cognisance of their prehistoric connexions, so true is it that the great majority strike their roots far into the twilight ages of humanity. And so it has been necessary to cover an unusually large area in order to appreciate this genetic development at its proper value, in order to realise that many of these ideas, though late in their appearance, have been forestalled in part at least by the common prophetic hopes of the human race,—a truth which is not generally realised. To carry home to our minds the importance of this fact, we cannot do better than make a general survey of the ground covered, with a view to ascertaining how far the redemptive ideal has *de facto* advanced during each of the successive periods of its manifestation.

I. PRIMITIVE BELIEF

It is hardly to be expected that for the earliest period of man as known to us the material on this head should be voluminous. We are dealing with an age which is immeasurably remote, and which in many cases has been overlarded with later and often with corrupted phases of belief. However, in the purest and least advanced section of the far East we note that the divinity is condescending, that some form of salvation is held out to man:

(A) In Malakka *Ple*, *Lanyut*, and *To-Entah* are one and all saving demiurges or intercessors, and there is a hint at least of a Father-Mother-Son relation.

(B, 1) In the Andaman Islands it is *Pijchor* who is *Puluga's* archangel or son, but redemption is promised independently, there is a distant hope.

(B, 2) In Ceylon *Bilindi Yaka* is the first intimation of martyred god.

(C) In the Philippines *Anito* listens to the cry for help, he cures diseases.

(D) In Borneo *Bali Penyalong* triumphs over the crocodile and brings relief.

There is also a female mediator, an omen-bird, and a demiurge,—*Doh Penyalong*, *Bali-Flaki*, and *Laki Neho*—, all of whom save by the power of *Aba-lingo Ama-ka*. In Celebes and the Molukkas *Batara-Samoa-Amaka* fulfil the same purpose.

(E) In New Guinea and Melanesia *Wonekau* and *Quat-Marawa* answer all prayers.

(F) In Australia *Gregorally*, *Binbeal*, *Brewin*, and *Tundun*, are all supposed "sons", who either promise or procure salvation from their "father", *Baiame*, *Bundjil*, etc.

(G) In Africa *Waka-Kaang* reveal the same desire to deliver mankind.

(K) In South America *Kamushini-Monan* are evidently benevolent though rigorous. In every case there is a promise that some at least may escape destruction.

GENERAL SUMMARY

Now in combining the above data there are three points to be considered from our present point of view,—the nature of redemption, the motive of redemption, and the time and extent of redemption.

(1) THE NATURE OF REDEMPTION

Although the Father-God is very generally the source of salvation, a semi-divine sonship as the mediator of that salvation is too frequent to be overlooked. There is evidently a vague consciousness that the redeeming act requires a separate hypostatisation in the Godhead, that there must be some humiliation or stripping of the divine glory to accomplish the act. Side by side we find the Mother-savior, who pleads for humanity, and thus we get the triad,—Father-Mother-Child—, as the primitive model upon which the scheme of redemption has been built,—originally a sexless relation. In other words, we are here in presence of a supernatural light,—*It is God who is to save by his "son", and with the help of his "mother"*, though the picture is anthropomorphic, very often defective, but rarely debased.

(2) THE MOTIVE OF REDEMPTION

It cannot be proved that the salvific act is strictly juridical, that it is in mathematical proportion to the sins of humanity, that it is a legal bargain, a kind of "blood-money". Rather does the evidence tend to show that the divinity saves man out of his own infinite mercy and love, and that when he "suffers", he does so by his own free will, it is a spontaneous oblation. *It is mercy and not justice that appears to be uppermost.* This is proved by the repeated failures of humanity to live up to the appointed means, and yet the "redemption" is never withdrawn, there is always hope.

(3) THE TIME AND EXTENT OF REDEMPTION

A more difficult question is that which concerns the time in which the redemptive act is believed to be consummated. Is there anything like an intimation or hint of a future redemption? It cannot be denied that most of our sources seem to indicate that salvation is already at hand, the demiurges are already "saving" the world. It should be noted, however, that in many cases they are to return, there is no guarantee that the redemption is final, and the picture of the Sky-Father who is continually sending new "sons" and devising new means for the saving of man shows very clearly that *so far from being unique or all-sufficient, they are mere shadows who are paving the way for the real Savior that is yet to appear.* They seem to be looking into the future, expecting a greater and better salvation. And as to its extent, it is theoretically universal, but practically limited. For in all times, "many are called, but few are chosen", and the dark side of the picture reveals its essential limitations.

GENERAL SUMMARY

II. TOTEMIC BELIEF

But if the early ideas on this subject are simple and crude, they have the merit of being distinct, there can be no question that the agents of the redemption are exalted or semi-divine *persons*, that they appear on earth from time to time with a definite message, and that they are vaguely groping out into the future when the divine plan shall at length be realised. With the growth of the totem-cult these ideas are gradually obscured, instead of persons we have *powers*, and although the savior-god is still in the background, he gradually yields to the more visible attractions of nature, it is the magical formula that is now all-important.

(M, 1) Among the Mundas of Central India the ancient ideas are still preserved, but with less attention to moral aspects. It is *Sin-Bonga-Misi*, the compassionate "Lady", the sister of the Sun-god, that carries off the human pair, that saves the race from extinction, that pleads with her brother for the salvation of man. It is through her intercession that the divine sentence is commuted,—*two-thirds of humanity will be saved*. There is no intimation of a redeeming son, unless it be *Lutkum Haram*, the first ancestor or one of the *Ashurs*, which in view of parallel cases, is indeed quite probable.

(M, 2) In Bantu Africa it is *Mulungu* himself that contains the power of pardon, but more frequently this power is transferred to the lower creation, it is *mulungu*, the totem, more especially the hyaena, that is regarded as all saving. It is from the dispositions of this animal, whether propitious or malignant, that the fate of humanity often depends. He is its mediator.

(M, 3) In Central Australia, again, we have seen that the quondam heavenly One *Attjira* has lost his control over human life, the totems are now omnipotent. Sun, moon, and stars, emus, lizards, and snakes, are here recognised as all-powerful, they are the source of salvation, which has dwindled down to a mere magical ceremony for the multiplication of food, the control of the weather.

(M, 4) Finally in the North-American prairies we have the *Wakanda*, who as the "Great Medicine", is undeniably condescending,—only too much so, as he is identified, or at least confused, with nearly every living or shining thing in the universe. Sun, sacred corn, buffalo, or morning-star, these are his manifestations, if not his own substance, and as to a personal deliverer, there is no need for any such deliverer when the powers of nature can be made to give every assistance to man. Though we have made due allowance for religious symbolism, there can be no doubt from the practices of these people and their eschatology, that the idea of "redemption" has faded.

REDEMPTION

GENERAL SUMMARY

And yet it would not be safe to say that it has vanished. Taking the totem-area as a whole the following statement will be found, I think, to represent the actual state of affairs as nearly as possible:—

(1) NATURE OF THE DELIVERANCE PROMISED

While a saving triad is here and there to be found, more especially in India, with its "queen of heaven", it will readily be admitted that in the more advanced regions the notion of a saving personality has been largely eclipsed, though never entirely so. No doubt the Wakanda is the remote source of salvation, and as the pitying Sun-Father a dim personality may still be recognised. But in practice *the source of redemption has been transferred to the totem, it is nature herself that will save man*, and the divinity, only in so far as he is recognised as still operating under the totem,—a condition which, as we have seen, is very rare and exceptional. This is proved by the fact that for the great majority of mankind there is *no deliverance from nature*, it is only the favored few who by extraordinary penances are able to avoid the pains of reincarnation.

(2) ITS MOTIVE HAS BEEN NATURALISED

With this important fact staring us in the face, it is clearly impossible to speak of a "motive" of redemption in any proper supernatural sense, except, as I say, for the increasing minority, who still cling to the Sun-Father as a transcendent Person. For them indeed He is a unique Medicine, whose attributes of love and mercy are not difficult to demonstrate. But for the rest the motive has been secularised, *humanity desires redemption from physical not from moral evils*. Examine any of the fertilisation-rites of these peoples, and you will be convinced that their primary object is utilitarian, there are few that desire the blessing of heaven for its own sake. "God helps those who help themselves",—this seems to be their motto.

(3) ITS TIME AND EXTENT ARE ENTIRELY INDEFINITE

Still more hazy is the notion of any definite time or era when the supposed redemption is believed to be operated. There is no definite individual either of past or future age to whom they are looking for help,—*the redemption is continuous and cyclic, it is going on all the time*,—and the only hint of its future consummation on a higher plane is the devotion to the Morning-Star, which is holding out a feeble hope of a more perfect age to come. Moreover if two-thirds of humanity are saved in India, the great majority return as buffalos elsewhere, and this is a clear proof that the beatific vision is outside the reach of humanity as such.

GENERAL SUMMARY

III. RECENT BELIEF

In the more recent period, known as the second stone age, the old triad reappears, but with a more definite cosmic setting. Heaven, earth, and ocean are now definitely hypostatized, they are once more *persons*, but with a strong astronomical background. At first these powers are hardly more than symbols, the mere outer shell of the divinity, but in time the heavens become all-absorbing, the mind of the deity can now be read in the stars, and finally the whole machinery of creation has been so elaborately studied that there can be no longer any doubt that a unique redemption is at hand. Taking these ideas in their chronological order they appear as follows:

(N, 1) In the early Babylonian belief it is *Bel-Marduk (Enlil-Bel)*, who as the Lord of the Air triumphs over the world-serpent, *Tiamat*, and brings salvation. Side by side we have the condescending *Anu*, the supplicating *Ea*, and merciful *Bau*, surely sufficient evidence of benignity. In later times all eyes are turned to the heavens, it is *Marduk-Jupiter* that will inaugurate a new age, the new group will be portentous of world-changes.

(N, 2) In Egypt it is *Osiris* that dies, *Isis* that bears, and *Horus* that delivers, while *Nephtys* is the lady in waiting, the mother of the household. For if *Ra* is victorious over the serpent *Apophis*, it requires a martyred god to completely effect the redemption, and *Horus* is his triumphant son.

(N, 3) In Assyria the personality of *Ishtar* becomes all-important, quite independently of *Ashur* and *Adad*. Like the Egyptian *Isis*, she is the mother-earth or the corn-sheaf, who is married to the sun-god, here the old-Babylonian *Tammuz (-Osiris)*, and brings forth the latter(!). Here sex-relations have been confused. *Tammuz* is husband, brother, and son all combined!

(N, 4) In Palestine there is hardly a trace of the sexual or astrological among the early Hebrews. The seed of the woman is to triumph over the serpent from the days of Eden, and by degrees it is unfolded that her son is to be of Semitic blood, of Hebrew race, of the tribe of Juda, of the house of David, of supernatural birth, of universal dominion, of humble yet royal origin, to be born at Bethlehem, to suffer and die, a victorious yet martyred King. Only in the Midrashim is the "Star of Jacob" the sign of his near advent.

(N, 5) In Persia it is *Jupiter-Mithras*, the angel of Light and Truth, that is to be the bearer of a unique salvation, but the story of the magi shows very clearly that the "Light of the World" was found in the "land of the west".

(N, 6-7) The common Indo-European *Adonis*-cult is paralleled by the Oceanic *Pulang-Gana-Tangaroa*, and the American *Poshaiyankya* and *Quetzalcoatl*.

REDEMPTION

GENERAL SUMMARY

To focus these ideas into a single picture, it will be found that the main points for which we are contending are sufficiently well-established to admit of the following summary.

(1) NATURE OF THE NEW REDEMPTION

It is quite clear that a semi-divine sonship, whether personal or cosmic is the main theme in the restored pantheon. All-Father-Heaven is married, either mystically or sexually, with All-Mother-Earth, and either with or without the help of All-Father-Ocean, they bring forth All-Lands-Redeemer, the prophet of the new era,—the universal Bel. But although the idea of personality is prominent, it has been confused if not identified with the powers of nature, *it is God as a personified force, not as an absolute Person, that is to save mankind*, and herein lies the weakness of the entire system. *God saves by his "merciful mother" and his "incarnate son", but father, mother, and son are world-powers, not pure personalities, much less trinities.* This is proved by the close alliance between deity and natural, sometimes sexual force, by the dominance of the phallic cult over wide regions, and above all by its continual *re-incarnation*, which shows that the heaven promised is indeed a "land of shades", which is still to be conquered by the All-Holy. If there are a few brighter visions, Iranian, Jewish, these are precisely *the* exceptions.

(2) THE MOTIVE IS PHYSICO-ETHICAL

In harmony with this principle the motive of this deliverance is decidedly mixed. While there can be no question that many a heart was striving for spiritual favors of the highest kind, it is too often coupled with the useful, the sordid, the trivial, the mean, and even the sexual, to be regarded as unadulterated. *Humanity wants redemption for moral but primarily for physical reasons*,—it pays to be on good terms with *Marduk-Osiris*, "*the land will prosper*". Here also the spiritual and the secular are intertwined, though in Palestine and Persia we note the dawn of a purer ideal.

(3) THE TIME AND EXTENT ARE POINTING IN PART TO THE FUTURE

On the other hand there are indications, that although humanity is in part saved or saveable, the universal redemption is yet to come. This, at first vague, gradually develops into the messianic system, which, prophetic among the Jews, is largely astrological among the gentiles. The Messiah is to be known partly by his fulfilment of spoken prophecy, partly by his sign in the heavens,—and both combined draw the Wise Men from the East. It is the convergence of all the sources, whether written or heavenly, whether Jewish or Pagan, that leads the simple-hearted of all nations to the Savior of the World.

RECONSTRUCTION

Such in outline is the scheme of redemption as it appears to unfold itself in the ever-brightening pages of human history. It is as much a growth as the "grain of mustard seed", the evangelical analogue to the kingdom of heaven, and as the nature of a thing is known by its causes, so do we gain a more vivid realisation of its meaning and its final consummation now that we are able to trace its roots far into the infant ages of mankind. Will it be possible to obtain a "composite" from the numerous pictures that are here represented, to read a definite meaning and content into their combined messages in such sense that a messianic promise will seem to be postulated, even for the earliest days of man's innocence? We must be careful not to desire to prove too much, to pretend that a full revelation has been given to mankind on a subject which from every point of view,—whether theological or historico-mythological—, was to be gradual and germinal rather than once for all delivered in all its fulness. "First the sheaf, then the corn, then the full ear in the corn",—this applies with equal force to the promise of a divine Deliverer, which we know from the revealed data to have been in the first instance typical and adumbrative, not an explicit manifestation, there and then, as to precisely who He was to be, how He was to be born, and in what manner He was to triumph.

THE PRIMITIVE PROMISE IS VAGUE BUT REASSURING

Thus it cannot be proved, and it is vain to attempt such a proof, that primitive man had a clear consciousness of a divine Savior that was to come, that He was to be born of a virgin, that He was to live, suffer, and die for the sins of humanity, and even, as some have asserted, that He was to rise from the dead, by analogy with the continual re-birth of nature. Such an idea stands condemned at the bar of theology and history alike, the triumph of the seed of the woman over the serpent is *typically messianic*,—but it is nothing more. It simply means that a great deliverance is promised, that He shall crush the serpent's head, and that He and His Mother shall be victorious over sin,—all the details were reserved for a far later age, man was not to know the entire secret at once, he was to be patient and wait. Now this is in harmony with the earliest gropings of man as we actually find them. The triumph of *Amaka* over the evil power, whether as serpent, crocodile, or cobra, implies a promise of redemption, though its exact channels are as yet obscure. There is a hint, but only a hint, that a "Mother of God" shall in some way co-operate with a "Divine Son" to effect the redemption, and to this extent it is a *Catholic revelation*. It is truly consoling to think that, however overgrown by mythology, such a message should be dimly readable in the earliest annals of the human race.

REDEMPTION

RECONSTRUCTION

ITS SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT IS DISAPPOINTING

Here we have the germs of a divine promise to which the totem-cult of the succeeding ages adds nothing that is strikingly new, and much that is trival and commonplace. While there is a desire to expand the notion in a more universal and cosmic sense by making the deity the "Great Medicine", the great healing power of nature, it has obscured the original picture to such an extent, that so far from seeking help from divine persons, the great majority are now turning to nature in her lower manifestations,—it is the very serpent, formerly the object of horror, that is now the bringer of a better age, that will procure every desired benefit. But this is an extreme development which cannot be called normal. The all-seeing buffalo holds out a slightly higher ideal, and in the Morning-Star of Promise we note the first intimation that the all-pitying *Wakanda* will in his due time bring about a more perfect deliverance,—there will come a time, perhaps, when the Sun-Father will be nearer and dearer to his children, He will be the immediate source of their happiness, and in India the Father-Mother God has never been forgotten, it is pitying "queen of heaven" that will rescue mankind.

ITS RECENT PHASE IS AGAIN MORE HOPEFUL

The divine promise, never entirely obscured, now gathers additional momentum by its alliance with the study of the heavens. In its more modern form the old triad becomes more and more astronomical, the All-Father is the resplendent Sun, the "King of the Skies", his co-operating Mother is Istar-Venus, the "Queen of Heaven", the "beautiful Lady", the "Star of the Sea", the boundless Ocean is the "Spirit of Wisdom" out of whom the perfect man rises, and the "divine" child is Jupiter-Marduk, the "Lord of the Lands", who once more slays the eternal dragon. Here we have all the essentials of the earlier legends, *plus* the star-cult, and it cannot be denied that the framework is beautiful, the main ideas are certainly inspiring.

ITS CULMINATION IS ONLY TOO CLEAR

But we have already seen how theoretical and utterly inadequate is the salvation promised. The collapse of pagan empires through internal corruption, and with it of the national hopes, was convincing enough that the real Star of Salvation was yet to rise, the Queen-Mother was yet to come. And so we see the final expectation crystalised upon one definite point. It was upon the Land of the West that the eyes of the world were gradually turned, and the fact that the divine Child was recognised by Jew and Gentile alike, is a clear proof that the main current of the expectation is prehistoric.

APPLICATION

CONTINUITY WITH EXPANSION

Thus we see that what has been found is after all nothing but what is to be expected,—a gradual unfolding of the divine plan, in which the whole world is by degrees prepared for the great event of the ages,—the coming in flesh and blood of Him who in some form or other had always been desired,—a unique and universal Deliverer. Had the entire scheme been explicitly revealed from the commencement, there would have been none of those grand cycles in its development, which we hail as the pedagogical method by which the Heavenly Father has seen fit to elevate the human race by a gradual process of enlightenment, not by a sudden flare of his glory. It was through a continual moral struggle that mankind was to merit the higher light.

A POSSIBLE JARRING NOTE

But is it not temerarious, not to stay blasphemous, to speak of saviors, divine sons, and compassionate mothers as even faintly sharing the attributes and even the names of those whom they are supposed to typify? Does it not detract from the uniqueness of Christ and His spotless Mother to find that their titles if not their functions have been in part anticipated, and this among peoples whom we can hardly consider worthy of such a message, and some of whom we have found to be notoriously degenerate?

A TIMELY ANSWER

It is time that this all-important matter were finally and definitely cleared up. It is part of the Catholic Faith that God has given a revelation to man in the earliest ages, and though the content of that revelation is of the broadest, it can hardly include less than a clear knowledge of the divine nature, and at least a vague adumbration of the mystery of the Trinity and the Incarnation. On this all the best and most conservative theologians have been agreed. Moreover, if the Trinity was explicitly revealed,—as some will hold—, and if salvific grace is at least potentially universal,—as all *must* hold,—it will stand to reason that unless we accept the Lutheran doctrine of the utter corruption of man, *there must be some vestiges at least of a belief in these dogmas, it is inconceivable that humanity as such should have lost the entire deposit.* This would mean the damnation of practically the whole of the human race, as the new “children of light” are only a fragment, and such a preposterous doctrine has never been approved by the Church. On the contrary it was Alexander VIII. who strongly *condemned* the proposition of Jansenius,—that “*Pagans, Jews, heretics, and the like, receive no influx at all from Jesus Christ*” (Decr. S. Off. Dec. 1690).

THE ONLY POSSIBLE INTERPRETATION

Now if such an "influx" be admitted into the heart of the gentile, and the gentile is otherwise blamelessly ignorant of the higher message, does it not follow that there must be something in his soul to *prepare* him for that higher light, or rather, does not the higher light diffuse its rays into his soul in such manner that his "pagan superstitions" become transformed, as it were, into a higher supernatural illumination? The extent of this influx is of course problematical, we know nothing whatever about it, but in the mean time it is quite certain that "God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth Him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted of Him" (Act 10, 34).

"Woe unto thee, Chorazin! Woe unto thee, Bethsaida! For if the mighty works which were done in you had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment than for thee (Mat. 11, 21, 24). These terrible words from the mouth of Christ are about as strong evidence as can be desired that whatever be the conditions for entering the New Kingdom, *the possibility of salvation is held out to the pre-Christian gentile even when corrupted*, though this does not excuse him of course from following the higher light when sufficiently evidenced. *"He that believeth not shall be condemned"* (Mk. 16, 16).

THE SOLUTION OF A LONG-STANDING DIFFICULTY

I have already referred to this subject in previous pages, (p. 241ff). Here I would only add as a final word, that the possibility of pre-Christian redemption through the merits of Christ anticipated is not a private opinion, but a necessity flowing from the Catholic doctrine of the universality of grace. So far from being disquieted by finding so many "pagan analogies", we should thank God on our knees that He has never "left Himself without witness", that the light has never entirely vanished. "Why was Christianity so late in coming?"—this is a difficulty only for those who cannot see the Divine Being constantly demanding a sacrifice in the numerous savior-gods of humanity, but never with confusion, never with identification. They are but shadows that tell of the coming substance,—broken or partial lights. A soul can save itself by this shimmer only in so far as it is a reflection of the Light of the World. Far from detracting from the divinity of Christ, we are only just beginning to understand what a universal Redeemer really means,—*one who came to save the whole world, and not the one-hundredth part of it!*

ONLY ONE LIGHT OF THE WORLD

And this leads us to the final consideration of the enormous distance which separates the incarnate Son of God from any of His so-called fore-runners. For while the idea of a semi-divine filiation to the Father in heaven is common enough,—being suggested by the natural relation of father and child as one of the greatest intimacy,—the title "Son of God" in the Jewish-Messianic and Christian sense is one that we look for in vain in the united annals of the past. Of not one of these demiurges has it ever been said that they enjoyed this sonship in more than a moral and transitory, sometimes even in a lower, sexual, and decidedly degenerate sense. We have only to recall the sad story of the Horus-worshippers of Heliopolis, of the priests of Attis in Cappadocia, nay, even of the Mithraic initiates of the later Roman empire, to see to what a miserable end these "sons of heaven" could lead their clients,—they could bring them to seek salvation in the purely sensible, and finally in unnatural vice. Even the great Buddha is on his own confession a child of the times, a mere portion of the machinery of creation. On the other hand the brighter side of the picture should not be ignored, and we know from the very lips of the Redeemer that Abraham indeed "*rejoiced to see my day, he saw it and was glad*", but that "*before Abraham was made, I am*". (John, 8, 56). All this implies a prehistoric mission of the Messiah to humanity at large, from which the artificial role of a purely human "mediator" must be carefully distinguished. If then we find a few faint glimpses of supernatural light shining through the corrupted folklore of the ages, if the carriers of this light, though earth-born, do unquestionably raise humanity to a higher degree of spiritual and moral endeavor, it is only in the line of a theological conclusion to infer, that such illuminations must be ultimately traced to a single supernatural source,—it is Christ, the Light of the World, that is dimly operating through them. In this way the idea of a divine sonship, vaguely reflected in the earliest mythologies, appears in such persistent and strangely abrupt form that we are almost compelled to seek some extra-terrestrial or superhuman origin for its ultimate source. And this is in harmony with the supernatural character of the Messiah. If Christ were a mere man, the prophet of a new era, could he speak in such emphatic tones of a universal judgment of which He is the center, the only source of appeal? Could He judge Babylon and Niniveh and Solomon and the Queen of Sheba without *knowing* their exact position in the scale of the divine mercy? The fact is, this knowledge presupposes His divinity, and thus the prehistoric data bear witness to the Godhead of Christ as a super-omniscient Person.

ONLY ONE MOTHER OF HUMANITY

In like manner the position of the Mother of God in the scheme of redemption must be once and for all disconnected from any female cults, whether contemporary or prehistoric. For the same act which has made Christ our "Brother", has made His Father "Our Father", and His Mother "Our Mother". If we find spotlessness in the one, we are apt to look for immaculateness in the other, the whole act of the incarnation must be looked upon as a single, tremendous, world-transcending process. Hence the derivation of the Virgin-cult and the Holy Rosary from a supposed Astarte-worship of the early Christians cannot but provoke a smile. After St. Paul's sermon on Diana of the Ephesians such an interconnexion would have broken up the whole of the Christian community, it would have spelt death to the Angelic Salutation. But here again we must enlarge our horizon if we would estimate the true import of these phenomena. We have seen that from the very dawn of the human race there has been the belief in a female "savior" who was in some manner to cooperate in the scheme of redemption, and bring forth a unique, an all-conquering Deliverer. Whether as the simple mother-god of Malaysia, the queen of heaven of India, or as the stupendous figures of the Assyrian *Ishtar* or the Egyptian *Isis*, these facts are too numerous and deep-rooted to be explained on purely naturalistic lines. They seem to be crystallised into one definite yearning, "*Mother of heaven, help us!*" Now although the idea of sympathising womanhood is indeed natural enough, it seems quite impossible to account for such a continuous and all-absorbing devotion unless we admit that here also we are face to face with a heavenly and prophetic adumbration. For just as the Savior of mankind was "begotten before all worlds", so the Divine Maternity is dimly forshadowed in the literature and the prayers of humanity, it is the heavenly Mother that exists in the divine Mind side by side with the only-begotten Son. "*For behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed!*" The universality of this cult is here plainly indicated, and thus the prehistoric folklore on this subject acquires an entirely new and supernatural interest; it is a record which can only be interpreted in the words of Solomon when speaking of the divine wisdom:—

"The Lord hath possessed me from the beginning of his ways, before he had made anything from the beginning. From eternity was I appointed, before the earth existed. The depths were not yet made, and I was already conceived". (Prov. 8, 22).

CHAPTER THE FIFTH

DE DEO SANCTIFICANTE

The Origin and Development of the Sacrificial Rite and of its Accompanying Sacramental Observances

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE

THE "SADAKA"

OR THE CAIN-ABEL OFFERING AS THE ORIGINAL MODEL OF ALL SACRIFICE IN ITS DOUBLE ASPECT,—THE FIRST FRUITS OF THE EARTH, AND THE FIRSTLINGS OF THE FLOCK



THE SIMPLE THROWING OF OBJECTS INTO THE FIRE CONSTITUTES THE MOST RUDIMENTARY FORM OF THE HOLOCAUST, AND IS STILL PRACTICED BY PRIMITIVE PEOPLES IN THE WILD STATE, ITS DOUBLE OBJECT SYMBOLISING THE TWOFOLD DIVISION OF THE PRIMITIVE CLAN-SYSTEM,—THE CORN AND THE SHEEP, OR THE 'WILD YAM' AND THE 'BUFFALO.' SEE MGR. A. LE ROY, *LA RELIGION DES PRIMITIFS*, (PARIS, 1911), PP. 306-327.

W. SCHMIDT, *URSPRUNG DER GOTTESIDEE*, (MUNSTER, 1912), PP. 163-168.

"Sacrifice is the navel of the world". The old Hindoo proverb expresses the supreme act of religion in a few short but emphatic words. However much a man may feel his dependence upon a Creator of all by the common channels of prayer and of mental aspiration, there is an instinctive persuasion, that a supreme act of love requires some form of dedication,—some giving, immolating, or "offering up" of a creature—, through which that love may be brought vividly and sensibly to the surface. Such a dedication may be considered from the point of view of the worshipper or the substance dedicated, frequently from both combined. In so far as the object itself is "sacrificed", in so far as it is burnt, consumed or destroyed with a view of propitiating the deity or imploring His mercy and protection, it is a distant forerunner of the one great Holocaust to come, it is destined to dissolve in the One all-sufficient Sacrifice. In so far, however, as the entire action is intended for the personal succor and sanctification of man, it acquires also a subjective terminus, in which the fruits of the sacrifice are applied to the personal and spiritual needs of the individual, a consecrating act to be performed here and now with a definite and divinely established ritual. This is the legal, positive, and ceremonial side of the action, which, though essentially the same as the redemptive, emphasises more especially its institutional aspect,—the exact forms and ceremonies under which the great healing action of the deity is believed to take place, to be in some sense perpetuated. It is because the entire ritual brings this action vividly before the mind and senses of man, that it may be fittingly called the subject redemption, and this is applied adequately only in the Seven Sacraments of the New Law.

WHAT IS THE ESSENCE OF SACRIFICE?

At the very outset we are confronted with the time-honored difficulty which concerns the nature and essence of the sacrificial act. Is it a *sacri-ficium*, a mere making holy, a setting apart, a taboo, an abstention,—or does it include some notion of destruction, consumption, or elemental change in the thing offered to constitute what we call a real holocaust? ¹

In other words, there is the gift-theory and the destruction-theory of sacrifice; and some light in this direction cannot fail to be welcome, if only to show how the greater part of humanity has felt on a subject which is so intimately bound up with its religious and even its secular life.

¹ Recent light on this subject in Fr. Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messopferbegriffs*. 2 Vols. (Freising, 1901). Pohle, Art. "Sacrifice", *Cath. Encyclopaedia*. Comp. V. Thalhofer, *Das Opfer des alten u. des neuen Bundes*, (Ratisbon, 1870), an old but very clear work. (Scholastic sources,—see below).

A QUESTION OF DEFINITIONS

Now whatever may be the popular or etymological meaning that may be attached to the term, there can be no doubt that by the unanimous consent of antiquity, whether Pagan, Jewish, or Christian, a sacrifice is more than a mere oblation or offering up of the gift, but requires in addition the destruction, consumption, or burning of that gift in such manner that a substantial or accidental change can be truly said to affect it, that it obtains in some sense a new mode of existence.

THE ACCEPTED DEFINITION

Hence the accepted scholastic definition is worded as follows:—

*“The oblation of a material gift to the Deity, and its partial or total destruction or mutation at the hands of a lawfully appointed minister, in order to acknowledge His supreme dominion and to placate His justice”.*²

The only reason why this definition was ever called in question and even rejected, was because on the one hand there were those who rejected the notion of an external immolation in toto,—the standpoint of early Buddhism and of primitive Mohammedanism—, or at least in part,—the position of modern Protestantism with its purely symbolic sacrifice—, or because on the other hand there were those in the Cathlic Church who felt it difficult to conceive how the glorified and unsuffering Christ could be said to be in any real sense “immolated” on the altar, how the eternal and ever-living God could be described as still further stripping Himself of his divine attributes by living a “suffering” life under the species. It will thus be seen that our definitions hang together with our theology. If our theology is physical and realistic, our sacrifice will be so also, if Christ was really slain on the Cross, He is at least mystically slain in the Eucharist, and the only difficult point will be to determine the exact extent to which this martyred life can be described as a “kenosis”, as a further emptying of the life of glory,—as a mystical death.

ITS PREHISTORIC VERIFICATION

It is part of our present purpose to investigate the notions of primitive man on this subject, with a view to determining how far the above formula is verified in the sacrificial ideas and practices as we actually find them, how far the offering up of the gift involves a consumption of the gift, and in what sense this consumption is to be understood. Does it necessitate a burning of the victim, or is a simple “transformation” sufficient? As it is common to base our definitions upon what we actually find, a preponderance of practice in this regard ought to furnish a valuable supplement to the traditional doctrine. It will show, as we shall presently see, that some form of external immolation is practically universal.

² Compare S. Thomas, 2, 2, q. 85. Suarez, de Euchar. disp. 73. DeLugo, de Euch. disp. 19, 1. Thalhofer, op. cit. p. 5 for the main points of this definition.

TWO IMPORTANT MATTERS AT ISSUE

This, however, is the least vital of the problems that are hereby opened out. A far more searching and important question is that which concerns the material object of sacrifice, the question, namely, whether in the offering of this gift there is the remotest consciousness that the divinity is in any sense *in* the gift, that He suffers and dies with the victim offered. Closely allied with this is the equally interesting problem as to how far there is any correspondence whatever between the purely natural actions by which the savage consecrates the various periods of his life by more or less appropriate ceremonies and those higher channels of supernatural power that are in the exclusive gift of the Seven Sacraments.

(1) IS THE HOLOCAUST AN IMMOLATION OF GOD?

As to the first question, it is sufficiently startling even in its bare presentment to merit a careful and critical consideration. In these days when men are seeking for so many precursors to Christian dogma, so many anticipations of the Cross of Calvary, it is a matter of life and death to obtain a clear understanding of the meaning and content of these supposed "immolations" of the divine, and not play fast and loose with a question which is too serious to be dismissed in a few sentences. If God has already been sacrificed in the pre-Christian ages of man, it is clear that the Sacrifice of the Cross loses all of its absolute value, it becomes a mere climax to a series of similar sacrifices throughout the cycles of time, a mere "culmination." This is the standpoint of a great deal of our modern pantheism and mystical zoolatry, and it is surely worth while to face this problem in serious earnest, to look into these "divine" victims with a view to ascertaining to what extent such a preposterous claim has any title whatever to our consideration.

THE ANSWER GIVES BIRTH TO A WONDERFUL IMPLICATION

Now, in handling this subject, there are two methods that have guided our analysis of the situation,—the one negative, by repudiating an equation, the other positive, by revealing an "adumbration." And by this I mean that all the so-called immolations of the deity will be found to collapse in a heap of mysticism which entirely destroys the pure notion of a God actually dying and sacrificed,—there is *in fact no pre-Christian immolation of God in any sense whatsoever*. On the other hand, the *idea* of a suffering and dying god, being undoubtedly found in some of the rituals, is so tarnished with the sensual, the imperfect, and even the criminal, that, so far from detracting from the value of the One Unique Sacrifice, they are on the contrary the strongest proofs that no theistic immolation has ever been conceived; they make the Cross of Christ shine with renewed splendor in that they show that in the Jewish sacrifices alone have we a distinct *type* of the future deliverance, the "suffering" god of Paganism being merely the result of excessive anthropomorphism,—a diseased concept.

(2) Can the "Medicines" be compared with the Seven Sacraments?

But as the objective sacrifice is but the type and model of *self*-sacrifice, it is both preceded and followed by other practices which together with it constitute the

PRIMITIVE CEREMONIAL OBSERVANCES

These are partly of individual, partly of social import, and are designed to prepare or dispose the worshipper for the full realisation of the sacrifice as such, to apply the fruits of the sacrifice to his own personal and domestic needs. I have arranged them under the following heads:—*Birth-ceremonies, Initiation, Immolation (or Sacrifice as such), Expiation, Priesthood, Matrimony, Burial.* Such an arrangement is not an artificial contrivance, but is based on the natural order or succession of primitive ritualistic practices as they will and must follow one another from birth to death. From the washing of the infant to the funeral of the priest or headman, there is bound to be a vague similarity of thought and practice in all religions, and if the general scheme reminds us at first sight of the Christian mysteries, it should be understood they have been purposely selected and placed in this order, not to establish a parallel, but because they are undoubtedly founded on the natural law, and must as such find some counterpart, though only the slenderest, with the revealed supernatural system.

THE COMPARISONS FADE AWAY ON CLOSER INSPECTION

For, in the first place, the number "seven" cannot be forced upon the pre-Christian rites as in any way essential, but must be looked upon as *Christian impress*. In the second place the order of the medicines is *not* the order of the sacraments except in a few instances,—it is often reversed. In the third place, the power conveyed in the medicine differs from that in the sacrament by mountains of immeasurable magnitude,—in the first case we are dealing with *natural*, in the second with *supernatural* power.*

THE "ORDER OF MELCHISEDECH" REVEALS THE MESSIAH

Finally, as the objective and subjective redemption find their only source in the Redeemer, it will be correspondingly important to separate not only the Crucifixion from the criminal execution, but in an equally direct sense, the Mass from the Mincha, the Eucharist from the Passover. Here also it will be found that while certain similarities are founded on certain divine and prophetic analogies, more especially on that of Melchisedech, the new Mystery of Love stands on an entirely original footing, and the prehistoric data serve only to bring out the antiquity and dignity of the unbloody sacrifice.

Let us now make the rounds with primitive man on this subject, beginning again with the far East. It is only by amassing a large body of material that any definite light on these questions can be hoped for.

* On the origin and fitness of the number "seven" as supplying seven spiritual needs in the life of man, see Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, (St. Louis, 1910), pp. 277-283. Tanquerey, *Synop. Theol. Dogm.* (N. Y., 1908), Vol. III. p. 166. S. Thom. III, q. 65, art. 1, (comparison with the natural order).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(A) MALAKKAN RITE

The following practices are common to all three sections of aboriginals except where otherwise stated:—

(1) *Birth-ceremonies*:—The soul is believed to come from the Paradise-Tree and to be carried by the Soul-bird to the expectant mother. This is commonly the small Argus-Pheasant which brings the soul to the nearest tree, known as the Birth or Name-Tree. As a rule the future mother abstains from all food except that derived from the bird and the tree. The bird is caught in the Birth-Bamboo, (Tahong), and finally eaten. The mother decorates the tree with fragrant leaves and blossoms. At the moment of birth the child's name is solemnly pronounced by the midwife, (or medicine-man), the name being taken from the Birth-Tree,—thus *Nipong*, Palm, *Pishang*, Banana, *Durian*, *Rambutan*, etc. luscious fruits. From that time the tree is taboo for the child, though not for the mother. At the same time *the child is washed or purified with merrian-water* which is kept in the *chit-nat* or water-bamboo, the latter being decorated with religious emblems,—crosses, zigzags, etc. representing the Sky-Father's breath, finger-prints, etc. (benediction signs?) Purification with merrian-water lasts one month for the mother and ten days for the infant. The average number of children is said to be four, and infanticide rare. Child-bearing continues up to 40 or 50 years of age. (Main features are common to all the tribes, but the Soul-bird is more conspicuous among the negritos, while the Jakuns have special charms against birth-demons).¹

(2) *Initiation*:—Maturity-rites are not strongly developed in the peninsula. The most common ceremony is that of *anointing the candidate with coconut oil or turmeric* as a sign that he is admitted to full membership of the clan. Body-paint is freely used by the Senoi, and shaving the head, tooth-filing, nose and ear-boring, are likewise represented, as well as the custom of sprinkling the neophyte with the juice of the mystic fern. The designs on the face and body are often duplicates of the bamboo-patterns,—which suggests a religious meaning, (consecration to the Sky-Father, etc.) The ceremony is performed by the *blian* or headman, frequently at night, with lighted fires, and in the presence of women and children. The Mantras frequently assume the parental title of *Pa* and *Ma* at initiation. It is to be noted that neither circumcision nor the full perforation-tattoo is practiced by any of the tribes in the wild state, and that initiation-rites tend to become more simple the more isolated the people who practice them.² These are a few of the practices by which the youth becomes as it were "graduated" into the community. While many of these ordeals border on the funny and the phantastic they are peculiarly free from the cruel and the unnatural. They are simply suggested by the universal instinct of human nature,—"*You are now a man!*"

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, II. 1-27. ² *Idem*, II. 28-54. Compare also II. 16-17.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

MALAKKAN RITE

(3, a) *Unbloody Sacrifice*:—According to Skeat, “the only common form of offering, which consists in the *burning of incense*, (benzoin), is found among all branches of these tribes, other forms of offering being comparatively rare”. But the sacrifice does not terminate in the incense. This is but the symbol for a mystical dedication of a far different kind,—the offering up to the Deity of the first fruits of the earth. They take two bamboo cylinders, and in one they place the blossom, in the other the juice of the mystic Palm, these being the supposed “body” and the “blood” of the divinity. The Putto then raises the tubes, exposes the sacred blossom, and with the wafting of lights and incense, either lifts or throws the contents into the air, using such words as—

“*Ye ma-loi putek pe met katop!*”

“*Blossom, I offer you to Heaven!*”

“*Ye ma-loi putek pe met katop!*”

“*Fruit, I lift you to the sky!*”

That this a genuine invocation to the Sky-Father is proved by the following:—

(1) *Kari-Ple* literally means “Thunder-Fruit” and though He is an all-ruling Master above, this postulates an essential connexion between deity and object,—it is “fruit” that is here offered to “thunder.”

(2) *Ple* especially has the power of self-transformation, by which appears under the fruit-form, all magic trees etc. becoming *ipso facto* his “body,”—a false and decidedly empty anthropomorphism.

(3) The secret remedies thrown by the Puttos into the air, and preserved in bamboo cases, are partly solid, partly liquid in nature,—“magic flower”, “mystic fern-juice”. This implies a twofold lifting of the contents.

(4) If then the above formula is attested for the throwing of human blood, a similar setting of words must surely be found for the unbloody rite. In this case the flesh of the fruit is expressed by *putek* (blossom), and the juice by *mahum* (blood), *pe met katop* being a general expression for “upwards” (heaven, sun, daylight), the abode of the supreme Thunder-God. It is therefore certain that this is the gist of the invocation, its approximate wording.

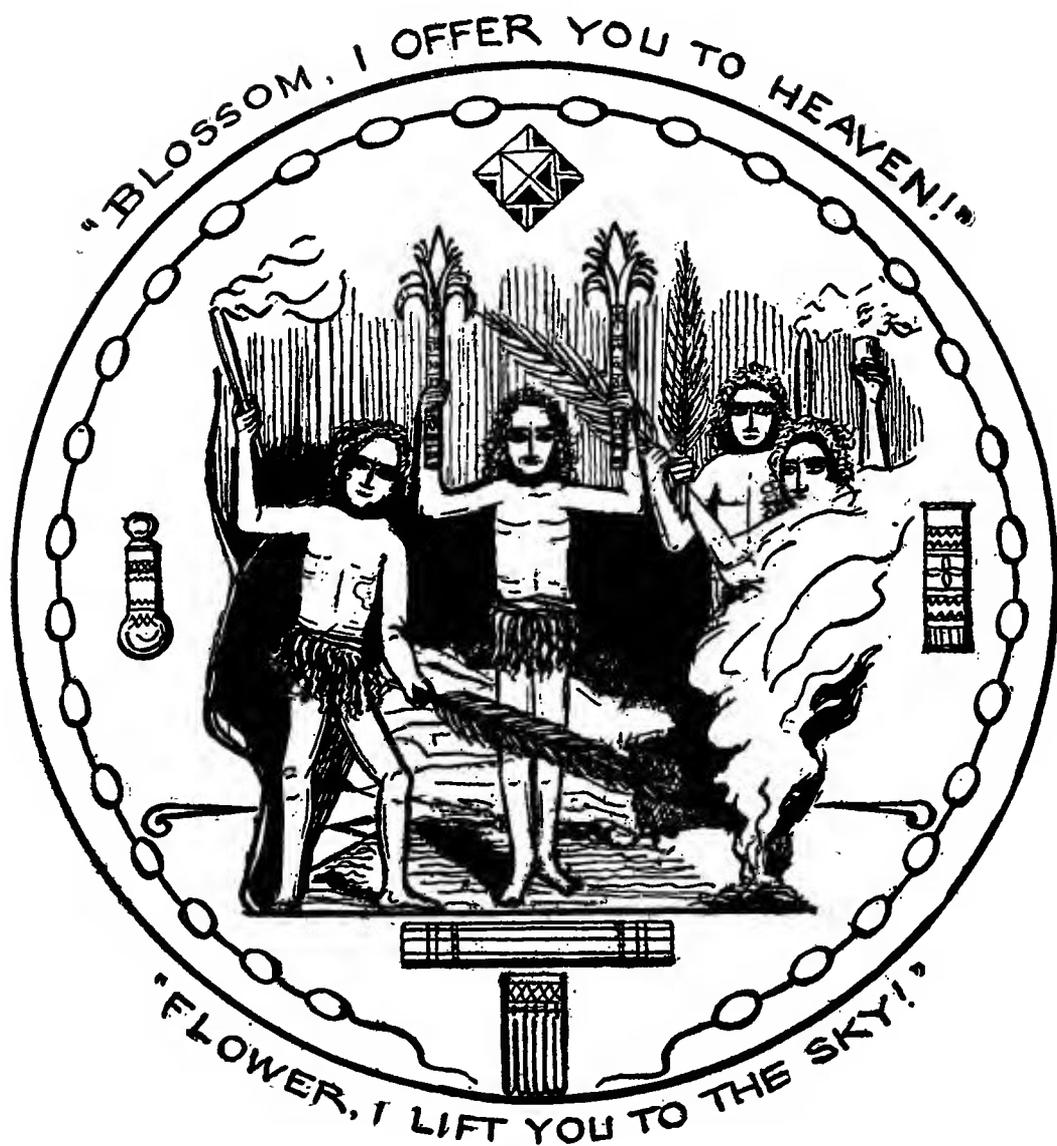
More in the line of a charm, though originally serving no doubt the same purpose, is the *Chinduai*, or “Love-Plant”, and the *Buluh Perindu*, or “Yearning Bamboo”. In both cases the sacred herb or splinter is offered up with very similar practices,—exposition of the blossom, burning of incense in a coconut shell, lighting of beeswax tapers or “pointings” to scare away demons, and the fasting condition of the worshipper. All this shows that the ceremony is no mere form, but a solemn function whose sacriligious violation is punishable with death. It is the All-Father’s means of making his children “supernaturally beautiful and invulnerable”, of imparting to them His heavenly gifts,—it is the so-called *Sadaka*-sacrifice of the “Magic Flower”.^a

^a Skeat, II. 199 (offerings), 205-215 (*Kari-Ple* legends), (Palm-taboo), 737 (formula), 608 (*putek*), 232, 261, 310 (*Love-Plant*, *Yearning-Bamboo*, *Pointings*).

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE
(MALAKKAN RITE)

THE FIRST-FRUIT OFFERING

"YE MA-LOI PU-TEK PE-MET KATOP!"



THE PUTTO RAISES THE MAGIC FLOWER

CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE HEALING-RITUAL OF THE EAST-INDIAN ABORIGINES, "TO MAKE MEN SUPERNATURALLY BEAUTIFUL AND INVULNERABLE",—THE "SADAKA"—, SHOWING PALMS, BAMBOOS, BEESWAX-TAPERS, OR COCONUT-SHELLS, BAMBOO CROSS, THROWING-CRYSTALS, AND POINTING-STICKS, BONE OR BAMBOO CRUETS, BAMBOO HARP, MAGIC COMB, AND SHELL-NECKLACE. THE FLOWER IS DIPPED IN THE OIL-BAMBOO AND THE OIL APPLIED TO THE PATIENT (SKRAT. LOC. CIT. INFRA.)

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE
(MALAKKAN RITE)

THE "BLOOD" OFFERING

"YE MALOI MA-HUM PE-MET KATOP!"



THE PUTTO THROWS THE MYSTIC BLOOD INTO THE AIR

CEREMONY OF THE KOR-LOI-MELLOI, IN WHICH PALM-JUICE OR HUMAN BLOOD IS MIXED WITH A QUANTITY OF WATER AND THROWN IN A BAMBOO CYLINDER UP TO THE SKY WITH THE OBJECT OF AVERTING THE LIGHTNING.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

MALAKKAN RITE

(3b) *Bloody Sacrifice*:—The only sanguinary offering so far reported is the comparatively harmless one known as the *Kor-loi-melloi* or blood-throwing ceremony. "In order to appease the angry deity", says Vaughan-Stevens, "men and women of all ages are in the habit of cutting the skin covering the shins to obtain a few drops of blood. One cut is usually sufficient, so that on the whole very little blood is drawn. The cuts are made diagonally across the leg, are from 6 to 10 mm. in length, and are said to have been formerly made with a stone (or bamboo?) knife, though now with the ordinary jungle-knife or parang, which was knocked with a piece of wood until blood was drawn. The blood,—it need only be a drop—, is either sucked or dropped into a long bamboo receptacle, and a quantity of water (sufficient to half fill the bamboo) is poured in with it. The Semang then turns in the direction of the setting sun, and doling out the liquid with a special bamboo spatula, throws it straight up into the air, calling out with a loud voice.

"*Ye ma-loi mahum pe met katop!*" "*Blood, I throw you up to Heaven!*"

"*Ye tarek mahum, ya tarek mahum!*" "*I draw blood! I draw curdled blood!*"

"*Ye ma-loi mahum pe met katop!*" "*Blood, I throw you up to the Sun!*"

or words to that effect, the invocation being repeated each time that the liquid is thrown up, until all is finished".

As to the moral purpose of the sacrifice, "*Kari* himself makes no use of the blood thus sacrificed, but is pacified by this sign of his children's repentance, and ceases to hurl thunderbolts and to continue his complaints of their misdeeds to their creator (demiurge) *Ple*, at least until they again give him occasion to do so. *Ple*, however, employs the blood thus obtained in order to create certain red jungle-fruits which serve as food for man, as for instance the well-known rambutan". "The *Puttos* themselves did not cut themselves, but instead of doing so, threw their secret remedies (which they preserved in bamboo cases) into the air. From these *Ple* created certain white jungle-fruits" (Love-plants, etc. see above).

This ceremony is confirmed by Skeat, who found it very widely distributed, and it is one of the most distinctive and interesting rites in all prehistoric antiquity, symbolising the first consciousness of sin as requiring more than a mere fruit-oblation. In its more common practice the performer takes any suitable bamboo, and throws the mixture into the air *directly*, the whole being regarded as an atonement sacrifice for the sins of man,—an undoubtedly ethical and noble concept.^{5b}

^{5b} Vaughan-Stevens, apud Skeat, II. 204-205. Comp. II. 297 (for the Blanda-rite), 737 (formula).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

MALAKKAN RITE

(4) *Expiation*.—But if the preceding rites are for the most part latreutic or propitiatory, there are others which, like the birth-ceremonies, are essentially purgative,—they are designed to expel the demons, to reconcile the fallen sinner with the Father on high. For there exists a general persuasion among these peoples that *sin and evil are of demoniacal origin, that "they must have done something wrong before any demon gets permission from Peng (or Tuhan) to attack them"*. Consequently a large part of their ritual consists in the expulsion of demons in the form of diseases, which are exorcised by practices which are severely penitential. The following is the *Sawai* ceremony for casting out devils as practiced by the Senoi:—

"The patient is laid with the head towards the west under cover of a roof or screen made from the fresh leaves of a palm, which resembles the Areca-Palm, and is called "Dampong". This is the "medicine-hut" which is universal among these tribes and which originally stood in the depths of the forest and into which none but the magician or medicine-man might enter. It is hung with a medley of bones, leaves, and flowers, and bamboos of all sizes are scattered about in every corner, inscribed with mystical patterns. An opening is left through which the *penglima* or *pawan* (priest) enters. "This entrance can be closed so as to conceal both patient and magician from observation. The latter takes a censer (*sangkun*) with him, which consists of a half coconut-shell containing burnt resin (benzoin). He then squats down at the feet of the invalid, and raising himself breast-high swings the censer seven times over the patient's couch. Next he seizes a leaf of the Dampong-Palm, and therewith belabors the invalid, or rather the demon by which he is possessed, with the object of driving it into the network of loops or a cage which hangs over the head of the patient". During this ceremony the Blandas pronounce the following prayer or invocation:—

*"O Spirit-guides, both all and sundry,
Both large and small, and old and young,
I crave your help in healing him,
Whose soul is sick, whose body stricken!"*

Now it is quite true that there is a magical side to these functions which makes them hardly more than therapeutic spells. But when we consider that an accusation of guilt is frequently demanded by the clan chieftain who was originally identified with the exorcising minister, and that their object is ultimately moral,—they take on a semi-religious aspect, soiled though they are by their largely utilitarian character.*

* Skeat, II. 229, 242, 252, 257 (*Sawai-exorcism*), 295-296 (*Blanda-rite*). Cp. I. 494ff.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

MALAKKAN RITE

(5) *Priesthood*:—And this leads to the subject of the officiating head-man. There can be no doubt that in the earliest times this office was identified with that of the family father, it was the paterfamilias who was himself the family-priest, and only by degrees was a separate caste or professional ministry instituted. Here in Malakka this evolution may be clearly traced, though nearly all these tribes have advanced beyond the simple family patriarchy. Its stages may be indicated as follows:—*Peng Penglima, Pengulu* (Father), *Sna-Hut, Batin, Blian*, (medicine man), *Putto*, (great chief), *Raja* (great ruler, priest-king, etc). In this way the priesthood is derived from God,—the first “Peng”. Skeat thus writes of their character and functions:

“In the Semang tribes the office of chief medicine-man appears to be generally combined with that of the chief, (family or tribal), but amongst the Sakai (Senoi) and the Jakun these offices are sometimes separated, and although the chief is almost always a medicine-man of some repute, he is not necessarily the chief medicine-man, any more than the chief medicine-man is necessarily the administrative head of the tribe. In both cases there is an unfailing supply of aspirants to the office . . . and his priestly duties form an important portion of a chief’s work”.

“The medicine-man is, as might be expected, duly credited with supernatural powers. His tasks are to *preside* as chief medium at all the tribal ceremonies, to *instruct* the youth of the tribe, to *ward off* as well as *heal* all forms of sickness and trouble, to *foretell* the future, to *avert*, when necessary the wrath of heaven, and even when re-embodied after death in the shape of a wild beast, to extend a *benign protection* to his devoted descendents”. (This appearance is only temporary, there is no permanent metempsychosis).

The only priestly insignia consist of the emblematic staff, the charm-bamboo, and the oil or turmeric which raises him to the sacerdotal state. None can practice but those who have been anointed by the chief Batin.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—The conditions required for marriage are generally very few. There is no age-limit, but local, if not tribal exogamy is the general rule. The free consent of the woman as well as the father is always required.

“Are you clever with the blowpipe? Can you fell trees? Are you a good climber?” etc. The man presents the woman with a small marriage-gift and a birth-bamboo, and after being sprinkled with fern-seed, they are pronounced married by the respective parents: “*Mano klamin che dada!*” “*May you be blest with offspring!*” Descent is patrilineal. Divorce and infidelity are rare.⁶

⁵ Skeat, I. 494ff. II. 196, 225, 249, 327. ⁶ Idem, II. 55ff. Rule of Descent (patrilineal), II. 63, (matrilineal), II. 87, (Orang Laut, Sea-Gipsies).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

MALAKKAN RITE

(7) *Burial*:—In the matter of death-ceremonies the greatest variety prevails. The simplest and probably the oldest form consists in placing the deceased on a bamboo stretcher, when the Pengulu or Sna-hut places the so-called burial-bamboo in his girdle which is a token from God's representative that the man is worthy of paradise. Mourners accompany the body to the simple earth-grave, and the deceased is laid to rest with few if any trinkets to accompany him. Only great chiefs are buried in trees.

The most interesting report (if correct) is given to us of the Senoi:—

"A dying man lies with head toward the west. The magician (or priest) holding a censer (sungkun) in his hand, takes up the usual crouching position at the feet of the patient, a little to the right side, and raises himself slowly till he is 'breast-high'. He then waves the censer seven times horizontally over the body, and placing the coconut-shell at his feet, bends down and says softly in his ear: '*O dying one! Do not remember any more your father, mother, children; or relations. Think only of your ancestors, already dead and gone to another place. Your living friends will find food*'".

Though the survivors are admonished to "think" and to pray(?) for the departed, it is only among the more advanced tribes that foods are offered to the deceased, which shows that spirit "feeding" is not primitive. The body is frequently washed or anointed, but *never cremated*.⁷

To sum up, it is impossible to read these reports without being impressed by their strikingly suggestive character. We seem to have a complete cycle of "medicines", of apparently moral import, and accompanied by ritualistic observances and formulae, which certainly sound familiar. But are they native or borrowed? Are they magical or religious?

It is too early as yet to decide this question from the examination of a single area without regard to the combined evidence of the entire belt. But for the present the following points should be borne in mind:—

(1) The native origin of the deity and his personal and transcendent character have already been established, and He is the *author* of the rites.

(2) The comparatively high morality of the natives, among whom theft, murder, infanticide, lying, divorce and desertion are extremely rare, shows that we are dealing with an ethical God, not a mere nature-power. And this suggests that a supreme Person is in some sense the guardian of the moral law, which finds its expression in certain crude, though fairly dignified ceremonies.

⁷ Skeat, II. 89ff. 95ff. (Senoi-ritual).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(B, 1) ANDAMANESE RITE

For the Mincopis of the Andaman Islands our sources are not so explicit, but the following practices seem to be well authenticated:—

(1) *Birth*:—The ceremonies so far reported include those of Purification, Naming, and Anointing. As to the “lustration” with cold water, there is no evidence that it is more than a purely medical rite, a physical ablution. The “naming” on the other hand seems to be a more solemn occasion. “When there is reason to expect an increase in the family, the parents decide what name the child shall bear. As a compliment they not unfrequently select one which is borne by a relative, friend, or chief, and since all their proper names are common to both sexes, no difficulty arises on this score”. The cherishing of the birth- or family-name as sacred points at least to a parental or family feeling. At the same time the infant’s head is shaved and its face and body anointed with *white clay*, and though infant mortality is high, it is said to be due to excessive caressing,—infanticide being apparently unknown.¹

(2) *Initiation*:—The fasting period forms a moral endurance-test during which delicacies only are taboo. It lasts from one to five years during puberty, and is divided into three periods: (1) Turtle-fast, (2) Honey-fast, (3) Pork-fast. It is obligatory for boys and girls alike. At the “breaking” of these fasts the headman restores the foods to the candidate, and anoints him with the grease, the honey, or the fat respectively. His female relatives then visit him, shed tears because he has now become a “man”, and after a wild dance with his comrades, the boy is declared initiated. For girls the ceremony is in all respects similar, except that on this occasion she receives her “flower-name”. Silence is strictly observed during the fasts, which are followed by sanitary ablutions.²

(3) *Fruit-Sacrifice*:—This is one of the few regions where the pure, unbloody offering is exclusively in vogue, and demonstrably of divine origin. The “Great Abstinence” was instituted by *Puluga* in the Garden of Eden, and consists in the offering up of certain fruits, seeds, and yams during the first half of the rainy-season, in default of which *Puluga* will send another deluge(!). As the Thunder-God is said to live off these fruits during the same period, they acquire a sacred if not a semi-divine character. We have no clear information as to the nature and species of these trees, but as the entire practice is so closely analogous to the Malakkan Love-Plant and Coconut taboos, we may conjecture that here too they have similar powers. In any case, it is worth noting that no form of animal or human sacrifice are known to the natives, and that their highest religious action consists in giving back to the Creator that which they deem most precious,—the first and best products of nature,—these being finally consumed as an act of thanksgiving.³

¹ Man, Andaman Islands, 18, 60, 114. ² Idem. 61-67. ³ Idem. 85, 96.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

ANDAMANESE RITE

(4) *Medicine*:—The sick, whether physical or moral, are treated with great attention. A bed of leaves is made, and the patient is rubbed with the leaves, and then anointed with liquid clay and red ochre, the former being also administered as a potion. When the pains are particularly severe, the *chauga-ta* or “Bone Necklace” is applied. “Every attention is paid to the wants and wishes of the sick, and friends do all in their power to effect recovery, but no other charms are employed in the hope of averting or curing illness. After recovery no ceremonies of purification take place”.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—Tribal headman and medicine-man are for the most part identical offices, the dignity generally passing from father to son. Though justice is commonly administered by the aggrieved parties themselves, he is the normal center of authority, and conducts the principal religious functions. Except for a special form of body paint, he wears no distinctive dress. As to the so-called “dreamers”, they are a professional body of fortune-tellers, who are credited with “second sight” and other praeternatural powers, but, though much sought after, their office is transitory.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—Parents have the power of betrothing their children in infancy, and the contract is regarded as binding. Premarital continence appears to be rare, but when once married the union is regarded as permanent, divorce and infidelity being almost unknown. There is no strong rule of exogamy. All marriages must be contracted in presence of the officiating headman with lighted torches, who pronounces them duly married,—all other unions being regarded as irregular and to some extent shameful. Second marriages are allowed, but chaste single life is looked up to.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—At death the body is painted, shaved, or anointed with clay, and the limbs are folded. After blowing on the face three times as a last “farewell”, the relatives consign the body to the grave in a sitting posture, (the foetal state), and facing the east, (paradise). Sometimes a platform is used, but very few trinkets are supplied. The mourning and abstinence period lasts three months, after which the skeleton is exhumed, cleaned with water, and the bones converted into a “necklace” as a family relic.⁷

Taking them all together, these rites are both dignified and suggestive. It is a point in favor of their religious character that most of these practices are believed to have been instituted by *Puluga* himself in the days of man’s innocence, even the paint coming from his “celestial” hands.⁸

⁴ Man, 1. c. 16-20. ⁵ Idem, 28, 40. ⁶ Idem, 58-73 (Relationship). ⁷ Idem, 73-79. ⁸ Idem, 113.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(B, 2) SINHALESE-VEDDA RITE

(1) *Birth*:—"The pains and danger of childbirth are so well recognised by the Veddas that a special ceremony is performed by the wilder Veddas, and a prayer offered for the safety of the young mother. We were assured at Sitala Wanniya that if this ceremony were omitted, the mother and child would die". After a ceremonial dance around a bunch of tree-bast, the shaman takes the bast which has become possessed by the *yaku*, and brushes it over the face and body of the mother, uttering the following prayer:—

"*Ane! maye daruwata kisi antar- "Ane! May no harm happen to my
awak wenda apa me wara. child this time. May you per-
Goda yanta denda onae". mit her to escape".*

This invocation is addressed to the *Pata Yaku*, or Tree-Bark spirit, which under the great *Yaka* watches over the birth of the child. At the same time rice and coconut are offered to the *yaku*, and then eaten by the community. Apart from the naming of the child as *tuta* or *tuti*, "boy" or "girl", and the usual (sanitary) ablutions, no further ceremony is practiced.¹

(2) *Initiation*:—We have no information of puberty-rites beyond the probable assumption of the full name, and the moral instruction of the parents. Some have a river-ablution, but painting and tattoing are unknown.²

(3) *Unbloody Sacrifice*:—The *Kirikoraha* ceremony is thus performed:—

(a) Cooked foods are offered to *Kande Yaka* and *Bilindi Yaka*, during which the shaman prays to the Great *Yaka* as follows:—³

"*Kandaka sita kandakata yanna "King of the hills, who continues
yana kandu nirindu waesi to go from hill to hill, Cause rain!
wasinnaw. Me kanda pita yanna It is the Great Master, on the crest
yanna me kande mul pola Wan- of the hill, who comes unto this
niyayi". hill".*

"*Ayibohowa, ayibohowa! Kande "Long life! Long life! to the Great
Wanniyata! Adat man me oppu Master! Today, grant your
karadena ru adukkawata tamun- divine favor to this beautifully
nansela . . . Atin alla di imun- cooked offering . . . May it seem
eta wedimune awu karawa denda good to you to arrange them at
yahapoti. the point of the arrow, and to
Ayibohowa, Ayibohowa! give them to us.
Long Life! Long Life!*

(b) The sacrificial bowl, *kirikoraha*, is then placed on a tripod, and the shaman raises the sacred coconut with the arrow, during which they are incensed with a resin-stick, at the same time repeating the above formula. "For thus would *Kande-Yaka* smell the incense, and be pleased."

¹ Seligman, *The Veddas*, 102, 251. ² *Idem*, 94. ³ *Idem*, 218-223, 284-286, (with plates).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

SINHALESE-VEDDA RITE

(c) After a ceremonial dance the shaman intones the prayer to *Bilindi-Yaka*, the martyred "brother" of the Great Spirit, accompanied by a similar dance:—

"*Tandana, tanina, tana, tandena!*
Tanana, tanina, tanina!
Appuga wayasat boso awiridi
naeti, sat awuruddayi pasu une.
Sat awuruddetta edde wela gos e
ran Bandara, Samine! (Tandana,
etc.).
 "Appusamita wiyapu kacciya pi-
 yun dasayi, Samine. Appusamita
 wiyapu putuwe piyun dasayi, Sa-
 mine (Tandana, etc.).

"*Tandana, tanina, tana, tandena!*
Tanana, tanina, tanina! (exclama-
 tions).

"The age of the Chief's son was not
 many years, seven years had gone
 by. Seven years had gone, and he
 became the Forest Chief, O Lord!"
 (Tandana, etc.)

"There were a thousand flowers on
 the cloth woven for the chief's son,
 O Lord! There were a thousand
 flowers on the seat plaited for the
 chief's son, O Lord! (Tan-
 dana, etc.)

The hymn goes on to ask the question: "Through what fear of solitude did you kill your own younger brother born of the same mother, you great Artificer?" This is taken to refer to the legend that Kande Yaka had killed his younger brother Bilindi because he felt lonely as a yaka and yearned for his company (!). The moral is not clear, but a martyred god seems to be referred to.

(d) The shaman now becomes possessed with the divine spirit, he strikes the coconut with the ceremonial arrow, and *breaks it in half*, letting the water fall into the *kirikoraha*. The attendants then scrape the meat of the coconut with the arrow to make the milk, which, with a few leaves from the betel palm, are likewise placed in the *kirikoraha*. The shaman now inspects the milk, lets it run through his fingers, and then sprinkles it over the worshippers, either singly or collectively.

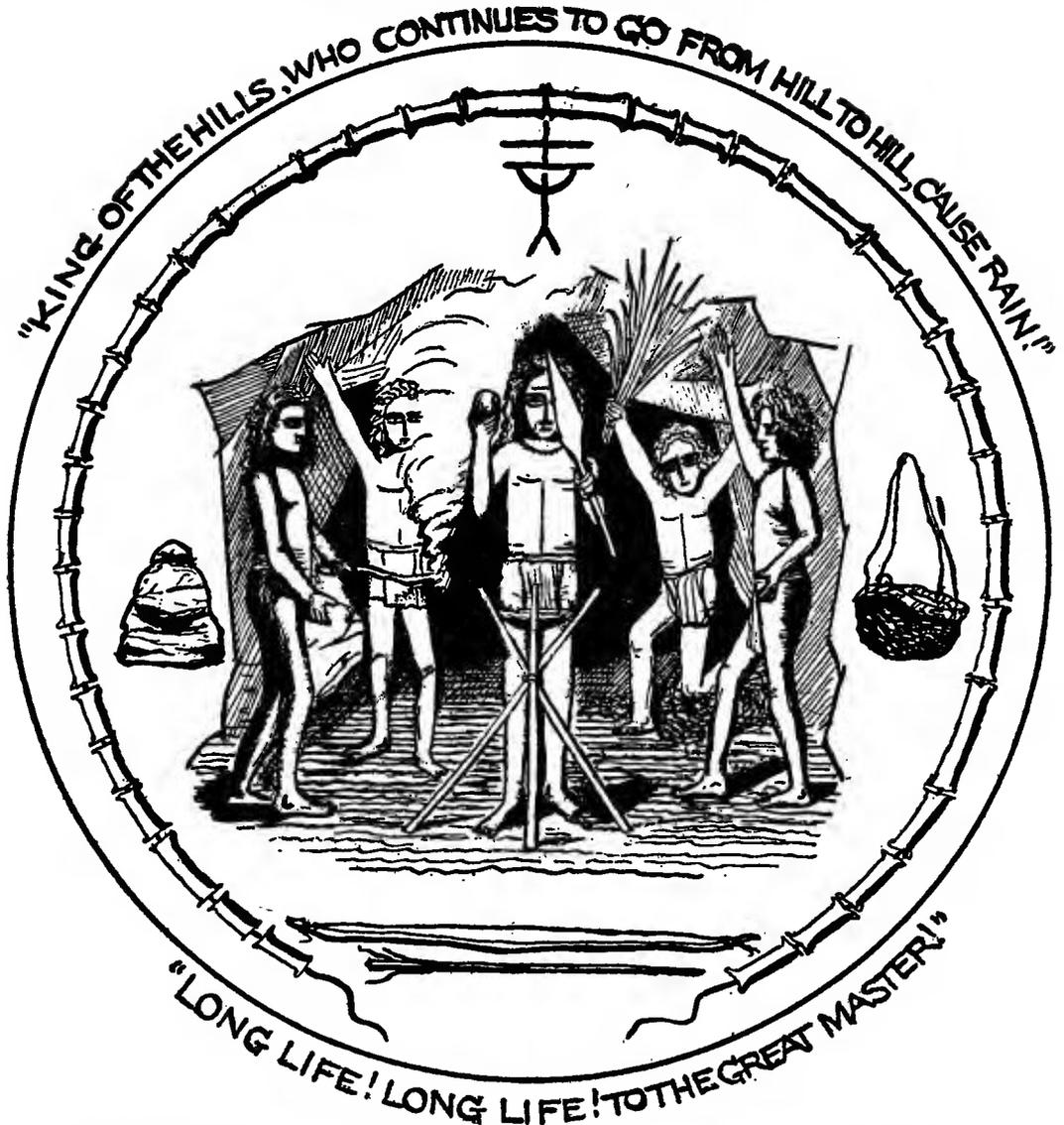
(e) After another mimic dance, with bow and arrow, he places the milk-bowl on the ground, and spins it, the final position of the bowl being prophetic, its dip indicating the region of good hunting. *All then partake of the coconut-milk*,—men, women, and children—, and the ceremony is concluded.

In the interpretation of this rite, it is important to distinguish the theistic from the shaministic and magical elements. We have already intimated that there are traits in the character and in the cult of the supreme *Yaka*, which seem to be the relics of a former age of All-Father worship. But though the Great Yaka is believed to be actually operating in the sacred coconut, it is only the surprisingly high morality of the natives and their dependence on Him, that can save ceremony from being a mere "hunt-charm."

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE
(SINHALESE RITE)

THE COCONUT-OFFERING

KANDAKA SITA KANDAKATA YANNA YANNA
KANDU NIRINDU WAESI WASINNAW
AYIBOHOWA! AYIBOHOWA! KANDE WANNIYATA!



THE DUGGANAVA RAISES THE COCONUT, WHILE THE ASSISTANT CENSES THE OFFERING WITH THE RESIN-STICK, "FOR THUS WOULD KANDE-YAKA SMELL THE INCENSE AND BE PLEASED"

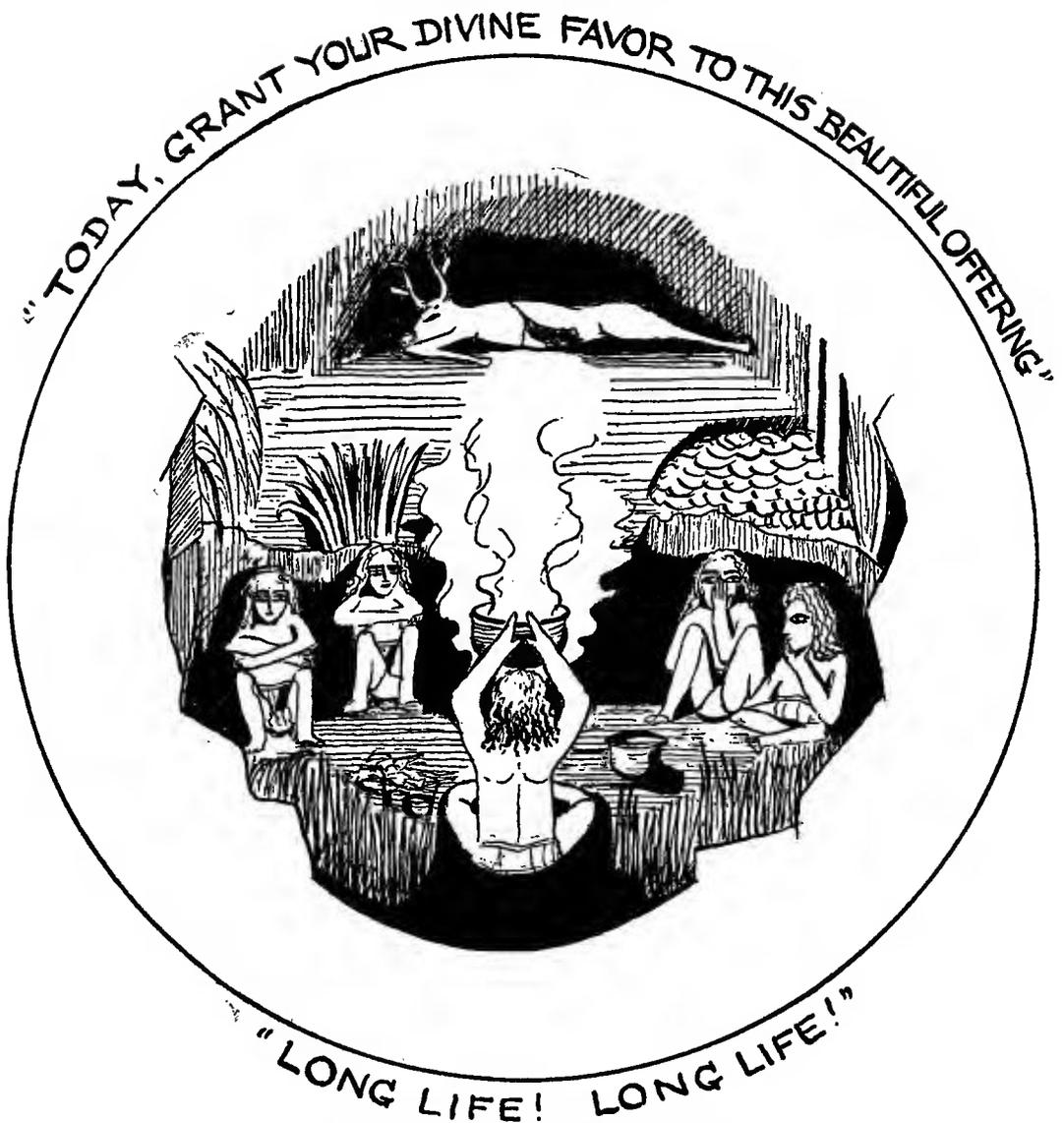
SEMI-SHAMINISTIC CEREMONY OF THE HENNEBEDDA TRIBES INTENDED PRIMARILY FOR A SUCCESSFUL HUNT. NOTICE THE TRIPOD, WITH THE MILK-BOWL,—KIRIKORAHA—, THE AUDE, OR CEREMONIAL ARROW, THE COCONUT AND RESIN-STICK, THE ACCOMPANYING BETEL-POUCH OF MONKEY SKIN, THE HONEY-BASKET, THE MIMIC BOW AND ARROW, THE BONE-BEADS, AND THE HIEROGLYPH FOR THE 'CELESTIAL ARCHER' MATERIALS FOUNDED ON C. G. SELIGMAN, THE VEDDAS, (CAMBRIDGE, 1911), PL. XXIX, LVII, LXV, LXVII, AND FIG. 10. INVOCATIONS, IBID. PP. 284, 288.

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE

(SINHALESE RITE)

THE DEER SACRIFICE

ADAT MAN ME OPPU KARADENA
BU ADUKKAWATA TAMUNMASELA.
AYIBOHOWA! AYIBOHOWA!



THE DUGGANAVA OFFERS THE COOKED FOOD OF SAMBAR
DEER AND BOILED RICE

THANKSGIVING-CEREMONY OF THE FOREST-VEDDAS FOR PROPITIATING THE "GREAT SPIRIT,"—KANDE YAKA—,FREQUENTLY COMBINED WITH THE FOREGOING, BUT IN ITSELF AN INDEPENDENT RITE.

COMPARE C. G. SELIGMAN, THE VEDDAS, (CAMBRIDGE, 1911), PP. 220, 286, FOR DEDICATIONS, INVOCATIONS, AND RITUALISTIC ACTS.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

SINHALESE-VEDDA RITE

(3, b) *Bloody Sacrifice*:—Compared with the coconut-offerings the animal rites are of secondary importance. Sambar Deer is the chief commodity of this character, and portions of the flesh are occasionally mixed with the other ingredients to make up the "cooked foods" that are offered to the *yaku* at the commencement. This is really a separate ceremony, though frequently combined with the preceding. (See 3, a).

It should also be added that nearly all the sacrificial observances are accompanied by an *abstinence from flesh-meat* until the ceremony is over, more rigorous taboos being observed on special occasions.

(4) *Exorcism*:—Sickness is universally attributed to the influence of evil spirits, as "*Kande Yaka* would never be suspected of sending sickness," for which purpose they have the following invocation for the "discernment of spirits" which is addressed to Him as the author of truth:—

"*Kande Wanniya boru pena at-haera leda kala yaka mata ada ahu karawanda onae.*"

"*Great Master! Having laid aside false soothsaying, you must cause me to seize today the yaka who caused the sickness.*"

It is significant that these yakas are mostly foreign spirits, generally Sinhalese demons, *Raru, Riri, Pata-Yaku*, which tends to show that their demonology is for the most part imported. It is the shaman who conducts the exorcism by brushing the patient with bunches of tree-bast and propitiating the demon with an offering of rice and coconut, as stated, (1).⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—Although we have used the word "shaman" to designate the officiating headman at these functions, it is clear that the Hindoo term cannot be applied with full propriety to the simple family "doctor" who figures as the mouthpiece of the Great Yaka. He does not belong to a professional caste, but is commonly the father of some talented family, who frequently trains his own son to succeed him, offering the following prayer:—

"*Ayu bowal Mama ada sita man golayek hadanawa eyin kisi warandak ganda epa. Mage golayata man kiya denawa me puda topata denda.*"

"*May your life be long! From today I am training a scholar of the mind. Do not take offence at it. I am explaining to my pupil how to make this offering.*"

This is evidently a friendly yaka who is invoked as the family protector. From the intimate relations of father and son, it is clear that this *dugganava*, as he is called, is also the guardian of the moral conscience, the center of spiritual authority, a kind of adviser. Fowl and pigs flesh are forbidden to him, and his long locks of hair must never be cut.⁵

⁴ Seligman, 290. ⁵ Idem, 128-130.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

SINHALESE-VEDDA RITE

(6) *Matrimony*:—Children are frequently betrothed in infancy by their parents, the rule of exogamy obliging them no further than to marry as a rule their first cousins, a somewhat close relation. Marriage takes place at an early age, sometimes before puberty, but prenuptial connexions are “strongly disapproved”, the guilty parties risking their lives. The man presents his bride with honey and other delicacies, and in presence of her father (whose approval must be secured) she places a cord around the waist of her intended husband, gives him at times a lock of her hair,—and they are declared man and wife. *This contract is binding for life, “anything like a formal divorce is unknown”*. “Their constancy to their wives is a very remarkable trait in their character . . . and infidelity whether in the husband or the wife, appears to be unknown, and I was very careful in my inquiries on this subject” (Bailey). Contrary to the ideas of the Sinhalese, women are not regarded as unclean, they are in every respect the equals of the men, though descent is for the most part patrilineal.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—Death-ceremonies are of the simplest. The body is left in the cave or rockshelter in which death took place, and without any further ceremony is reverently covered with leaves and branches, the grave being after a time revisited. In no other region is there such a “cult of the dead”, or such a strong feeling of intercommunion:—⁷

“Ayu bowa! Ayu bowa! Nae kottaewe nae senawa. Hudu hamba welata adagaha dunna kaewa bunna. Kisi waradak sitanna epa, apit kanawa bonawa”.

“E lowa giya ape appa me lowa waro! Depatullan ano kalapin! Huda mangacapawu! Ammalaye aetto hudata mangaccapawu!”

“Salutation! Salutation! Our relatives! Our relatives! Calling you at the right time, we gave you samba rice to eat and drink. Do not think evil. We also eat and drink”. “Our father who went to that world. Come to this world! Take the rice! Come quickly, come very quickly, come to my mother’s people!”

To repeat,—the religious interpretation of these prayers and ceremonies must depend upon the estimate we form of the quondam Father-God. The fact that he is now little more than a “Mighty Hunter” must be counter-balanced by the *intense consciousness* of a benignant Power in their midst who is the source of their ritual and their morality. Spirit-worship fades away where, according our best authorities, “magic plays such a slight part in their lives”.⁸

⁶ Seligman, 33, 76, 87, 96, 334. ⁷ Idem, 122, 275-276. ⁸ Idem, 190.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(C) PHILIPPINE RITE

The following practices are reported for the Zambal-Aetas, though they may doubtless be verified over a larger area:—

(1) *Birth*:—According to Montano, immediately after the birth of a child the mother rushes to a river with it and plunges it into cold water. This is partly verified by Reed, who states however that several days usually elapse before the ablution (or purification?) takes place. The naming is done by the parents, or by the elders or headmen of the community, the name being taken from any conspicuous object, such as "Guijo-Tree", but more commonly the child inherits the father's name, which is rarely changed, unless the child gives indications, by repeated screams, that he is possessed by the evil spirit. The prefix *Pan*-distinguishes father from son or daughter.¹

(2) *Initiation*:—Little is known of manhood-ceremonies, but clearly some such rite is implied in the custom of *filig the teeth* and the use of the *magic comb* and other amulets, which are hardly infant practices. *Scarification*, partly for sanitary purposes, is also in vogue, but in no case has any form of painting or tattooing been reported.²

(3) *Fruit-Sacrifice*:—It is worth noting that the only unbloody oblation of any importance is that tendered to the supreme *Anito*, when a banana, coconut, camote, or some other article of vegetable food is placed upon the sacred rock, with the hope of obtaining his aid and blessing. Unless this is done, misfortune or accident is believed to follow as a consequence. The rock serves as a primitive altar, upon which the oblation is made, and though we have no information of any formula used by the Zambales tribes, such a formula is found among the negritos of N. Luzon, when they exclaim:—

"Nisi ba-awak!" "This for Thee!"

That this is a special, not to say unique occasion, is proved by the firm persuasion which they have, that "the spirits of all who die enter this *one spirit* or "*Anito*", who has its abiding place in this rock, and that those who tamper with the rock or the banana will surely come to grief.

(3, b) *Animal Sacrifice*:—Minor spirits on the other hand receive a bloody offering. At the end of the deer-hunt, the headman takes a small part of the heart or entrails, and scatters them abroad with the following chant:—

<p><i>"Anite, beri ba-awak ma-buru baik! Nisi keping ba-awak!"</i></p>	<p><i>"Spirits, we thank you for a successful hunt. Here is your share of the spoils".</i></p>
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These spirits are not demons but deceased ancestors, which are believed to inhabit all places, and are evidently helpful or protecting genii.³

¹ Reed, Negritos of Zambales, 55. ² Idem, 36. ³ Idem, 48, 65. Comp. p. 21 supra.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

PHILIPPINE RITE

(4) *Exorcism*:—"Disease is usually considered the punishment for wrong-doing, the more serious diseases coming from the supreme *Anito*, the lesser ones from the lesser *anitos*". This is a variation from the usual assignment of sickness to the evil spirits. Exorcism is accomplished by "magic" dances, hand-manipulations, etc. during which the afflicting spirit passes from the patient to the medicine man, which is in turn expelled by "rubbing". Bamboos, berry-necklaces, and magic combs are also applied, and for the more serious diseases the sufferer is laid on a bed of leaves, and the leaves bound to the affected parts, which are thus believed to "cool" the fever. Bleeding or blistering the body will also expel the sickness. Small-pox cases are isolated, but the patient is supplied with water and food for recovery. This disease is sent directly by the great *Anito* as a corrective.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—The healer is known as the *manga-anito*, or "spirit-eater", from the fact that he expels the evil spirits or placates the good ones by the consumption of the foods in which they are believed to reside. Here also it is commonly the father of the family who acts as the doctor, though there are others that seem to belong to a medical "class" and to exact high fees for their services. The profession is respected but dangerous, as *mangas* have been known to be killed for failing to effect a cure.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—A man may take any woman to wife, except that "marriage between blood-relatives is forbidden". The free consent of the parties as well as the parents is required. Bridal purchase exists only among the more advanced tribes, the Zambales and Bataan Negritos contenting themselves with simple love-presents. After a rice-ceremony, during which the couple administer small quantities of boiled rice to each other, they are regarded as married. Though polygamy is allowed in negrito territory, a single union is the more common, and divorce and desertion appear to be rare. Death or a heavy fine is the penalty for theft, murder and adultery.

"Eno haye hay èe!" *"Praise to the Supreme Being, our Maker!"*

Such is the prayer chanted by the Alabat Aetas at weddings.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—In the disposal of the dead we meet with the same simplicity and dignity as in the preceding instances. The body is wrapt in a mat, and either consigned to the earth, or placed in the hollow of a tree. According to some authorities, the relatives gather around the grave of the deceased, and sing a mournful dirge. In no case are the ancestor-spirits forgotten.⁷

⁴ Reed, 1. c. 65-67. ⁵ Idem, 66. ⁶ Idem, 56, 60-63. Comp. p. 21 supra. ⁷ Idem, 61.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(D) BORNEAN RITE

The practices here reported refer primarily to the Bakatan Dayaks (Orang Ukit), and to the Kenyahs, Kayans, and Kalamantans, etc. whenever stated:—

(1) *Birth*:—According to Schwaner the Orang-Ott women (Bakatan) have an easy and quick confinement. As soon as the child is born the mother is placed over a bed of burning embers to dry up the humors and arrest the flooding,—a primitive medical treatment. The following day she is already carrying about her child, wrapt in a piece of tree-bark! Apart from the usual ablutions, no other ceremony is reported. "They have large families, from 7 to 10 children", says Dr. Hose, which argues against the practice of infanticide. Low also testifies that "among the Dayaks (in general) wilful miscarriage is never resorted to", and a high government official says that "the practice of infanticide is rarely heard of, but the contact with the Malays has much increased it in some tribes" (sic). All agree that children are well treated.

It is here that we meet for the first time the institution known as the "Couvade". "If a Land-Dayak's wife be with child, he must strike nothing, never tie things tight, nor do any household work with his parang, or some deadly harm will happen to his unborn offspring. *At birth the husband is confined to his house for eight days, and obliged to stay his appetite with rice and salt only.* For a month, moreover, he may not go out at night, unless he wishes his infant to cry continually during his absence". (Chalmers). This practice is attested by Brooke, Leggatt, and St. John, and seems to be fairly widespread, as Prof. Kükenthal observed the same custom among other wild men. St. John says that in addition "a fowl is killed, rice provided, and for two nights they howl and chant, during which the apartment is *pamali*, or "interdicted". This *taboo* or *mali* is carried to such an extreme that the husband is not allowed to look at the sun, or even to bathe, for four days. In case of danger the *manang* or medicine-man is called in, and he manipulates the mother with a loin-cloth, while the Kayans make use of a "birth-ring".

When the child is born, a fowl is sometimes killed and given to the parents and friends of the child to be eaten,—evidently as a thank-offering. The same bird is sacrificed when the child after three days receives its "baptism" of water in the river, that the *antu* or "spirit may protect him".

"*Antu mahappa! Seramat!*"

"*May Heaven save you!*"

Shaving the head and "naming",—*endun*, *anggat*, "boy" or "girl"—, are also practiced. As a purification-ceremony the mother and child are lifted up on a platform, while the *manangs* chant a hymn of thanksgiving to the *antu*.¹

¹ Sources in H. Ling-Roth, (Borneo), Vol. I, pp. 16, 97-107. Vol. II. p. CXCVI, CCX, Nieuwenhuis, Quer durch Borneo, Vol. I. p. 71, (for Kayan customs). Hose-McDougall, The Pagan Tribes of Borneo. Vol. II. 25, 185ff. (for Punan-Bakatan rites).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

BORNEAN RITE

(2) *Initiation*.—We have no information as yet of any puberty-rites as practiced by the wilder tribes. It is next to certain, however, that some initiation to manhood in the shape of a moral instruction, with or without an ear-boring ceremony, must, in view of the close relation of father and child and the comparatively high ethical code, be admitted to occur among them. This might be expressed by three promises,—

"Laki, lashi, lanaki!" *"Be brave, be generous, be true!"*

Very probably some external mark or unguent is administered to the neophyte by analogy with other primitive tribes, but neither scarification nor tattooing in any form has so far been noticed among them, the few cases reported being undoubted exceptions, due to foreign contact.

For it is precisely among the more advanced Kayans and Sea-Dayaks, that the body-paint and the full needle-tattoo, sometimes beautifully executed, are more or less universal. Moreover the Kayans practice a kind of circumcision-rite, with perforation of the urethra, hair-shaving, etc. which, with their sculptured poles, platform-graves, etc. reveals some contact with the totem-culture. Ordeals with wax-tapers, boiling water, burning resin, are also to be found, accompanied by such words as,—

"Berasap! Legajah!" *"Courage! Be strong!"*²

(3, a) *Fruit-Oblation*.—The most primitive sacrificial rite is undoubtedly that of the Punans or Bakatans, when the fruit or blossom of the Betel-palm is offered to the Sky-Father, or exposed in high places.

<p><i>"A-Balingo-Ama-ka - Bali - Penyalong. Bali Dayong usun lasan Urip ulun kam kelunan Nini ketai natong tawang Leman".</i></p>	<p><i>"Father above, Spirit-Father in Heaven! O holy Dayong, thou who lovest mankind, Bring back thy servant from Leman, The land between life and death!"</i></p>
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Such are a few of the invocations by which the supreme Being is addressed in these regions, the form *Bali-Penya-long* being certified for the Bakatans precisely on this occasion, while the expression *Bali-Dayong* shows, according to Dr. Hose, "that the whole is addressed to some superior power, for no human dayong, and indeed no human being, is addressed or spoken of under the title *Bali*". The use of palms, bamboos, and resin-sticks shows that the ceremony is a solemn moment, it is the heavenly *dayong* or "medicine-man" that is here asked to "*call back the wandering soul of the sufferer*", to deliver them from the snares of the crocodile, an animal which they detest, and to operate His cures by means of His sacred "flower",—evidently in part an exorcism-rite, symbolising the triumph of life over death,—a singularly beautiful and suggestive ritual. I give a reconstruction of this rite, based upon the combined practices of all the aborigines rather than upon the fragmentary reports that have reached us of this or that individual area.³

² Ling-Roth, II. 90, CXCVI. Nieuwenhuis, l. c. I. 78-79. Hose-McDougall, Pagan Tribes, I. 245. II. 168, 185. ³ Hose-McDougall, in J. A. I. XXXI. 196. Pagan Tribes, II. 113, 120, 131, 184-190. (Plant taboos, Bayoh-ceremonies, Charm-bamboos, Flower-magic, etc.)

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE

(BORNEAN RITE)

THE PALM-OFFERING

BALI DAYONG USUN LASAN URIP ULUN KAM KELUNAN
NINI KETAI NATONO TAWANG LEMAN!



THE PENGLIMA RAISES THE MYSTIC BLOSSOM

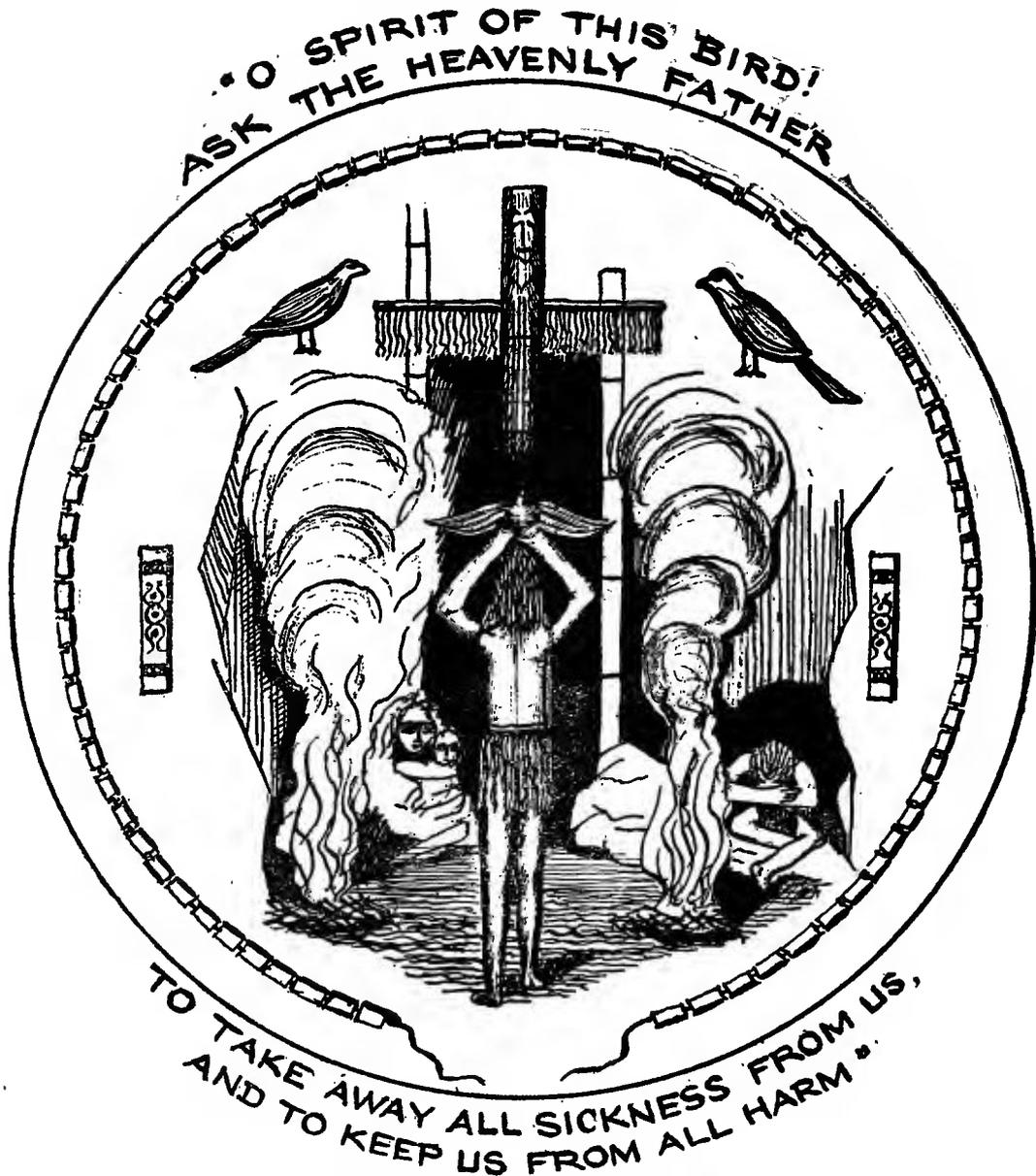
OBLATION AND EXORCISM-RITE OF THE UKITS OR BAKATANS TO "CALL-BACK THE WANDERING SOUL OF THE SUFFERER", SHOWING PALMS, BAMBOOS, MAGIC CRYSTALS, AND BESIN-STICKS, BAMBOO CROSS, OIL AND WATER-CRUETS, AND WOODEN CROCODILE, BAMBOO HARP, BEED- OR BATTAN-DIADEM, AND SHELL-NECKLACE. (SEE HOSE-McDOUGALL, THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO (1912). VOL. II. PP. 113, 120, 131, 184-190, FOR "BAYOH" CEREMONIES, FLOWER-MAGIC, ETC.)

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE

(BORNEAN RITE)

THE BIRD-SACRIFICE

ANE! BALI-FLAKI! MINTA BALI PENYA-LONG AMBIL
MAN-ITA LIM-PEAH, AMBIL MAN-ITA LIM-PANTANG!



THE TAMA-BULAN OFFERS THE OMEN-BIRD

SACRIFICIAL CEREMONY OF THE KENYAHS, KAYANS, AND OTHERS. ILLUSTRATING THE SUPREMACY OF THE ALL-FATHER NOTION IN THE MINDS OF THE NATIVES, THE BIRD BEING A SIMPLE MEDIATOR BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH. (SEE HOSE-McDOUGALL, THE PAGAN TRIBES OF BORNEO (1912), VOL. II, P. 51-53, AND COMPARE IDEM, IN THE JOURNAL OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, VOL. XXXI (1901), P. 175ff).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

BORNEAN RITE

(3b) *Blood-Sacrifice*.—Affinities with Malakka are brought into still bolder relief by the Blood-throwing ceremony, which is thus performed by the Kenyas, and possibly in simpler form by the Bakatans:—

Tama Bulan, (the "high priest" of the Kenyas), takes his stand before two sculptured "totem"-poles, representing the Sky-Father,—*Balli-Penyalong*. He holds a small bamboo vessel in his left hand, and with a frayed stick in his right hand *sprinkles some of the water on the poles*, all the time looking up into the face of the deity and rapidly repeating a set form of words. Presently he takes a *fowl*, snips off its head, and *sprinkles its blood upon the pole*, repeating the ceremony several times. He does the same with a young *pig*, and with the same formula. Finally he takes the Omen-bird,—here the Hawk—, offers it up, and sprinkles the worshippers with the blood of the bird, chanting the following prayer:—

"*Ane! Bali Flaki! Minta Bali-Penyalong ambil man-ita lim-prah. Ambil man-ita lim pantang!*"

"*O spirit of this bird! Ask the Heavenly Father to take away all sickness from us and to keep us from all harm!*"

The purpose of the ritual fires is here explained. "The Kenyas seem to feel that the purpose of fire is to carry up the prayer to heaven by means of *ascending flame and smoke*, in somewhat the same way as the tall pole facilitates communion with *Bali Penyalong*, for they conceive him as dwelling somewhere above the earth". As to the omen bird, he is a mere "messenger or mediator" between themselves and the Sky-Father.

Members of the "Blood Brotherhood" commonly draw a little of each others blood with a bamboo knife, and either drink or smoke it in a cigarette as a mark of friendship or self-sacrifice. This may originally have been a blood-throwing ceremony, though there is no direct proof.

The Kayan ritual is complicated, but essentially the same in meaning. Here "Father Neho", the Hawk, is the messenger of "Grandfather Tenangan", a hen or a pig is slaughtered, and an egg offered to him as follows:—

"*Ina ta-ika koman! Kna-ang mitang kigan Laki Tenangan, noti murip sayang, noti malaka anaki pa-halan murip marong!*"

"*This is for thee to eat! Carry my message directly to Grandfather Tenangan, that I may become well, and may train my children in the path of right living*".

It should be added that portions of these offerings are quite often consumed; but that cannibalism and human sacrifice are unknown to the "wild men", the evidence on this subject being fairly strong. "We affirm with some confidence that none of the peoples of Borneo ever consume human flesh as food" (Hose); "the Bakatans are not cannibals" (Brooke). This, however, cannot apply to the more advanced tribes, among whom such practices, however rare and exceptional, have undoubtedly occurred.⁸

⁸ Hose in J. A. I. XXXI. 175ff. Pagan Tribes, II. 6-18, I. 175. Ling-Roth, I. 16-17. II. 217. (Evidence against cannibalism).

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

BORNEAN RITE

(3, c) *Mixed Sacrifice*:—Cases in which animal and vegetable products are offered simultaneously may be found in the Kayan custom of wrapping these foodstuffs,—maize, rice, pigsflesh, etc.—in banana-leaves, and offering them to the *To Antu*, or “Great Spirit”, who as *Amei*, *Tamei*, *Amaka*, is clearly designated as the universal “Father” above. For liquid offerings bamboo cylinders are used, into which the blood or water are poured and then thrown up or sprinkled over the worshippers with the same or very similar ceremonies as those described above.

As to the type of sacrifice recorded on the magic “Palanka”, I have not been able to identify the tribe known as *Oloh Ngadjo* among whom it is said to be practiced unless it is a branch of the numerous *Uluh-Ayer*, or “River Head Men”, which I take it to be. In any case I have ventured the following interpretation of the pictographs as they appear on the tablet:—

<p>“<i>Asha! Tabu! Abu! Tabu! Asha! Aka! - Beri - Semba - Beri - Aka! Antu-Asha-Bruwa-Asha - Antu! Ta-buah ampak, kapala, balang- long, etc”.</i></p>	<p><i>“Light and blessing from the Father above. May he accept our offerings! May he cure us by his fire-spirits! May he bring salva- tion upon our household!”</i></p>
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Grabowsky says in a general way that these votive tablets are hung up in high places, e. g. the roof of the house, in order to placate the Air or Wind Spirit, (*Luftgeist*), one of the numerous *antus* which are under the Great-Spirit, and to procure relief from mental troubles (*Geisteskrankheiten*). But he interprets the gifts as referring to knives, drums, earrings, and head-ornaments, while the mannikin is said to be the “soul” of the sufferer. That these are secondary and not primary meanings, is suggested by the following considerations:—

(1) The alleged knife-symbol is also a very old ideograph for palm-blossom, magic fruit, fire-stick, and so for light or fire-spirit in general. Compare the Malakkan light-symbol and the tree of life signs throughout the primitive belt. This was evidently the first meaning, before the glittering sword, (of far later ages), had been used to express the same idea.

(2) The crossed circles were originally *tabu*-signs, the diagrams representing the Mystic Flower, or Love-Plant, etc. the source of good fortune, immortality. The magic drum of later times stood for the same notion.

(3) The chief mannikin is clearly a development of the All-Father sign, admittedly supreme. With these corrections the tablet will speak for itself, though the interpretations given are in no sense final.³

And this may serve as the occasion for calling attention to the essentially tentative and provisional nature of much of our paraphrase. While most of these prayers are directly attested, some in the vernacular, their Malayan equivalents are often supplied, and the above is merely an ingenious attempt to read a more definite meaning into a very obscure cryptogram.

³ Nieuwenhuis, l. c. I. 116-119 (Kayans). Grabowski, Intern. Archif f. Ethnogr. Vol. I. p. 130. (Palanka Sacrifice)

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

BORNEAN RITE

(4) *Expiation*:—The most primitive exorcism-rite is again that of the Orang Ukit, in which the Palm-blossom is believed to “call back the wandering soul of the sufferer” by its very presence, with the invocation:—

“*Bali-Dayong usun lasan*” “*O holy Dayong, thou who lovest mankind*”

Prof. Kükenthal also mentions a kind of ointment as used by the wilder tribes, and which appears to consist of clay, ape's hair, weeds, etc. while the Punans apply the palm-branch and the magic crystal to expel the disease. It is to be remarked that more than one writer has been struck by the healthy physique of the aborigines, who “enjoy a complete immunity from skin-diseases”, which goes to show that their standard of living must be fairly decent. The care of the mother during confinement tends in the same direction.

From the practices of the Kenyas, Kayans, and others, we may also infer, that a *sprinkling with blood and water* is part of the rite, as it is certain that the ceremonies under (3) are in part purgative, they are intended primarily for the sick. Here however the Hawk is all-important:—

“*Ane! Bali Flaki!*” etc. “*O spirit of this bird!*” etc.

This applies also to the Palanka-rite (3, c), though no details are given:—

“*Asha, Tabu, Asha!*” “*Light and Blessing*”, etc. (above)

In fact we cannot but be struck by the prominence of ceremonies for physical or mental healing, which in view of the comparatively high morality of the natives and their apparently strong consciousness of a supernatural power, must be pronounced as a sign favorable to their religious character. Where a specific works, it cannot be of demoniacal origin.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—As to the minister at these functions, we have the same gradation as in the previous instances. Schwaner testifies that among the Orang Ott *the paterfamilias is at the same time the family chief*, and the exceedingly loose nomadic life of these tribes makes it equally probable that father and medicine-man are identical terms, (*Peng, Pengulu, Peny*, etc.)

“*Penglima-Dayong! Shembayang!*” “*Father-Master! All Hail!*”

With the more advanced tribes it is different. Among the Kayans headman medicine-man are separate offices, these *manangs* belonging to a professional class, (Comp. the *mangas* of the Philippines). Finally the *Tama Bulan*, or “High Priest” clearly supposes an elaborate organisation of diviners, sooth sayers, etc. which are conspicuously absent in the lowest belt. All this confirms our previous findings that among the least civilised peoples the paternal authority of the father makes him *ipso facto* the “high priest”.⁵

⁴ Comp. Ling-Roth, I. 16. II. CCX. Also I. 259ff. (for general Medicine). Hose-McDougall, Pagan Tribes, I. c. supra and II. 190 (for Punan rites). ⁵ Schwaner, apud Ling-Roth, II. CXCVI. Also I. 259. Nieuwenhuis, I. 59-60. Hose-McDougall, Pagan Tribes, II: 190.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

BORNEAN RITE

(6) *Matrimony*:—As a reaction against the reckless assertions of former times, it is now generally admitted that monogamy is the normal state among all these peoples, that multiple marriages and irregular unions are alike frowned upon.

We have little information of marriage rites among the lowest forest tribes beyond the statement that they have “large families” and are “kind to the women and children”,—two points that tell against infanticide and promiscuity. Among the Punans “marriage is for life” and is cemented by a religious offering:—

“*Bali Peny-long! Seramat!*” “*May Father in Heaven protect us!*”

Among the Kayans there is a good deal of freedom before nuptials, but once married their conduct is irreproachable. There is an equality of conjugal rights, and the position of women is high, some of them becoming priestesses. It is only by a few of the headman that polygamy is occasionally practiced.

For the Dayaks in general it may be said that local exogamy with tribal endogamy appears to be the rule. Marriage with first cousin or with deceased wife’s sister is very generally prohibited. As with other primitive peoples, they marry young, and betrothals and weddings are surrounded with appropriate ceremonies. On the day of the wedding a cigar and a betel-leaf are placed in the hands of the pair, and “one of the priests then waves two fowls over the heads of the couple, and in a long *address to the Supreme Being, calls down the blessing upon the pair, and implores that peace and happiness may attend the union*” (St. John). Though divorce and desertion are not unknown, adultery is a capital offence, punishable at times with death.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—The simplest form of disposal is that of the Bakatans, who either leave the body in the shelter or consign it to a hollow tree-stem, around which are hung mementos of all kinds, but no food-stuffs. This may be called a “living grave”, as the tree continues to grow and to sprout,—a beautiful custom.

“*Saya bukaiap, tana Leman!*” “*Happy journey to the land of Leman!*”

With the more civilised tribes we have everything from the platform-burial of the Kayans to the full cremation-rite of the western Land-Dayaks, an instructive example of progressive deterioration. Elaborate tombs, Soul-boats, and Jar-burial, all belong to a later wave of culture.⁷

To sum up, there are few regions where the belief in a supernatural Being or in supernatural beings appears to be so strong as here in Borneo. It colors the whole of the national or tribal life, and is vividly expressed in the ritual. But if our knowledge of the religious practices of the wild forest men is still disappointingly meagre, it can be supplied in part from the peninsular region,—for, in the words of Brooke, “many of their practices are like those of the Semangs or Jakuns of the interior or Malakka”.

⁶ Ling-Roth, I. 16, 108ff. Nieuwenhuis, I. 83-86. Hose-McDougall, Pagan Tribes, II. 183-184. ⁷ Ling-Roth, II. CXCVII. I. 135ff. Hose-McDougall, Pagan Tribes, II. 44, 45, 187.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(E) MELANESIAN RITE

(1) *Birth*.—The Couvade is strictly observed by most of the islanders, though with different degrees of completeness. In the Banks Islands both parents refrain from all foods that would endanger the life of the infant, the mother abstains from fish, and the father from heavy work for a month and he does not visit the sacred places for fear that the "child could not go there without risk" (?). In San Cristobal there is a regular "lying in" period after the birth, and in nearly all cases severe abstinences are enjoined. Ablutions, whether medical or ceremonial, are very general. In some cases a small sacrifice is made to the ancestor-spirit, in others there are prolonged festivities, with dancing, sham-fighting, etc. No naming ceremony has so far been reported.¹

(2) *Initiation*.—With the advent of puberty the boy is sent to the gamal, or club-house to sleep, for the parents say, "He is a boy, it is time to separate him from the girls". The nearest approach to an initiation-ceremony consists of a *toto*-sacrifice of purification, confinement to the men's house, instruction in the art of catching fish, and occasional circumcision with a sharp bamboo. It is preceded by a short moral instruction by the parents,—“he must not go under the women's bedplace, he must not consort with big boys who will teach him bad ways, he must be kept apart, lest he should fall, lest he should become low”. Initiation to the *Tamate*, or "Ghost Society", is a more advanced ritual, in which the candidate is compelled to fast, go unwashed for a month, walk through nettle-trees, take up burning embers, wallow in dung, and is finally adorned with the sacred *lano* of *Quat*,—a long conical hat, made of tree-bark, and inscribed with crosses, zigzags, and other emblems. As *Quat* is the quondam "Lord", this rite acquires a semi-religious aspect.²

(3) *Sacrifice*.—"The simplest and most common form of sacrifice is that of throwing a small portion of food to the dead. This is probably a universal practice in Melanesia". The offering may be anything from a yam to a young pig, and as the deity is invariably represented as a departed spirit, it is clear that in some cases this amounts to a quasi-religious oblation. First-fruit offerings are common in Florida, and in the Banks Islands food-stuffs and even money are offered to the *Great Vui*, or quondam Universal Spirit. "*This is for thee to eat!*"—such is the common formula on these occasions, and although the offering is frequently consumed in the fire and sometimes attended with cruel customs, it was only in the Solomon Islands that the sacrifice of human life became a regular institution.³

It will thus be sufficiently clear that in the more primitive Oceanic area the Sacrifice is confined to the offering up of fruits and animals, or extends at most to the feeding of the dead, the killing or eating of human beings being a practice of unquestionably later intrusion.

¹ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, 228. ² *Ibid.* 75ff. 231ff. ³ *Ibid.* 128ff.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

MELANESIAN RITE

(4) *Medicine* —“Any sickness that is serious is believed to be brought about by ghosts or spirits; common complaints, such as fever and ague are taken as coming in the course of nature”. The common treatment is to rub the patient with magic herbs, blow on the affected spots, apply fomentations and poultices of mallow leaves, and give him “holy water” to drink,—that is, water derived from the hollow of a sacred stone, which is believed to be endowed with *mana* by the protecting or offending *vui*. The formula on these occasions is simply, “*May he or she recover!*”⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—As nearly all the peoples of Melanesia are comparatively advanced, it is rare indeed to find the office of headman and medicine man united in the same person. More commonly it is a separate profession, carrying with it no small influence and revenue. In the Banks Islands, he is known as the *gismana*, and there are female doctors who drive away diseases by “blowing on the child’s eyes and calling the name of the attacking ghost”. Indeed, the entire religion consists of little else than the exorcism of evil spirits, which makes the exorciser a very prominent personality.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—Totemism and the Class-system have taken a firm hold in Melanesia, though there are isolated sections that seems to reflect a more primitive life. This means that in the majority of cases the husband is bound to take a woman of a different totem and of a different class, and this under the gravest penalties. As usual betrothals and marriages take place at an early age, and bridal gifts are not only expected, but frequently demanded. Once married, the tie is generally respected, the punishment for adultery being until recently the death sentence. In other respects, however, we note a decided degeneration. Polygamy and divorce are said to be common, and wife-loaning too frequent to constitute an exception.⁶

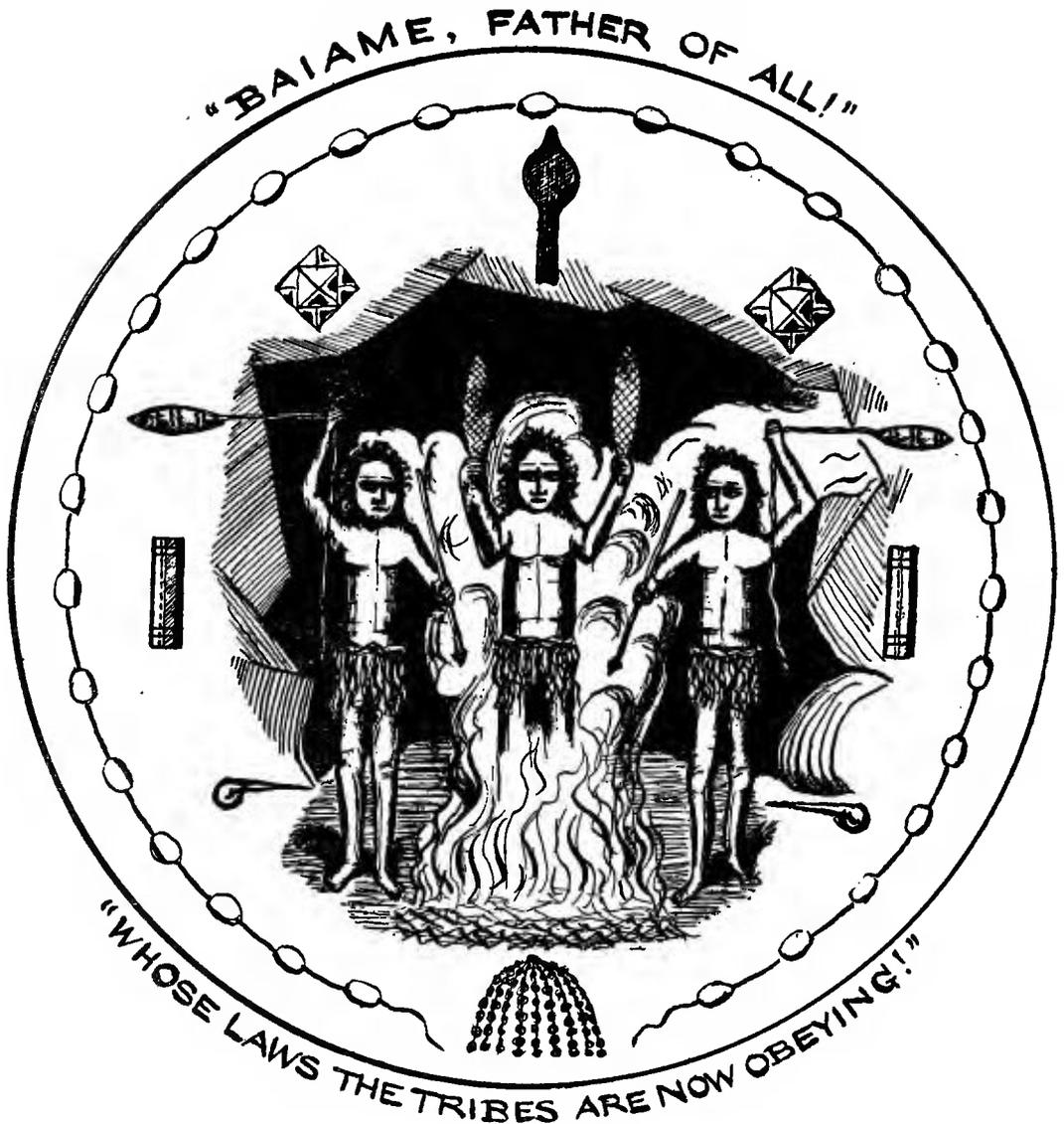
(7) *Burial*:—Death ceremonies vary considerably, from the simple earth or tent grave to the full cremation. In the Banks Islands the body of a great chief is wrapt in a mat, with his ceremonial trinkets, and anointed with red earth. An address is then made to the “ghost” of the deceased, and the body consigned to the grave, around which a bamboo vessel or water with a coconut-shell and a roasted yam is placed, to “feed” the departed.⁷

Although there are occasional glimpses of a purer faith, already discussed above, it does not take long to discover that magic and spiritism are of the essence of Melanesian religion. And this must always be taken into account in every effort to interpret the ritual.

⁴ Codrington, 141, 194ff. ⁵ Ibid. 198. ⁶ Ibid. 23, 32, 237ff. ⁷ Ibid. 267.

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE
(AUSTRALIAN RITE)
THE SPEAR-THROWING

"BYAMEE QUADOUN MUNGERH WIREE!
BYAMEE QUADOUN MUNGERH WIREE!"



THE GOMMERAS THROW THEIR WEAPONS INTO THE FIRE

CEREMONY AT THE BORAH-INITIATION OF THE KAMILAROI-TRIBES, SHOWING THE MAGIC STONES AND BULL-ROARERS, THE RITUAL FIRE, THE FLINT-HEADED SPEAR, THE CROSS-SHAPED WADDY, BONE-POINTERS, THROWING-CRYSTALS, BARK WATER-VESSELS, TASMANIAN SKULL-CAP, AND CEREMONIAL GUM-BEADS OR SHELL-NECKLACE.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

(F) AUSTRALIAN RITE

(1) *Birth*.—Among the Kurnai the infant child is at first recognised merely as *lit*, that is "child", though a proper name is also applied, taken from some object or circumstance that attended its birth. For the Euahlayi tribe of the Kamilaroi we have more explicit information. Spirit-babies are despatched by the moon, *Bahloo*, and sent by her to the *Coolabah-Tree*, until some woman passes under the tree, when they will seize a mother and be incarnated. "This resembles the Arunta belief, but with the Euahlayi the spirits are *new freshly created beings*, not reincarnations or ancestral souls as among the Arunta". When a baby is born, the Coolabah-leaf is taken out of its mouth, and a cold-water ablution administered. *A white crosslike mark is made on their foreheads as a remembrance(!)*. This cannot but remind us of the "Birth-Tree" of Malakka, and the Sex-bird of the Kurnai is no doubt a distant echo of the "Soul-Bird" of the East Indies. (q. v.).¹

(2) *Initiation*.—All initiations partake of a very similar character. The candidate is smeared over with charcoal powder or red ochre, deprived of food, laid down to sleep, rolled about the floor, and "hazed" in a variety of ways. At the Kurnai *Jeraeil* the Headman finally shows them the magic Bull-Roarer, tells them the story of *Mungan ngaua*, the "Our Father", and commands them: 1. *To listen to and obey the old men.* 2. *To share everything with their friends.* 3. *To live peaceably with their friends.* 4. *Not to interfere with girls and married women.* 5. *To obey the food-restrictions.* Among the Yuin-Kuri (or Kulin) similar ceremonies take place in connection with *Dara-mulun* with the additional knocking out of a tooth, and at the *Borah* initiation of the Kamilaroi, the Creator is solemnly invoked as "*Baiame, Father of all, whose laws the tribes are now obeying!*" Neither circumcision, nor the ghastly custom of sub-incision are practiced by the more primitive tribes, though the full family name, generally paternal (Kurnai), is now as a rule assumed.²

(3) *Sacrifice*.—The throwing of objects into the fire is here to be seen in one of its most rudimentary forms, a simple burning-up of things as they are, without any elaborate preparations. At the *Borah*-ceremonies just considered the headman brandishes the *gubberahs* or magic stones, while the assistant wizards whirl the *gayandis* or bull-roarers and throw their spears or other articles into the fire, thus typifying some form of self-immolation, of self-surrender. Animal sacrifice, except in the sense of taboo, is not to be found. Only among the Narrinyeri of South-Australia has a regular wallaby-offering been recorded.³

¹ Howitt, South-East Australia, 736. Parker, Euahlayi Tribe, 50-53. ² Howitt, 616ff. 516ff. Parker, 70ff. ³ Howitt, 593-595. Parker, 70-82, and compare p. 42 above.

EARLY OCEANIC FORM

AUSTRALIAN RITE

(4) *Exorcism*.—As diseases are invariably caused or allowed by supernatural beings, good or evil, it will follow that their expulsion is to some extent a religious ceremony, especially where the tribal All-Father is recognised as the ultimate source of good, whether physical or moral. Hence the various "sendings" or "pointings" with bone needles, the expulsion of the demon with quartz-crystals, the application of numerous ointments and the whirring of the sacred "bull-roarer", are not always and necessarily magical, as the deity is believed to operate through them. Where this is not the case, however, they sink to the level of purely intimidating spells.

(5) *Priesthood*.—In few regions is there such a variety in the medical craft. Doctor competes with doctor, wizard with wizard, spirit-medium with spirit-medium, in order to control the influences that are believed to be evil, in order to counteract the power of the opposite medicine. That he is occasionally successful is only to be expected, and some wonderful "faith-cures" are said to be on record. As a rule the office of *gommera* runs in certain families, and passes from father to son, the son being trained by his father in the use of the crystals, magic needles, etc. As the presiding minister at the initiations, his moral power is clearly immense.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*.—Equally complicated are the marriage relations. From the simple local exogamy of the Kurnai, with patrilineal descent, to the elaborate four-class system of the Kamilaroi, with its occasional "mother-right", we find almost every conceivable system. Though chastity is highly prized, and contrary offences severely punished, polygamy is very generally practiced throughout Australia, though in many cases the more simple, less sophisticated folk are content with one wife. As a rule the tie is fairly constant, and many touching stories are told of conjugal devotion.⁶

(7) *Burial*.—Here again the simple earth or hut-grave of the Kurnai precedes the platform and cremation rite of the more advanced tribes, though there is no uniformity in any one region. A sheet of bark commonly serves as a coffin, and wailing, fasting, and even self-laceration frequently accompany the rite. Trinkets are often supplied, but apparently no food-stuffs.⁷

Enough has been said in previous pages to show that, although there are many primitive beliefs and practices still lingering in this part of the continent, with a vivid consciousness of a divine presence, it has been too much overgrown with magical and totemic ceremonies to reveal the earliest beliefs in their purity. But such as they are, they command respect.

⁴ Howitt, 355ff. ⁵ Idem, *ibidem*. ⁶ Idem, 173ff. Parker, 50. ⁷ Howitt, 459.

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE
 (AFRICAN RITE)
 THE MODUMA FRUIT-OFFERING

"EKENDA NA'KENDO, NDONDA MONGUMA MO NDJAMBE!"



THE FUMUS GATHER THEIR FOREST OFFERINGS AND THROW
 THEM ONE BY ONE INTO THE FIRE

THE NEORILLO SACRIFICE OF THE MODUMA-NUT, SHOWING THE FRUIT-CLUSTERS
 AND RITUAL-FIRES, HORN-, BAMBOO-, OR BARK-WALLETS, MAGIC STONES OR CRYSTALS,
 BONE-POINTERS, HEAD-BAND, AND (OSTRICH) EGG-SHELL NECKLACE, THE LATTER A BUSH-
 MAN ORNAMENT.

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE

(AFRICAN RITE)

THE BUFFALO SACRIFICE

REPRESENTING ONE OF THE COMMONEST FORMS OF THE
HOLOCAUST THROUGHOUT INDO-AFRICA



THE HEADMAN AND HIS FAMILY OFFER THEIR BEST FOODS
TO THE CREATOR

SACRIFICIAL CERAMONY OF THE BONI-WATWAS AND OTHERS, EMPHASISING THE STRONG
CONSCIOUSNESS OF A SUPREME POWER AS THE AUTHOR AND GIVER OF ALL GOOD THINGS.

EARLY AFRICAN FORM

(G) NEGRILLO-BUSHMAN RITE

The following customs are reported for the Congo-Zambesi region:—

(1) *Birth*:—When a child is born, the Akkas place it on the ground, on the leaf of a red banana, to symbolise its “lordship over the earth”. Then the parents and neighbors *bless the child by sprinkling a little water over it* and wishing it all prosperity,—health, power, agility, long life, etc. The child is then returned to the mother. Though parents are generally kind, and children well treated, this is less conspicuous among the Bushmen, where occasional infanticide is known to occur.¹

(2) *Initiation*:—Admission to manhood is accompanied by a “blind man’s bluff”. The candidate is fed with a powerful stimulant, known as *iboga*, his eyes are blindfolded, and he is left to wander about the forest. If he returns to the camp with his hands tied behind his back, he is worthy to be admitted. “Who tied your hands?” he is asked. If his description answers to the person who performed it,—his words, his actions,— he is declared a man, restored to the normal, and sobered down with bananas. The few cases of circumcision show without question that it is a Bantu importation, though the treatment with magic herbs, ointment, etc. may well be of native origin.²

(3a) *Fruit-Sacrifice*:—it has already been shown that the *Moduma* is the sacred tree of the Negrillos, that it possesses the properties of a tree of life. At the proper season it is customary to form a long procession through the forest and chant the following refrain:—

*“Ekenda na’kendo, ndonda
Monguma mo Ndjambe!”*

*“Forward! Forward! Forward! Let
us gather the present of the
Lord!”*

This is evidently a western Gaboon rite, though similar practices are found throughout the negrillo territory. Arrived at the sacred tree, the best climber mounts the stem with marvellous dexterity, he places the sacrificial “nut” between his teeth, and descends with it head downwards (!). Frequently two nuts are collected, a good and a bad one, to complete the offering. The nuts are then placed under some fagots of wood, the fires are lighted and the nuts consumed,—all chanting and giving thanks to the Deity—, each worshipper presenting in turn his forest-offering.

The eastern Watwas have a similar rite for honey, buffalo, palm-wine; the father of the family offering his best foods to the Giver of all:—

“Waka! Thou hast given me this buffalo, this honey, this wine. Behold thy portion. Grant me strength and life, and that no harm may happen to my children!”³

As *Waka* is nothing less than the supreme Being, it will be seen that here again, as in the East Indies, the most primitive tribes invariably reflect the purest and most biblical concept of the primitive sacrifice.

¹ LeRoy, *Les Pygmées*, 193. Stow, *The native Races of South Africa*, p. 50-51. ² LeRoy, 194-196, Stow, 273. ³ LeRoy, 187-192. Also 176ff.

EARLY AFRICAN FORM

NEGRILLO-BUSHMAN RITE.

(3b) *The Dance of Blood*:—This ferocious ordeal is confined to the Bushmen, and consists of an all-night dance which is intended to produce a swoon and to effect a *Mo'koma*, lit. a "nose-bleeding." They carry about a *reed-cross*, and eat charm-medicine, made of burnt snake-powder, until they collapse one by one through sheer intoxication and loss of blood. This was originally a religious rite, ordained by *Kaang* himself, and may be called a *self-sacrifice*,—a bloody atonement. For although men and women both take part in it, any transgressions of sexual propriety are believed to be punished by *Kaang* with extraordinary chastisements,—banishment to a mysterious region under the water and transformation into beasts. It should be added that neither cannibalism nor human sacrifice disfigure the ceremony, though it is savage enough.^b

(4) *Exorcism*:—The same practices have also a medical aspect, in that the sap or leaves of the *Moduma*, the juice of the "red-fruit," the magic snake-powder, etc., are applied or administered to the patient with appropriate formulæ. Even the Blood-Dance has a sanitary aspect, inasmuch as the dancers manipulate the sick man, and when he coughs, they "receive" the demon. Moreover "*the Cross, singly, or in groups of three, was one of the most ancient of Bushman symbols*", "*exerting a salutary influence over the sick person*".^c

(5) *Priesthood*:—Among the negrillos, "the father is ruler, the father is judge, the father is priest, and he unites all these attributes in one quality, that which gives him paternity". For the Bushmen there is greater variety of custom, and headman and medicine-man are more often separated.^d

(6) *Matrimony*:—We note the same difference in the marriage-relations. For if the *Akkas* are generally content with one wife, whom they select from the neighboring camp and court with a "love-philtre" and a modest gift, the *Kalahari* man is more often a polygamist, and an occasional child-murderer, though there is evidence to show that he too is normally moral, self-respecting.^e

(7) *Burial*:—The simplest funeral is again that of the forest-men of the Congo, when the deceased is carried to the nearest river-bed, and consigned to a grave that has been previously dug in the center. Then they say

*"Ayendi na g'ebanda g'Emanyana
na g'ekoto ya Nguya . . . Ayiri na
go Bata . . . na Tambi!"*

*"He is gone with his raiment of
reason, and his clothing of forest-
skin! He has arrived at Bata, the
land of good."*

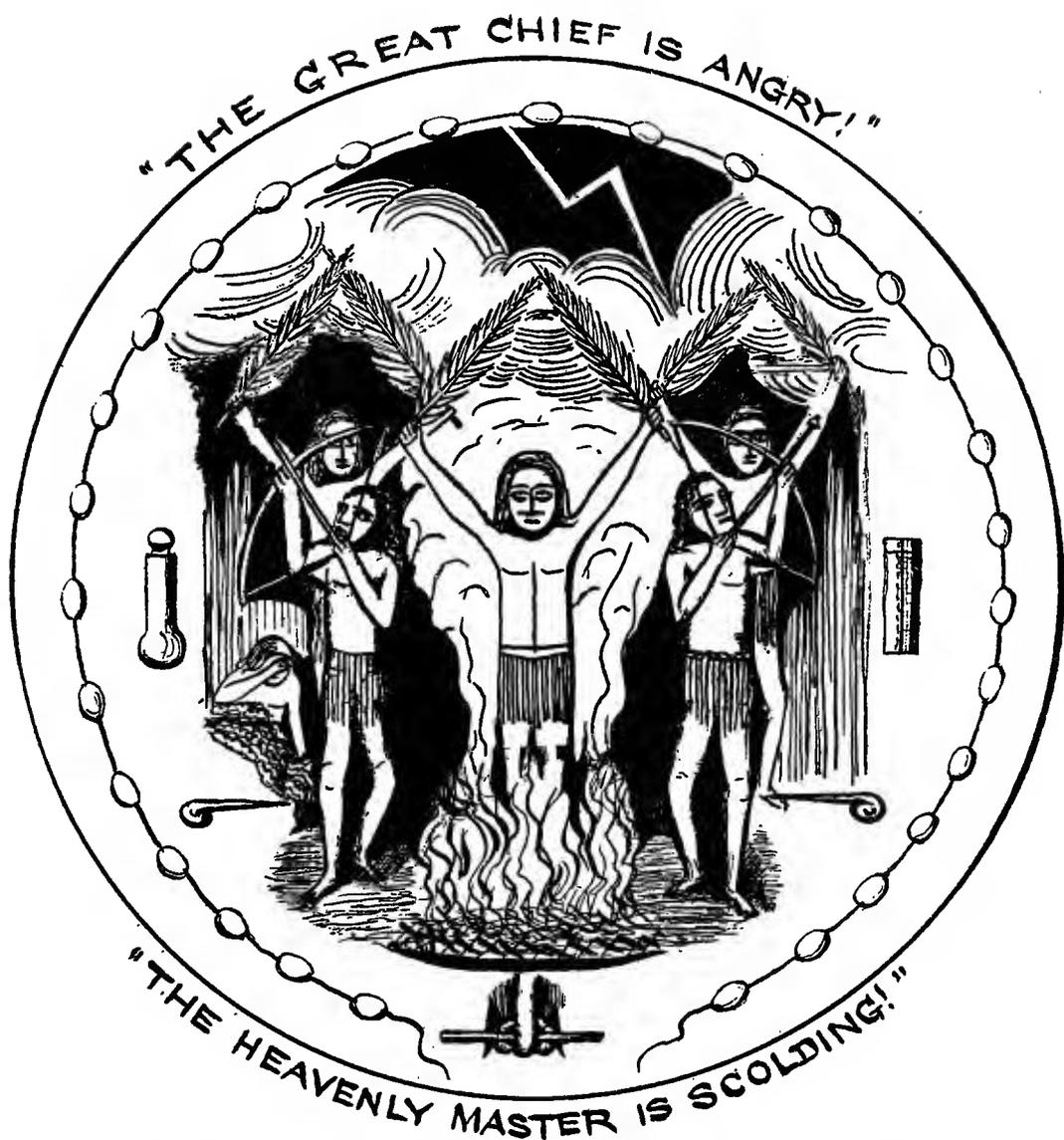
In the *Kalahari* the dead are anointed with red powder mixed with melted fat, and then embalmed. The grave is covered with stones for protection.^f

^b Stow, 119ff. ^c LePoy, 188. Stow, 120. ^d LeRoy, 221. Stow, 125. ^e LeRoy, 499. Stow, 96. ^f LeRoy, 203. Stow, 126.

PRIMITIVE SACRIFICE
(AMAZONIAN RITE)

THE ARROW-SHOOTING

"TUPAN TARU TE KUWO!
TUPAN TARU TE KAWAN!"



THE TUPANS BRANDISH THE MYSTIC PALM WHILE THE
BOTOKUDOS SHOOT ARROWS INTO THE AIR

THUNDER-CEREMONY OF THE UPPER AMAZONIAN TRIBES, SHOWING PALMS, SELF-BOWS,
WITH BONE-POINTED ARROWS, BONE OR BARK-VESSELS, MAGIC POINTERS, NOSE-QUILL,
AND SHELL-NECKLACE.

EARLY SOUTH-AMERICAN FORM

(K) AMAZONIAN RITE.

(1) *Birth*.—The Couvade is very generally observed in Central Brazil, its neglect being punished in the popular belief by special visitations from heaven,—fire and brimstone, and laceration by wild beasts. Among the Bakairi the ordeal lasts for a week, during which the father is forced to abstain from all but infant-food, and to remain in the hammock. In the words of Von den Steinen, "*the father is a patient in so far as he feels himself one with his new-born.*" This confinement is followed by a general feasting. Among most of these peoples women deliver easily, and children are well cared for, though abortion and infanticide are known to occur. The child is commonly named after the father, or grandfather, but except for the usual "washings" no other ceremonies are reported.¹

(2) *Initiation*.—We have little or no information of puberty-rites, which seems strange when we consider that the Shingo tribes have been fairly well studied. But it is highly probable that the decoration with tooth- or shell-necklace, with nose or ear-ornament, and the strange Bakairi practices connected with the sexualia, have something to do with a manhood ceremony. Body-painting, on the other hand, seems to be generally absent.²

(3) *Sacrifice*.—Contrary to what might be expected, the sacrificial practices,—what there are of them,— are singularly free from inhuman ordeals. The most elementary rite is the simple fruit-taboo, in which this or that "magic" herb is set aside as sacred to the deity, and then consumed. This is common enough throughout the Amazonian belt, and is presupposed in every religious fast. On these occasions some invocation to a supreme power is only natural, and among the Botokudos such an invocation has been certified.

"*Tupan taru te kuwo!*"

"*The Heavenly Chief is angry!*"

It is true that this invocation is connected with thunder-storms, during which arrows are shot into the air, with the evident motive of divine protection. But as some form of fruit-abstention is practically universal, and the custom of "bleeding" the body directly certified for these mountain tribes, it is quite probable that this is in part at least a sacrificial rite, being accompanied by palm-offerings and the throwing of objects into the fire.

In the Shingo region food-abstentions are part and parcel of the national life, they bind under severe penalties. It is the *Tukum*-Palm which is *Kamushini's* sacred tree, out of which he makes bow-strings, and then human beings (!), while the offerings placed on the *Keri-Kames* trees may, if genuine, have a similar sacrificial meaning. In no case is cannibalism or human sacrifice normally practiced except towards a tribal enemy.³

¹ Von den Steinen, op. cit. 334ff. ² Ibid. ³ Ehrenreich, *Über die Botokudos*, in *Z. E.* (1887), 30-35. Von den Steinen, 340, 373ff.

EARLY SOUTH-AMERICAN FORM

AMAZONIAN RITE

(4) *Exorcism*.—In so far as these practices are in part healing-rituals they take on a medical aspect, in which the substance offered, whether animal or vegetable, is believed to be effective of physical and to some extent even of moral cures. For there is a persuasion among the Shingo people that there would be “no death or disease if all men were good”, that these things are the result of witchcraft, of bad magic. Hence the expulsion of the disease is indirectly the expulsion of its moral cause,—immorality, sorcery, neglect of the couvade, blasphemy, etc. Among the methods employed are the “bleeding” mentioned above and the friction with “magic” nettles applied to the body as a febrifuge, a counter-irritant. Sometimes also the exorcism is performed by blowing aromatic smoke over the head of the patient, but it is impossible to say to what extent these are not mere counter-charms.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*.—Tribal organisation is of the simplest. As a rule headmanship is hereditary in the male line, and combined with the medical office. Among the Bakairi doctors are divided into “good” and “bad” on the principle of the intrinsic evil of witchcraft. His business is to expel the sin-demon by the above remedies, and to preside at the religious offerings. Though anybody can become one, the noviciate is severe,—he has to fast for four months!⁵

(6) *Matrimony*.—Among the Botoquodos again monogamy is the normal state of the family, and infidelity is punished with blows. With the Bakairi, while the position of women is good, the union is far less stable, and is frequently dissolved under the smallest pretext. “The woman has run away, perhaps he will fetch her back”,—such is the description of a by no means rare occurrence. Commonly wives are sought from the neighboring families, and although there is less constancy in their affections, it should be added that there is an equality of conjugal rights, which some of the higher peoples might well imitate.⁶

(7) *Burial*.—In the matter of death ceremonies there is more uniformity. Simple earth or mat-burial is almost universal, and among the mountain tribes the deceased is laid in the grave with his face upwards and his arms crossed (!). According to most authorities neither trinkets nor food-stuffs accompany him, though this is known to be practiced on the Shingo, especially among the Bororo, where the *bupe* or “ghost-double” is continually fed.⁷

I have already called attention to the largely mythical and magical character of Brazilian religion,—a darkness which is only relieved by a few exceptional rays of supernatural light. Here on the Amazon there are undoubted vestiges of a formerly more vivid realization of the divine.

⁴ Steinen, 343. Ehrenreich, 36ff. ⁵ S. 330, 343, 362. E. 30. ⁶ S. 332. E. 31. ⁷ S. 339. E. 33.

EARLY SOUTH-AMERICAN FORM

(L) PATAGONIAN REGION,—TIERRA DEL FUEGO

(1) *Birth*.—Infant ceremonies among the Yahgans consist of *bathing* the child in the sea "to make it strong", among the Onas, of rubbing it with white earth, with a possibly similar intent. Furthermore, the Yahgan mother takes a series of sea-baths, which in view of the above practices may be interpreted as a rudimentary purification-rite. Both parents commonly abstain from certain foods, sometimes even from conjugal relations, during a short period after the birth. For the Alacalufs no details are recorded, but among the so-called "Chonos" the father cuts his hair to celebrate the birth of a child.

(2) *Initiation*.—The simplest form of puberty-rite survives in the *fasting and moral instruction* that is given to the Yahgan girls. For boys the ordeal is more severe. Admission to the men's society is preceded not only by fasting but by severe bodily tests, during which the youth is instructed in the duties of *generosity, honesty, veracity, bravery, self-defence, matrimonial chastity*, and other tribal virtues. He is then terrorised by the men, dressed up in masks to represent spirits, and if he undergoes the test without flinching he is declared a man and is told the secret of the mask-dance which he must not divulge under the gravest penalties. It is to terrorize the women, to keep them under subjection. Considering that both the Onas and Yahgans have a tradition that in former days they were ruled by the women, from whom they obtained these customs, and that no such practices are known among other very primitive peoples, it seems very probable that the entire ceremony is a later intrusion designed to put down the "petticoat government" which was gradually usurping the ancient patriarchy. On the other hand the *tooth-pulling* ceremony of the Western-Patagonian channel tribes, may, if genuine, be traced to a comparatively early custom, certified for Australia and Central Africa.

(3) *Sacrifice*.—Sacrificial observances range from the simple alimentary fast to the offering up of human life to the whirlpool-god. Among the former there are some that partake of the nature of a first-fruit offering, as when the "old man" among the Alacalufs "*before partaking food gives each a portion, repeatedly muttering a short prayer and looking upwards. All kept silence during this ceremony*" (Low). The existence of similar food-taboos among the Yahgans and Onas makes it quite probable that this and the throwing of objects into the fire is the earlier rite (comp. the African *sadaka*), while the Yahgan custom of dropping an infant into the sea "to appease *Lucooma*" must, if correctly reported, be undoubtedly attributed to a gradual invasion of demonism, and very probably to higher Patagonian influences. The general absence of cannibalism points to a fairly dignified concept of human nature among the natives.

EARLY SOUTH-AMERICAN FORM

PATAGONIAN REGION,—TIERRA DEL FUEGO

(5) *Medicine*:—"The more common curative methods practiced by the Chonos and Fuegians are massage, friction, anointing, sweating, and bathing". On these occasions the practitioner extracts or vomits (?) an arrow-head or a harpoon shank, a piece of bone or a pointed stick, which is supposed to be the immediate cause of the disease, which however is sent by spirits, over whom he exercises considerable power. As these spirits are for the most part baneful in their character, these practices may be fittingly called "exorcisms", for which compare the magic "pointings" of the Australian gommeras. Treatment with medical plants is also reported, though not substantiated.

(5) *Priesthood*:—Among the Yahgans "nearly every older man was a wizard", while with the Onas each clan or family has a medicine-man, and with both tribes women occasionally exercise this office. Although these witch-doctors command a considerable amount of respect, they are liable at times to be roughly treated, probably whenever their supposed cures are not immediately efficacious. (Comp. the Philippines). In addition to their vocation as healers, many of them claim to have the power over life and death, to control the weather, and to possess the gifts of divination and prophecy.

(6) *Matrimony*:—Marriage regulations vary considerably, but "marriage between blood-relations is held in horror among both Onas and Yahgans", the restriction obliging the Yahgans up to the second degree. In other respects they are mildly endogamous, as they generally seek a wife from the nearest clan. Marriages are normally contracted at an early age, they are commonly arranged by the parents, and though founded on solid affection, a marriage by capture or purchase is not unknown. Monogamy is the more general rule, though polygamy is allowed, and though the man is theoretically the head, the woman's position is good and rarely calls for a matrimonial rupture.

(7) *Burial*:—The more common disposal of the dead consists in placing them in caves or in graves, the Yahgan practice of cremation being exceptional. The body is laid in a supine, sometimes in a squatting position, and so far from being supplied with his former belongings, the dead man's hut and all his personal effects are more commonly burned and his name not mentioned. Mourning is expressed by tonsure, painting, or scarification, and lasts for many months, among the Onas from one to three years.

These and many other interesting customs will merit a more searching study, as they tend to confirm the Brazilian data in many essential points.¹

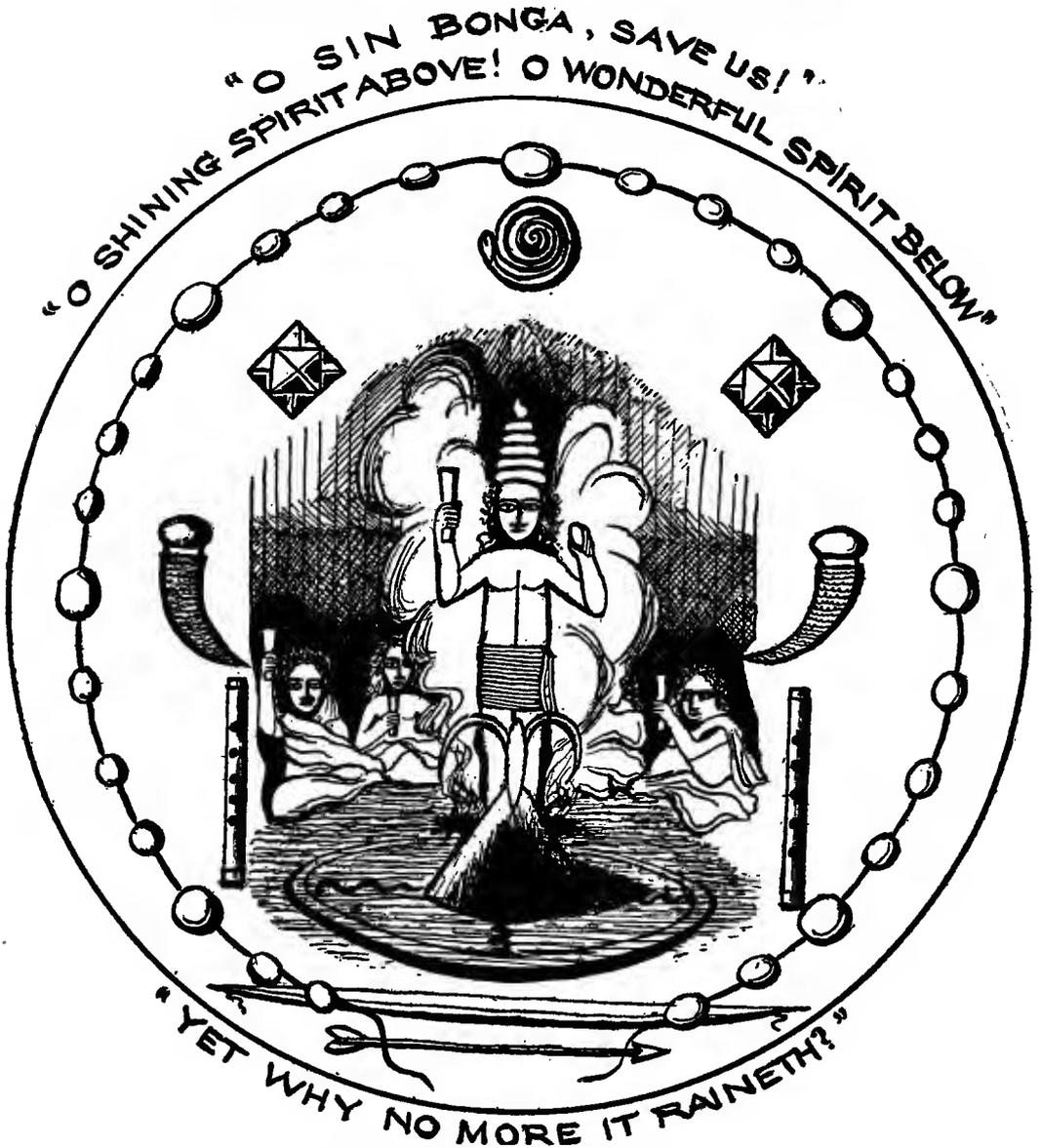
¹ Materials and sources will be found in the work of the Rev. J. M. Cooper, D.D. Analytical Bibliography of the tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent territory, Bulletin 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, (Washington, 1917), pp. 145-175, to whom I am indebted for the above information.

TOTEMIC SACRIFICE (INDIAN RITE)

"SIN-BONGA BIRIDJANA!"

"MADUKAM JAIAB DO SENDERAI
SENOJANA, BHAI DO SENDERAE
SENOJANA!"

"SIRMARE SIN-BONGA,
OTERE MARANGDEOTA, CHIMENTE
KAGE, GAMAIA?"



THE PAT-MUNDA CONSUMES THE WORLD-EGG

"O SIN-BONGA, SAVE US!"

"THE GOD IN MADKAM SARNA REIGNS, TO
JOIN OUR CHASE THE DEITY DEIGNS, AND
OUT HE GOES A-CHASING!"

"THERE UP IN HEAVEN DOTH SUN-GOD
REIGN, AND DOWN BELOW THE MARANG-
DEO. YET WHY NO MORE IT RAINETH?"

CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE BHELVA-TREE OR THE ILLI-ROOT, IN WHICH THE FOWL'S EGG REPRESENTS THE WORLD-EMBRYO, AS THE SERPENT'S EGG IN THE MALABAR CEREMONY OF THE SNAKE TOTEM. NOTE THE FLOWER-STALK WITH THE MAGIC EGG, THE GROUND DRAWING, THE NAG-SERPENT, THE MYSTIC STONES, THE BUFFALO HORN-WALLETS, THE BAMBOO FLUTES, THE "SERPENT" MITRE, AND THE CORAL BEADS.

LATER ASIATIC FORM

(M, 1) INDO-KOLARIAN RITE,—(MUNDA-KOL)

For the Munda-Kol tribes of Western Bengal we have an abundance of matter which may appropriately illustrate the earlier totemic practices.

(1) *Birth*.—The *Garasi-Bonga*, or Birth-spirit, is the deity that watches over females in a delicate state and presides over child-birth. At a certain date the father, brother, or uncle of the expectant mother come to offer up prayers for her well-being, they sacrifice a fowl to the "spirits of the deceased ancestors", and feasting and drinking follow. As soon as the child is born, its mother is given a stimulating beverage, and for eight days she is considered ceremonially unclean. This is followed by a purification-ceremony, in which mother and child repair to a neighboring stream or tank for ablutions. On their return the house is *sprinkled or purified with water* and rice offered to the ancestor spirits. Then follows the naming ceremony, during which the minister prays that "the hair of the child may be white with age", etc. and finally the ear-boring ceremony, in which he *rubs a little mustard-oil first over his own head and then over that of the infant*, and the ears of the child are perforated. A black fowl is then sacrificed and after the usual feasting the celebrant prays with joined hands:—

"*Sin-Bonga biridjana!*"

"*May Sun-God protect this boy!*"¹

(2) *Initiation*.—That similar customs are observed at puberty may be certainly inferred from the formerly universal practice of *scarifying* or painting the skin and the common Dravidian practice of *circumcision*. At present *branding* and *tattooing* are the chief maturity marks, the former for boys, and the latter for girls, and ordeals by touching the tiger-skin, bamboo leaves, fire, rice, cow-dung, etc. are also reported as a "third-degree" rite.²

(3) *Sacrifice*.—The simplest alimentary sacrifice consists of a *Rice-oblation*, in which a few grains are set aside before every meal and dedicated to the Sun-God. A more elaborate ceremony is that of the *Soso-Bonga* or Bhelva-Tree totem, in which the officiating priest draws a magic figure on the ground with coal-dust, red earth, and rice-flour, and places the *egg* of a fowl and a sprout of the bhelva-tree in the center. Then he chants a long incantation to the Sun-God, with the continual refrain—

"*Sin-Bonga biridjana!*"

"*O Sin-Bonga, save us!*"

"*Sirmare Singbonga! Otere Ma-rang-Deota! Chimenta kage, gamaia?*"

"*O shining Spirit above! O wonderful Spirit below! Yet why no more it raineth?*"

That this is in part a rain-making ceremony, is proved by the fact that after the priest consumes the "world-egg" with a cup of *ili*, or rice-beer, the worshipper plants a twig of the tree in his paddy-fields to increase the harvest. It is also in the line of a snake-charm, in that the Nag-Serpent is connected with the Sun-God as the most productive rain-totem.

On great occasions a fowl, but rarely a man, is sacrificed.³

¹ Roy, *The Mundas*, (Calcutta, 1912), p. 456-460. ² *Idem*, 369, 424ff. ³ *Idem*, 467, 482, 527, 533, (Selected invocations), 409 (snake-totem).

LATER ASIATIC FORM

INDO-KOLARIAN RITE

(4) *Expiation*:—It is the *banita-bongas*, or evil spirits, that are generally believed to bring on diseases. Wicked men also may cause them by magic, witchcraft, or the evil eye. They are commonly dispelled by the contrary medicine, invocations to Sin-Bonga, sprinklings with water and rice, applications of palm-oil, sacrifices of fowls, etc. as described above. That they are remotely attributed to the Sun-God as a punishment is not impossible.

"*Hela Sin-Bonga! Chi
kanamentum enkaajaina?*"

"*Alas, Sin-Bonga! Why dost thou
treat me thus?*"

Such is one of the invocations reported by Father Hoffman.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—From the practices enumerated under (1) it is clear that the father of each family is still the principal minister at these ceremonies, it is the *pahan* who is also the medicine-man. As such his authority in the family circle is morally powerful, he must be obeyed under all circumstances. Side by side, however, we find the *mati*, or "ghost-finder" who is evidently the member of a separate class, and who is called in on special occasions. As a diviner, sacrificer, and exorcist, his professional services require at times considerable compensation. An exceptional office is filled by the *Pat-Munda*, or head-priest, who wears the *pagri*, or snake-shaped turban on his head.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—The pure totem-system may be seen in nothing so clearly as in the marriage-laws. No Munda can marry anyone of his own *kili*, or clan, on the ground of incest, though he is obliged to marry within the tribe. The totem descends in the father's line and his authority is absolute. The marriage is arranged by the parents or guardians by a clasping of hands:—"Who made this hand?" "God made it". "As we now clasp each other's hands, so may our hands remain clasped for ever!" But this is largely theoretical, for although the marriage itself is carried out with great pomp and ceremony, both parties being sprinkled with rice and even anointed with oil, the *sakham*, or *divorce is openly recognised*, and we know from other sources that irregular unions are by no means infrequent, the doctrine of animal affinities tending to encourage the practice.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—When a Munda dies, the corpse is anointed with turmeric and oil, and sometimes adorned with a few trinkets. It is then carried to a raised platform or funeral pyre, and cremated, after which the bones are collected and washed, and placed in the family urn. Sanctified water and rice are freely used in the ceremony. Metempsychosis is the universal belief, only the good being reincarnated as perfect men.⁷

Allowing for a few Hindoo intrusions, this is a pure totem ritual, which can be paralleled over large sections of Southern India.⁸

⁴ Roy, 485ff. Hoffman, *Mundari Grammar*, p. VII. ⁵ Roy, 402, 482. ⁶ Idem, 400, 436ff. ⁷ Idem, 460ff. ⁸ Thurston, *Ethnogr. Notes in S. India*, p. 290 (Snake-dance with coconut-fruit, p. 366ff. (Social customs), and compare p. 61-66 above.

TOTEMIC SACRIFICE
 (AFRICAN RITE)
 THE FLOUR-OFFERING

"MULUNGU AMULA-YE!"
 "EWE MULUNGU, WE,
 BASI! HUVÉ RA MVULA!"



THE FUMU SPRINKLES THE SACRED MEAL

CEREMONY CONNECTED WITH THE FLOUR-MEDICINE OF EAST-AFRICAN BANTUS, SHOWING THE MAGIC HERB AND THE BAMBOO SPRINKLER, THE SUN-SERPENT WITH CORRESPONDING GROUND-DRAWING, THE MAGIC STONES, BUFFALO HORNS, BUFFALO HEAD-DRESS, AND CORAL NECKLACE.

LATER AFRICAN FORM

(M, 2) BANTU RITE

The practices here reported refer to the Bantus in general, except where otherwise stated.

(1) *Birth*.—Even before the birth of the child, parents and child are alike protected by certain taboos. The former abstain not only from their individual or tribal totems, of which the child may be the reincarnation, but they must not even attend a funeral or touch a dead body, otherwise “the little being might suffer from this contact with death”. This, together with the abstention from conjugal intercourse, constitutes a mild “cou-vade”. When the child is born,—and provided it has not been destroyed on account of some deformity or some other sinister omen—, the Wanika of East Africa pronounce over it the following prayer which is believed to be efficacious:—

“Mulungu amulaye!”

“May God not take him, may the child continue to live!”

The literal meaning, “May God forget (or forgive) him”, shows with some certainty that this is an exorcism-rite, which in view of the common African practice of anointing and washing may be described as a purification-ceremony. The christening or naming is generally deferred to a later age.¹

(2) *Initiation*.—With the arrival of manhood we have the usual fasting and endurance-tests, together with the almost universal practice of *body-painting* and *circumcision*. The candidate is covered with white chalk, because this is the color of spirits, and he is circumcised, because this is the sign that admits him to marriage. At the same time he is instructed in the tribal mysteries, of which the principal center around the laws of abstinence.²

(3) *Sacrifice*.—Sacrificial observances exhibit the greatest variety, from the simple totemic taboo up to the human holocaust. As an illustration the following prayers are recited by priest and people among the Wa-Pokomo:—

*“Ewe, Mulungu, we! Huve mvula!
Hu mashaka-ni. Hu na-sirima.
Na-swi a-na-o. Basi, huve ra
mvula, atu a-pate vya-kurya,
huki voya, uwe Mulungu, u Abe-
yehu!”*

*“O God, hear us! Give us rain! We
are in misery, we hunger. And
we are thy children. Harken!
Give us clouds of rain, that we
may get food. We ask it of thee,
O God, thee, our Father!”*

This is a general invocation which may accompany any sacrifice, more commonly that of the hyaena, which is so often sacred, or “mulungu” all over East Africa. It is also customary to eat a portion of the animal or vegetable offered in order to become one with the totem-ancestor or the deity, as the case may be,—the two concepts being largely confused in the minds of the natives.³

¹ LeRoy, *La Religion des Primitifs*, 231, 298. ² *Idem*, 233ff. ³ *Idem*, 298, 301, and compare *idem*, p. 126 for ceremonial dress, Snake-patterns, etc.

LATER AFRICAN FORM

BANTU RITE

(4) *Expiation*.—The African consciousness of sin is undeniably vivid, however inefficient as a protective from evil practice. A rudimentary decalogue may be detected in the list of sins, which comprises (1) Killing, that is, a man of your own tribe(?), (2) Committing adultery, (3) Stealing, (4) Bearing false witness. In addition there are innumerable totemic interdicts, and above all, the prohibition of witchcraft,—an unpardonable crime. The extraordinary confession-formula discovered among the Wa-Kikuyu (Brit. E. Africa) "*I accuse myself*", etc. followed by the priestly absolution, "*I take away your sins*", etc. would be incredible, were it not testified to occur among hitherto inaccessible peoples by our own Catholic missionaries and endorsed by Bishop LeRoy. This, however, may well be due to remote French or Portuguese influences. As to the physically sick, they are treated with the usual unguents, pointings, manipulations, etc. already explained above.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*.—Here again, and perhaps more so than in other regions, the healing and preaching professions are united in the family head, the father is the spokesman of the Almighty, and he trains his son to succeed him. In the more advanced communities we note the rise of an independent order of *fumus* or healers, who cover themselves with amulets and use a buffalo horn as an ensign. They are frequently diviners and may rise to the chieftiancy.⁵

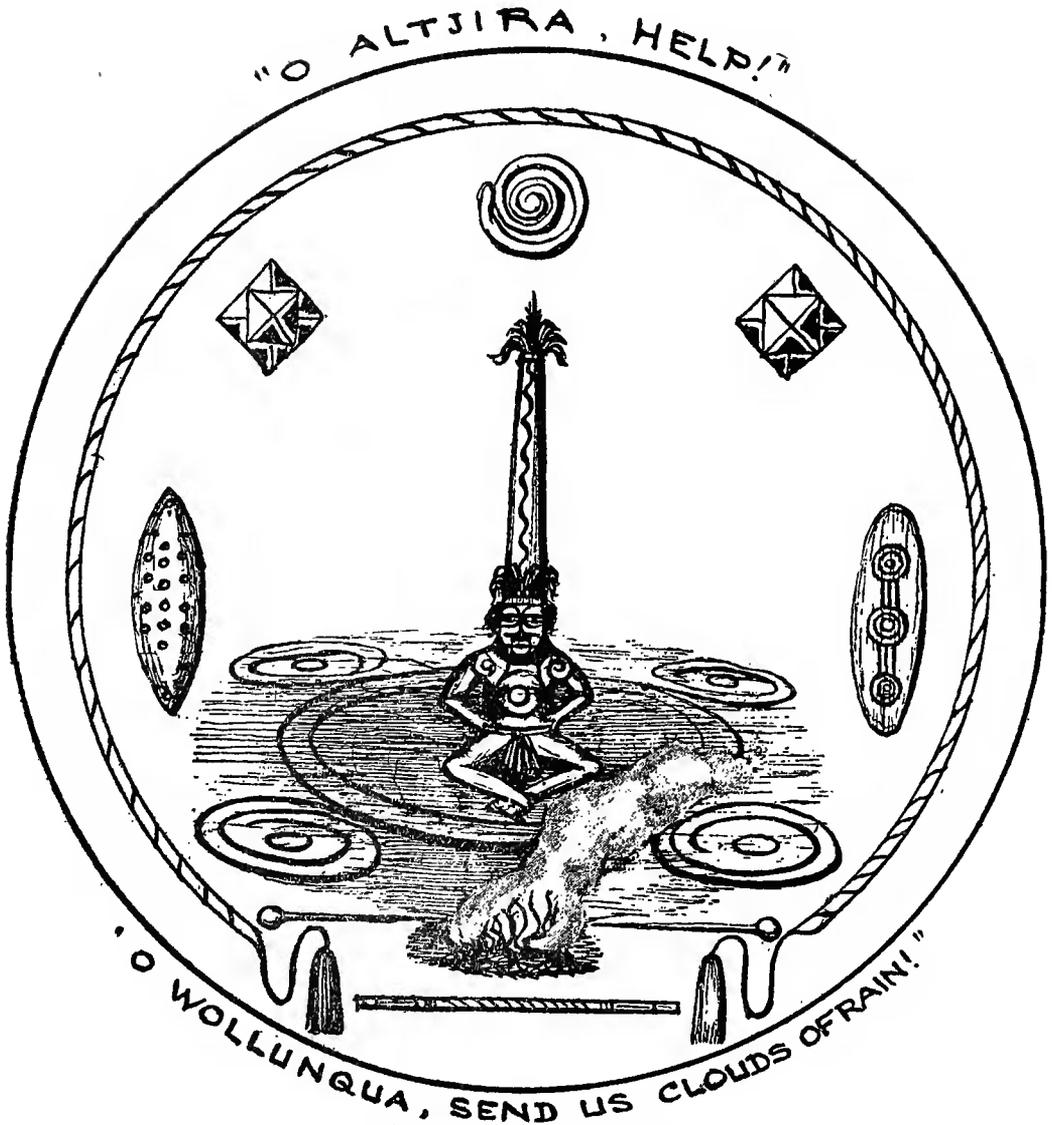
(6) *Matrimony*.—Throughout totemic Africa the rule of consanguinity is strictly observed, obliging the parties not only to local but in some cases to tribal, and even to class-exogamy, as among the West-African phratries. In other respects the primitive customs largely prevail, with the exception of bridal *purchase*, which is demanded, of *polygamy*, which is quite common, and of *divorce*, which is easily obtained. While some of these customs may be looked upon as economic necessities, they reveal a more easy-going standard.⁶

(7) *Burial*.—It is in harmony with the common belief in metempsychosis that the body should count for comparatively little. Hence the platform and pyre-funeral with cremation is very general, the ashes being sometimes preserved in trees, while in many cases the body is either thrown into the river or sometimes simply deserted to become the prey of wild beasts. The latter practice is common among the Nandi, where the totemic cult of the hyaena is particularly strong. In the Gaboon-region of West-Africa, on the other hand, the *mu-zimo*, or departed spirit counts for good deal more, and among the Urundi there is even a triple unction of the deceased. "*Farewell, Rest in peace, Goodbye!*"—such are a few of last speedings to the departed.⁷

⁴ LeRoy, 243, 279ff. ⁵ Idem, 275ff. ⁶ Idem, 100, 239ff. ⁷ Idem, 145-162.

TOTEMIC SACRIFICE
(AUSTRALIAN RITE)
THE INTICHUUMA-CEREMONY

"ALTJIRA INTICHUUMA!
WOLLUNQUA WAHKUTNIMMA!"



THE GOMMERA BRANDISHES THE MAGIC SHEAF

RITUAL CONNECTED WITH THE WARRAMUNGA CEREMONY OF THE WOLLUNQUA SNAKE, AND PARALLELED BY THE FROG, LIZARD, AND WILD-CAT TOTEMIC RITUAL OF THE SAME REGION, AND THE INTICHUUMA-CEREMONIES OF THE EMU-TOTEM (ARUNTA TRIBE). NOTE THE FLOWER-STALK, THE MAGIC SERPENT, THE CEREMONIAL TABLETS OR CHURINGAS, THROWING-CRYSTALS, BONE-POINTERS, BAMBOO- OR CANE-TRUMPET, AND HAIR-STRING NECKLACE. (SEE SPENCER AND GILLEN, THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF CENTRAL AUSTRALIA, PP. 177, 247, 257, 455, 633E.)

LATER AUSTRALIAN FORM

(M, 3) CENTRAL ARUNTA RITE

To appreciate the general decadence brought about by wholesale belief in the identity of a man with his totem ancestor, the following practices of the Arunta, Kaitish, Warramunga, etc. will speak for themselves:—

(1) *Birth*:—As every individual is regarded as the reincarnation of an *inkara*, who may be a snake, a lizard, or a kangaroo, his coming into the world is ushered in by ceremonies which are more terrorizing than awe-inspiring. It is true that we have something approaching to a couvade in general custom of fasting or abstaining from work that is commonly practiced by some of the relatives on this occasion. There is also a "child-growing" ceremony in which the husband "sings" the infant into health and rubs the sides of the mother with grease, the godfather *painting a circle of black* around the eyes and navel of the infant to mark its dedication to the sun-ancestor(?). On the other hand *intro-uterine infanticide is practiced by all these tribes* and "the usual reason given is that there is another one still being suckled by the mother". Among the Loritja a healthy child may even be killed for feeding a weaker one, the strength of the former passing into the latter!'

(2) *Initiation*:—Manhood-ceremonies have become increasingly violent. In addition to the usual painting and circumcision, with rigid and prolonged fasts and other physical tests,—such as throwing the candidate up in the air, biting his head, hanging him up on a tree, etc.—the youth is forced to submit to an operation for which Australia has become famous. It is the well-known ceremony of *sub-incision*, which consists in cutting the underpart of the urethra with a sharp flint, and then drinking the blood! Apart from its character as an ordeal, it seems to serve no social or moral purpose.²

(3) *Sacrifice*:—The most common form of oblation is naturally that of the totemic animal or plant which may not be eaten except on very special occasions, so strong is the feeling of consanguinity with the lower creation. In the *intichiuma* ceremony of the sun-totem it is the *Hakea*-plant which is especially sacred, and from which a magic drink is obtained. Two performers gaily decorated with paint or feather-down, take their place on the ground which is usually marked off by totemic designs, circles, etc. The one carries a horizontal stalk, symbolical of the *Hakea*, the other a decorated disk, representing the sun-ancestor. They girate for a few moments, to the cry of *Wah! Wah! Wah!* and the whole ceremony is over,—there will be an unfailing supply of the magic flower. Similar ceremonies are performed by the Northern tribes in connection with the frog, lizard, and serpent-totems. Then the headman *must*, and the others *may* eat of the plant, which in connection with the "Sun-Father" acquires a semi-religious aspect.³

¹ Spencer and Gillen, Northern Tribes, 606. ² Idem, 328ff. ³ Idem, 182, 291.

LATER AUSTRALIAN FORM

CENTRAL ARUNTA RITE

This point, however, is wanting in solid proof. Although *Altjira*, the Ancient of Days, is lurking behind the sun-totem, he is a defunct divinity, rarely, if ever invoked, and the violent and unnatural customs of these peoples, with the occasional roasting alive of a human victim, leads us to suspect that these ceremonies are largely magical, if not demoniacal in nature.

(4) *Exorcism*:—We find the same competition between good and bad medicines as with other primitive peoples, but with this difference that the whole ritual is more dangerous, more bloodthirsty, more revengeful. By means of his bones, pointing-sticks, stones, magic crystals, etc., the supposed exorciser has the power not only of healing the patient, but of *kill- ing* the opposite medicine during which, as among the Aruntas, he mutters the following curse:—

“*Ita pukalana pertulinja apinia-a!*” “*May your heart be rent asunder!*”

Though this ceremony of “pointing the bone” is punishable with death, it is certainly practiced in secret, and very often it is impossible to distinguish the genuine healer, who *anoints* his patient with fat and red ochre, and uses the *atnongara crystal* from the professional wizard, who ends by “boning” his victim.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—This profession, however, is gradually evolved. With the Aruntas the genuine medicine-man is in the ascendant, he may belong to any branch of society, and his ensignia are the nose-quill and the quartz-crystal with which he effects his cures, while among the Anula of the far north, the office of sorcerer is confined to the “falling-star” totem, a sufficiently uncanny designation for a class of bone-wizards who are in league with the evil spirits of the sky. The making of a medicine-man is commonly accompanied by strenuous fasts, lacerations, snake-tests, swooning away, and even delirium.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—In no other region are the laws of matrimony so complicated. We have the usual totemic exogamy combined with the two, four, and eight-class phratries, in which father and mother-right are so confused, that none can be called distinctive. From the individual marriage of the Aruntas to the group-marriage of the Urabunna, there is infinite variety of custom, but the laxity of the tie is shown by nothing so strongly as by the admittedly loose relations implied by the exchange of wives at the corroborees or magic dances.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—Earth, platform, and tree-burial, are all to be found in Central Australia, but among some of the northern tribes the disgusting habit of devouring the body, with or without a partial cremation, has been certified. Few, if any, effects accompany the deceased, but the bones are commonly collected, painted with red ochre, and sometimes preserved in a bundle of tree-bark.⁷

⁴ Spencer and Gillen, 455-479ff. ⁵ Idem, 479ff. ⁶ Idem, 70, 133ff. ⁷ Idem, 505f.

NORTH-AMERICAN FORM

(M, 4) SIOUAN RITE

The following statistics refer primarily to the Omahas, and to the Dakotas, Ponkas, and other Siouan tribes, whenever specified.

(1) *Birth*:—While there is no couvade in the full sense, there are certain ceremonies connected with birth that deserve to be mentioned. Though foeticide is uncommon, it is known to exist, and among some of these tribes the formula has been overheard:—"It is bad for you to have a child, kill it!" In spite of this, every available means are taken to insure a safe delivery, the mother is strengthened with "human-being" medicine obtained from a native root, and when once born, children are well treated and carefully nursed. Soon after birth the child is *washed* all over with cold water, and after two or three days it is *named* after the father's gens,—eagle, buffalo, thunder, black-shoulder, etc.—as the case may be. Thus, if he belongs to the buffalo, the first son may be called: "He who stirs up water by jumping into it". At the same time the face and body of the infant are frequently painted with "Indian red", the designs being emblematical of the protecting totem.¹

(2) *Initiation*:—The ceremony of "acquiring the guardian" is an important event in the life of every North-American Indian. This cannot be accomplished without strenuous and painful ordeals. Among these are solitary seclusion and fasting among the woods and mountains, sweat-bathing and plunging into cold water, swallowing intoxicating medicines, rubbing the body with herbs,—all accompanied by a formal dedication to the Sun or the Dawn, two very important wakandas. During the fast, which may be from one to four days in duration or even longer, the youth is supposed to "*see in a dream the object which is to be his special medium of communication with the supernatural.*"

"Wakanda, here needy stands he, and I am he!"

Such is his fasting prayer. Among the Plains tribes the custom of boring the ears for the insertion of pendants, the investing with the breech-cloth, the markings with red paint, and even the full needle tattoo, may all be described as initiation-rites, the Omaha "tattooing" being formerly done with sharpened flints, thus approaching to simple scarification. Though a man is frequently marked from head to foot, there are no practices connected with the sexualia, and no case of circumcision has so far been reported. Moral instruction on the other hand is always and everywhere a prominent feature.²

Initiations to religious societies are largely merged with the sacrificial rite, which we shall now consider, some of them being prolonged and complicated. Among these the smoke-offering and the sun-dance are the most important and should merit our brief attention in the present place.

¹ Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, (B. A. E. Washington, 3d. Rep.), pp. 225, 231, 246, 263ff. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, (1910), I, 266, 453, II, 315. ² Dorsey, l. c. Hodge, II, 314-315.

NORTH-AMERICAN FORM

SIOUAN RITE

(3) *Sacrifice*:—Among the unbloody offerings the most distinctive is undoubtedly that of the sacred Corn, and this is commonly combined with

THE CALUMET, OR PIPE-DANCE,

so-called from the calamus, or reed, out of which the pipes are manufactured. This pipe serves the purpose of a symbolic altar or a sacrificial bowl, in which tobacco, (originally flax or cedar-leaves), is solemnly smoked and offered up as incense to the Great Wakanda.

"Wakanda! Nini bahai-te!" *"Wakanda, I offer you the smoke!"*

Such is a common exclamation to the Being whom they apparently regard as a Person, for they say that "Wakanda gave them the pipes, and that He rules over them". The staff of the pipe is commonly decorated with feathers, horse-hair, ducks' heads, magic paint, etc., and before the dance two of them are rested against forked sticks, placed in the ground and serving as pipe holders. A little distance from them are *"two sticks connected with an ear of Corn, which is sacred."* The ear must be in perfect condition, it must have no grains missing. It is fastened to the sticks by a piece of buffalo hair, the lower part being left white, the upper part painted green, the sticks being tinted with Indian red. The dancers then commence their symbolic evolutions, painted in red, white, or blue, and decorated with eagle feathers, during which they imitate the movements of the war eagle, and wave about the calumets. After the dancing, singing, and feasting, the two pipes are given to the family of the neophyte with the words:—

"We give you a sacred thing. Do not have a bad heart. We make you sacred, we set you apart. We have received this custom from Wakanda!" etc.

The case given by Dorsey is that of an adopted child, and according to him the ceremony is described in the vernacular as that of "making a sacred kinship", which certainly sounds suggestive and appropriate.

Now as the "Mother-Corn" is a special Life-Wakanda intimately connected with the All-Sun, it acquires a semi-religious if not a sacred character, and this is an example of a pure abstinence-rite, as the corn, though commonly consumed, is not eaten during the ceremony. In the words of Hewitt, "the Omaha Calumets are together the most highly organised emblems known to religious observances anywhere, and it is further in evidence that the pipe is an accessory rather than the dominant or chief object of this highly complex synthetic symbol of the source, reproduction, and conservation of life."³

³ Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 276ff. Hodge, *Handbook*, I. 191-193.

TOTEMIC SACRIFICE
(NORTH-AMERICAN RITE)

THE SMOKE-OFFERING

"WAKANDA CA'ENCAOA!"
"WAKANDA NINI BAHAI-TE!"



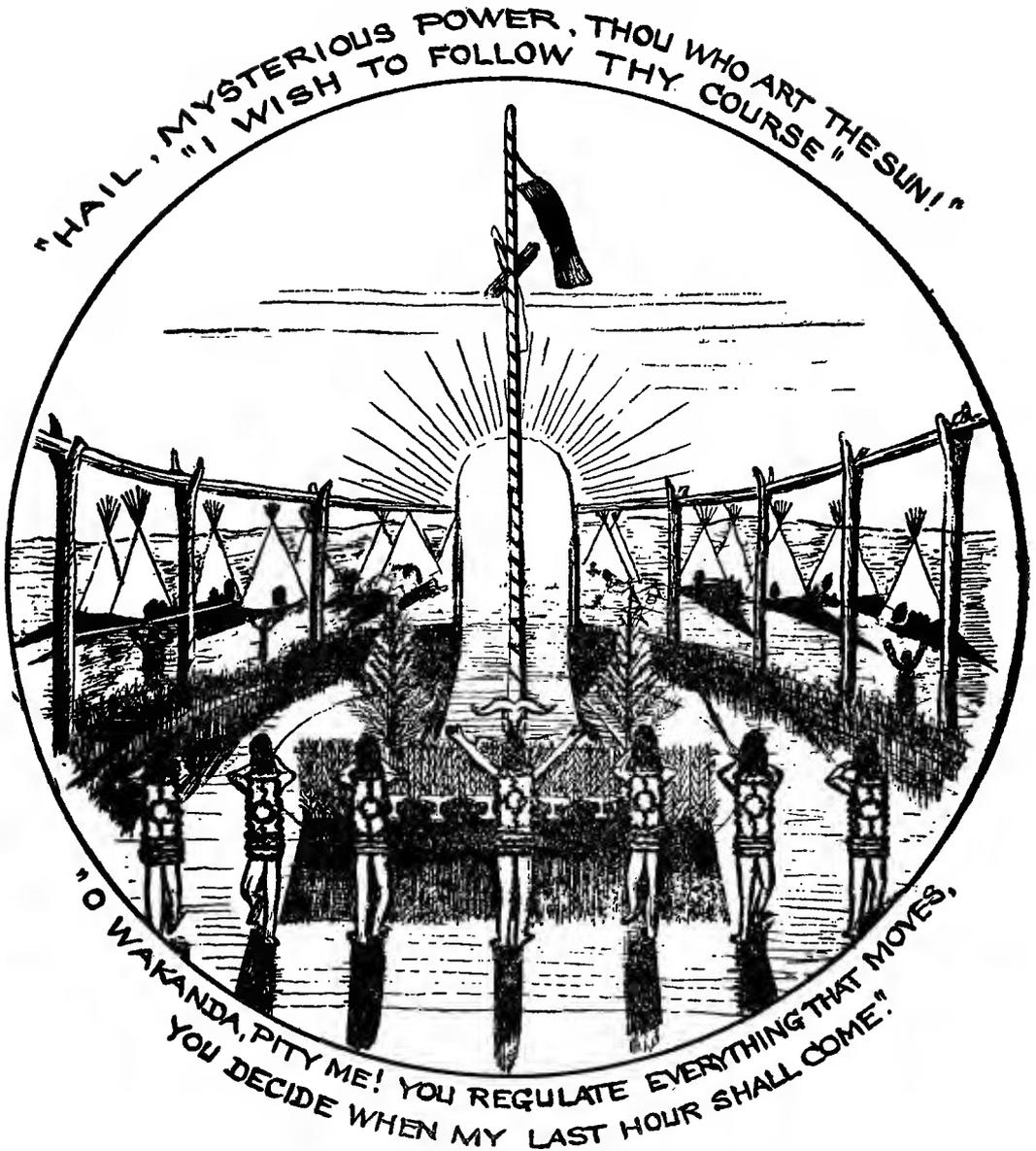
THE WITSHASHAS SMOKE TO THE MOTHER-CORN

(PRAIRIE STATES)

CEREMONY AT THE CLOSE OF THE PIPE-DANCE, SHOWING THE CORN-COB, THE MAGIC SNAKE, THE DIVINING-CRYSTALS, THE HORN-WALLET, CEREMONIAL CLUB, AND POINTING-STICKS, MYSTIC PIPES, EAGLE-FEATHERS, BEEB-FLUTE, AND BERRY-NECKLACE. (ITEMS IN DORSEY, OMAHA SOCIOLOGY, B. A. E. 3D. REP. 1885, P. 276R AND F. W. HODGE, HANDBOOK OF AMERICAN INDIANS (1910), VOL. I, P. 131, 313, 960.)

TOTEMIC SACRIFICE
(NORTH-AMERICAN RITE)

THE SUN-DANCE OF THE PRAIRIES



THE DANCERS SALUTE THE RISING SUN, PLAYING ON BONE-WHISTLES, THROWING UP THEIR ARMS OR INTONING THE SUN-DANCE PRAYERS. THEY GRADUALLY ADVANCE TO THE CENTER-POLE AND THE BUFFALO-ALTAR, THEN PICK UP THE BUFFALO-SKULLS, AND RUSH MADLY ROUND THE RING.

MATERIALS FOUNDED ON J. O. DORSEY, A STUDY OF SIOUAN CULTS, 11th. REP. B. A. E. (WASHINGTON, 1894), P. 372 α . INVOCATIONS IBID. P. 377-378

NORTH-AMERICAN FORM

SIOUAN RITE

But the most famous ceremony of the Plains tribes, though now confined to the Cree, Ponka, Cheyenne, etc., was the more sanguinary ordeal known as

THE SUN-DANCE

This function usually takes place on or about the summer solstice and lasts about eight days. It is preceded by a secret *tipi* of three or four days, during which the priests smoke, feast, pray, and prepare the objects to be used in the ritual. The "lodge" is then erected which consists of a camp circle, in the middle of which a tall pole is erected and painted with red and black stripes. At its base is the "altar", which is nothing but a buffalo skull, sometimes surrounded with pipes, trees, sand-paintings, and rainbow-symbols. The priests and dancers then decorate their bodies with paint and willow-wreaths, having kept a strict *fast* from the preceding night. They form in line, and dance toward the center pole representing the sun, at the same time playing on bone-whistles, and accompanied by the Sun-Dance songs. Here are a few extracts from these songs:—

"Hail, Mysterious Power! Thou who art the Sun! I wish to follow thy course. Grant that it may be so! Cause me to meet whatever is good, to avoid whatever is evil. O Wakanda, pity me! Throughout this island-world, you regulate everything that moves,—you decide when my last hour shall come!"—etc.

In addition to the offering of tobacco and small objects, the dancers would sometimes cut a small piece of each other's flesh, and practice other self-lacerations and torments, with the avowed object of propitiating the Sun-God, warding off sickness, controlling the elements, etc. At the close they drink medicine-water, break their fast, and the lodge is abandoned.

"The ceremony of the Sun-Dance", writes Dorsey, "abounds in symbolism. There seems to have been a universal veneration of the four cardinal points. The sun, or a god spoken of as the "Great Mystery", "Great Medicine", or "Man Above" was even more prominent, being symbolised by the central pole." The secret *tipi* represented the sacred mountain where the rites were revealed, and was also known as the "Morning Star", the camp circle stood for the Corona Borealis or the universe as such, the lodge represented the earth as the home of man. The altar symbolised the essence of life, the fork in the pole the nest of the Thunder-Bird, while the pole itself typified the supreme medicine of mystery, which, strange to say, was associated with the enemy of man. It is truly pathetic to think that these poor benighted creatures should have such a terrible fear of the "Great Unknown" that they can only conceive of Him as the source of infinite pity, as supplying His help and protection only through some sombre and more or less sinister channels of communication.³

³ Dorsey, A Study of Siouan Cults (B. A. E. 11th. Rep.), 377ff. Hodge, II. 649ff.

NORTH-AMERICAN FORM

SIOUAN RITE

And this is the one point that mars the whole symbolism. For among the Cheyenne a war-enemy was formerly suspended alive from this pole, and their object was to *overcome the sun* by forcing the thunder-bird to release rain! Similarly the rain was defied by black paint, which was thus in remote control of the sun, the moon, the morning-star, and the four world-quarters,—the essence of a magical rite. Admitting that this and the whistling, vomiting, and sweating, are all in part imitative and coercive, it must still be conceded, that this is a genuine exhibition of sorrow, a sincere call for help.

(4) *Expiation*:—As it is also a penance, and one of no trifling order, the name of "Great Medicine" is naturally an appropriate one. The whole ritual is meant to cure, even if only from physical ailments. Apart from this there are special exorcisms, in which the shaman inquires into personal transgressions of the patient, violations of taboos, etc.—a form of confession. He then sings, prays, exhorts, and finally administers his medicine, which may consist of small doses of "mystery-powder", made of corn-flower, accompanied by an unction with paint or saliva, sweating, sucking, bleeding, or scarifying.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—With nearly all these tribes the physician or mystery-man, though he may be the tribal chief, is commonly a separate officer, who obtains his power in fasts, dreams, or visions, and enjoys a lucrative revenue. He is a "mental" healer, using his specifics to counteract witchcraft.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—As usual, a man must marry outside of his gens, and outside of his phratry, where these are established, descent being reckoned in the male or female line respectively (Comp. Omahas with Iroquois). With most of the Siouan tribes marriages are contracted early, with or without purchase, sometimes by elopement. Polygyny is common, and divorce easily effected.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—The dying Omaha is wrapt in blankets of buffalo skin and told that he is going to his ancestors, the wild bisons of the prairies. Though inhumation is still to be found, *scaffold*- and *tree*-burial are the common Dakota practice, the body being sometimes embalmed, but rarely cremated.⁷

According to Dorsey, the following practices are *not* found among the Omaha:—

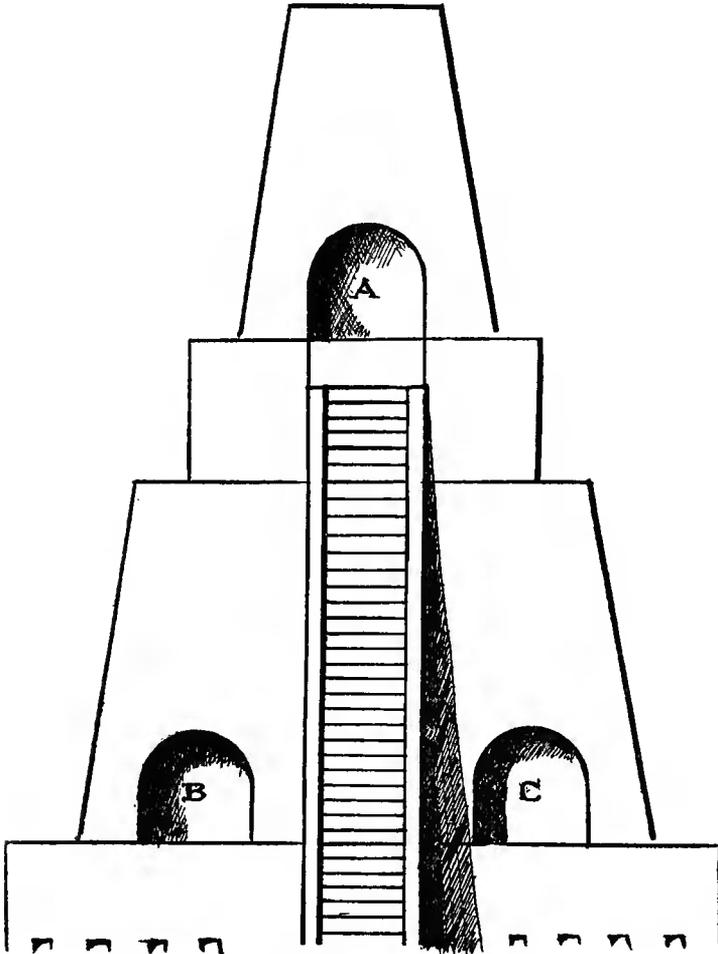
There is no hero or ancestor-worship in the personal sense, nor have they ever heard of the devil. Totems and shamans are not worshipped, but revered, and altars and altar-stones are alike unknown. Incense, except in the form of tobacco, cedar-leaves, etc., was not used, and there were *no* human sacrifices and *no* cannibalism.⁸ If these items are correct, it will be seen that they reveal the North-American totem-ritual in its greatest purity.

⁴ Hodge, I. 836. ⁵ Ibidem. ⁶ Ib. I. 809. II. 611. ⁷ Ib. I. 946. ⁸ Dorsey, Siouan Cults, 371.

RECENT SACRIFICE

THE PRE-SARGONIC TEMPLE OF BEL A NIPPUR

SHOWING THE PROBABLE OUTLINES OF THE EARLIEST SUMERIAN
"MOUNTAIN-HOUSE" AS THE MODEL OF THE WESTERN-ASIATIC
AND EGYPTIAN TEMPLE-ARCHITECTURE (4-8000 B. C.)



(HEIGHT: 50-60 FT.)

NOTE THE "MOUNTAIN-MOTIF," WITH THE SQUARE FOUNDATION-SLABS AND THE SLOPING CUPOLAS, THE GREAT STAIR-CASE, THE HIGH ALTAR (A), AND THE NECROPOLIS, WITH FIRE- AND WATER-HOUSES (B) (C). CONJECTURAL RESTORATION ON THE DATA OF HAYNES AND HILPRECHT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (1900). SEE HANDCOCK, MESOPOTAMIAN ARCHAEOLOGY (1912), P. 135. H. KOLDEWY, DIE TEMPEL VON BABYLON (LEIPZIG, 1911), P. 62. E. J. BANKS, BISMYA, THE LOST CITY OF ADAB (1912), P. 242. "I AM INCLINED TO BELIEVE THAT THE FIRST BABYLONIAN TEMPLE WAS A SMALL TOWER WITH AN ALTAR AT ITS SUMMIT" (PROF. BANKS).

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

(N, 1) EARLY BABYLONIAN RITE

As most of the customs here recorded are of pre-Sargonic or Sumerian origin, they are of indefinite, possibly of extreme antiquity.

(1) *Infancy Customs*:—We are without any certain information as yet of birth-ceremonies, whether in Sumerian or Semitic times. But some such ceremony seems to be implied in the universal practice of purifying everything in heaven and earth with *oil* and *water*, two substances that figure prominently in the oldest rituals, and have even been worked into the paradise-legends, showing their sacred life-imparting character. The aspersion with water and the anointing with oil are so common in their application to the sick and in the exorcism of all forms of evil spirits, that in view of the strong consciousness of sin, both original and actual, some purification-ceremony for infants and mothers alike seems to be demanded in prehistoric as it was certainly practiced in historic times. A typical formula on such occasions may be discerned in the following conjuration:—

*“With pure sparkling water, with bright, shimmering water,
Seven times, and again seven times, besprinkle, cleanse, purify!
May the evil Rabisu yield, may he be swept aside!
May the good Shedû, the good Lamassu, take possession of his body!
By the life of Heaven! By the life of Earth!”*

Though these words are addressed by the Ocean-god to the Babylonian Marduk, they are nevertheless of considerable antiquity, when the “holy water” of Eridu was still competing with the attractions of Nippur, and they may well have served, in part at least, as an infant exorcism. Moreover in the *Bit Rimki*, or Temple “Bath-House” we have something approaching to a font, a sacred lavacrum.¹

(2) *Maturity Rites*:—Ordeals by *fire* and *water* are well developed in the land of Sumer, but they have lost much of their terrifying nature. Contrary to the Canaanitish custom of making their children “pass through fire” the torch is commonly applied to the demons, whose effigies are burnt in the *Bit-Niru*, or “Fire-House”, with the avowed object of strengthening the candidate. In the *Maklu*, or Burning-Ritual, it is *Nusku*, the Fire-god, who is thus invoked:—

*“I will raise the torch, I will consume your effigies!
I will bind and fetter you. I will deliver you to the consuming,
annihilating, strangulating God of Fire, the master of witches.
May the consuming Fire-God strengthen my hands!”*²

We are here in presence of a very natural, however violent tendency to destroy the forces of evil, to “beat down the devil.” Unfortunately, however, demon is expelled by demon; for *Nusku*, though ostensibly on the side of the righteous, makes use of very similar means for terrorising the weak; he *forces* into submission.

¹ Haupt, Sumerisch-Akkadische Keilschrifttexte, p. 90, Kol. III. 1-13. Compare Jastrow, Rel. Bab. u. Assy. I. 324. ² Maklu, I. 135. IV. 9-12.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EARLY BABYLONIAN RITE

(3a) *The Kištu, or Unbloody Sacrifice*:—There can be little doubt that in the earliest period the greater sacrifices were performed on the "Mountain House" (Sum. *E-Kur*), which as the *Zikkurat* of later times developed into the temple-tower, which was originally distinct from the temple proper. At the temple of Bel in Nippur, the tower and temple motifs are united, and there are three main divisions,—an outer court, an inner court, and the sacred tower—, corresponding to the Jewish Court of the Gentiles, the Holy Place, and the Holy of Holies. To the pinnacle of this tower the priest of old, the *sangu*, would ascend by a winding path or a staircase, originally with little or no apparel, and would place his offering of *bread* and *wine* upon the sacred table, as is clear from the following Nippur-fragments, dating from the age of Mesilim and the early dynasties of Kish and Uruk:—

"To Bel (Enlil) hath Uru-mu-ush, king of Kish, when he had conquered Elam and Barahsu, made this dedication of booty from Elam." Then he says:—"Uru-mu-ush hath placed twelve breads and twelve vessels of drink as a food-offering for each day upon the table of Shamash."³ (3000 B. C.)

Though the exact number is not indicated, this is certainly an oblation of farinacious and vineous substances, as may be safely inferred from the earliest references, and the number "twelve" is extremely ancient.⁶

At the same time an offering of *bread* and *water* may also be found:—

"Lugal-zag-gi-si, king of Uruk, king of the land, for the honor of Enlil, King of the lands, hath offered sacrificial breads in Nippur and poured out a libation of pure water."

"O Enlil, King of the Lands! May He implore Anu, His beloved Father, to add new life to my life! The shepherd, who stands at the front, may I forever remain!" (2800 B. C.)⁴

Here the oblate is described as *sukum-(dingir) ninni (ge)*, or the "Gift of the Lord", and the libation as *a-ug(e)*, "Clear Water". Moreover Gudea, patesi of Lagash, (2400), assures us that

"In these breads was contained the abundance of the divinity!"
*Sukum-bi-da he-gal dingir-ri-ne-kam!*⁵ (2400 B. C.)

an undeniably strong theological expression. Furthermore, it may be inferred from the oblations of honey, milk, butter, and sweetened cakes, that the bread was *unleavened*. (Compare the offerings of Gudea (2400) with the "house of honey, butter, and wine" constructed by Pur-sim I. king of Ur, 2200).⁶

The solemnity of the occasion was further enhanced by incense-burning, *niknakku* (Sum. *ma-sa-ab*), by playing on the sacred lyre (*balag*), by elevation of hands (*nis-kate*), prostrations (*sukennu*), adorations with hand to mouth (*karubu*).

³ Hilprecht, O. B. I. 5. 13. Th. Dang. 162. ⁴ Idem, 87. Th. D. 154. ⁵ Cylinder, A. 27, 17. Th. D. 118. ⁶ Cyl. A. 18, 21. Th. D. 108. OBI. 21. Th. D. 198. Zimmern, Beiträge, 94-95.

BABYLONIAN INCANTATION RITUAL

KISHTU SERIES O. B. I. Nos. 5, 13, 87

ARCHAIC TABLETS DESCRIBING THE "OFFERTORY"

5
(1)

A — NA (FLU) EN — LIL URU — MU — UŠ

— ŠAR KISIM I — NU ELAMTAM — KI

U BA — RA — AH — SUM — KI (SAG — GIŠ — RA) = INARU — NI

IN (NAM = SALLAT RA — AG) ELAMTIM — KI (A — MU — RU) = ISRUK

13
UD URU — MU — UŠ GAR ŠIKARIM GU NIGIN(A) — NA

SATTUK UMIM I A — NA PAŠŠUR (ILU) ŠAMAŠ —

Col. III. 3-12, 13-21, 35-36

87
(3)

LUGAL ZAG — (GI — SI) LUGAL UNU — (KI — GA) LUGAL KALAM — MA

KI (M) — KI (M) — MA (D) EN — LIL LUGAL (KURKUR — RA — GE)

NIBRU (KI — A) SUKUM (D) NINNICE E — NA — GID — (DE)

A — LU E — NA — (DE)

(13)

ŠU — TUR (D) EN — LIL LUGAL KURKUR — RA — GE

AN A — KI — AG — NI NAM — X — MU HE — NA — (BI)

NAM — TI — MU NAM — TI HA — BA — TAḤ — TI

(35)

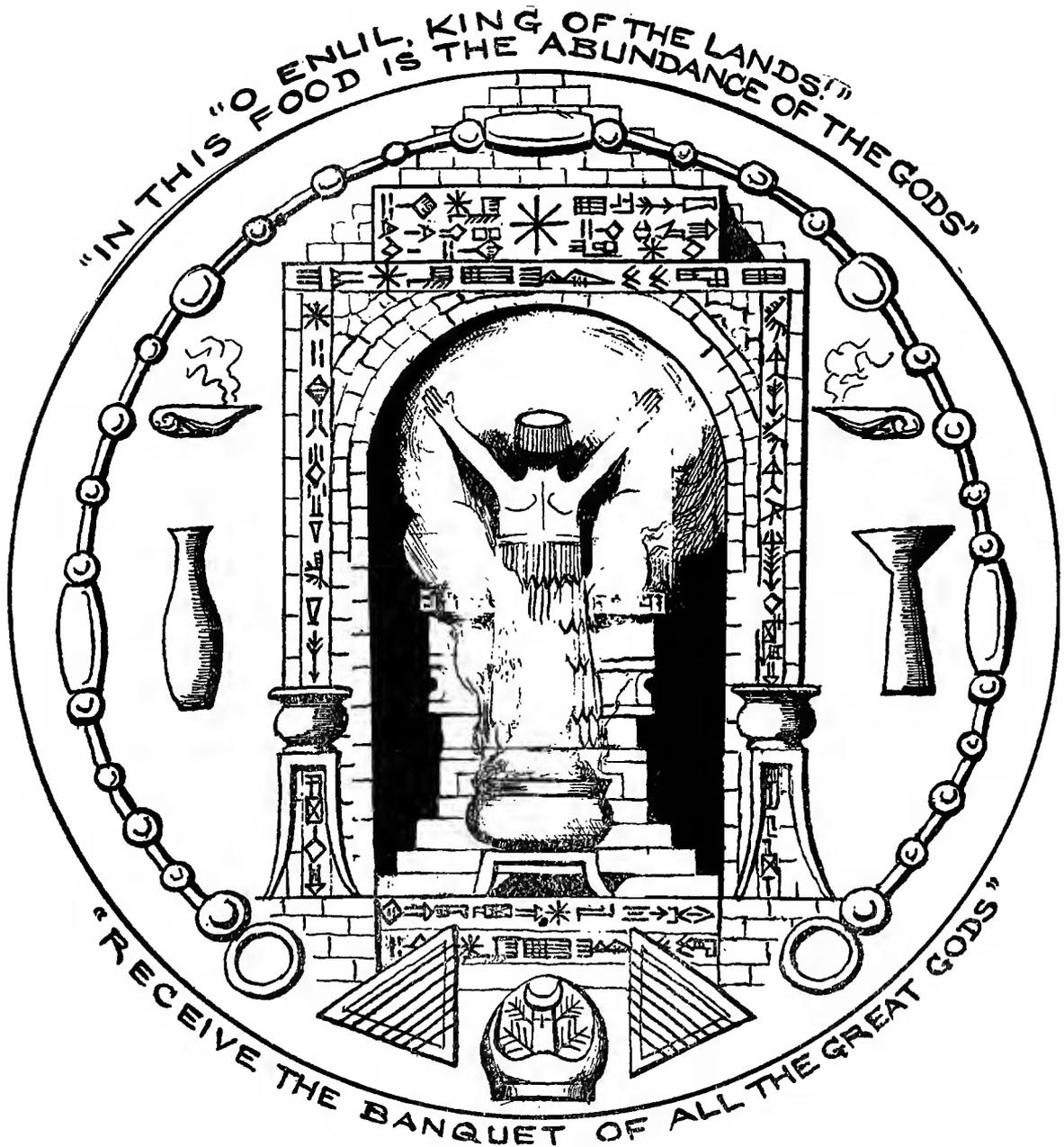
SIB SAG — TA — GAL DA — RI HE — ME

THE "CONSECRATION", GUDEA, CYL. 27, 17

ŠUKIM — BI — DA HE — GAL DINGIR — RI — NE — KAM

(BY PERMISSION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA)

BABYLONIAN INCANTATION RITUAL



THE PATESI OFFERS THE MORNING MEAL



THE NIPPUR-RITUAL ACCORDING TO THE "ASSYRIAN CANON"

SHOWING THE EARLIEST SACRIFICIAL IMPLEMENTS, SEA-SHELL LAMPS, HARPS, SUMERIAN APRON, PALM-TREE MITRE, AND LAPIS-LAZULI NECKLACE. SEE S. P. HANDCOCK, MESOTAMIAN ARCHAEOLOGY, (N. Y. 1912). L. W. KING, A HISTORY OF SUMER AND AKKAD, (N. Y. 1910). E. J. BANKS, RISMA, THE LOST CITY OF ADAB, (N. Y. 1912), FOR ARCHITECTURE, LITURGICAL OBJECTS, ETC. (LATEST EXCAVATIONS).

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EARLY BABYLONIAN RITE

The Naptanu Ilani, or "The Divine Banquet".

After the customary ablutions and purifications (1, 2) the following will, therefore, represent the principal stages in the sacrificial action:—

"O Enlil, King of the Lands! May He implore Anu, His beloved Father, with my petition to add new life to my life. May he cause the lands to repose in safety, may he favor me with warriors as numerous as the herbs, may He supply me with the powers of Heaven, may He bless the land with His good will! The happy destiny which the gods have decreed to me, may they never change it. The shepherd, who stands at the front, may I for ever remain!" (Lugal Zaggisi to Enlil of Nippur, 2800).⁷

Then might follow one or two of the prayers,—*"Father Enlil, Lord of the Lands", "Return, look down upon thy city"* (see p. 87), possibly counted on "beads". Finally the entire offering would be consumed, poured out, or distributed, with the words:—*"In this food is the abundance of the Gods!"—"Receive the banquet of all the great Gods!"*—a daily oblation. For in the Shamash-ritual the Baru-Priest sings or prays as follows:—

(1) During the first offering of Cedar-Incense:—

"O Shamash, Lord of the Judgment! O Adad, Lord of the Prophecy! Accept, O Shamash and Adad, ye who live in the shining heavens, Ye who are divine judges and great gods,—accept the morning-meal! Shamash and Adad receive this! In my wailing, in the lifting up of my hands, in everything that I do, may justice crown my request!"

(2) During the second offering of Meal- and Cypress-Incense:—

"O Shamash, Lord of the Judgment! O Adad, Lord of the Prophecy! Accept, O Shamash and Adad, ye who live in the shining heavens, O Shamash and Adad, may your divine majesty accept this offering.

RECEIVE THE BANQUET OF ALL THE GREAT GODS:—

Anu, Bel, and Ea, Sin, Shamash, Belit-Seri, Ninib! Receive it! In my wailing, in the lifting up of my hands, in all that I do, may justice crown my request!"

(3) During the third offering of Fine Meal-Incense:—

"Receive this offering, O Shamash and Adad, ye great Gods!" etc.⁸ These are among the earliest fragments that we possess of the oldest Nippur-ritual, supplemented by Assyrio-Babylonian sources, and they reveal the fact the divinity was believed to be in some way in the gift, to be operating through it. Nevertheless, a closer analysis shows the essentially polytheistic nature of the entire cult,—it is not the divinity as such, but the innumerable demi-gods, that are here believed to consume the offering, in a vague sense, to "receive" it.⁹

⁷ Hilprecht, OBI. 87. Th. D. 154. ⁸ Baru, 78, (K. 2363), Zimmern, Beiträge, 195. ⁹ Comp. Dhorme, Rel. Ass. Bab. pp. 267-270.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EARLY BABYLONIAN RITE

(3, b) *The Niku, or Bloody Sacrifice*:—On the other hand the effusion of blood was generally described by *niku* (*naku*), to “pour out”. From the earliest times the sheep and the goat figure as the most important sacrificial animals and the ritual was no doubt very similar, the animal being slaughtered in the outer court, and then presented without blemish,—*salmu*.

THE DOCTRINE OF SUBSTITUTION,—*Dinanu*

The Babylonian conscience has ever revolted against the practice of human sacrifice. At the same time the consciousness of guilt was so strong that it was felt necessary to slay a human being either in effigy or in the substance of some animal in order to procure reconciliation with the offended deity. In this action it was more especially the lamb that acted as the substitute for the worshipper, that was selected to carry his sins:—

“The lamb is the substitute for humanity: He has given the lamb for his life, he has given the head of the lamb for the head of a man, he has given the neck of the lamb for the neck of a man, he has given the breast of a lamb for the breast of a man”.¹⁰

That the victim was falsely identified with the deity, seems equally certain. For not only is Enlil the “mighty bull” of Anu, and Enki the “goat of wisdom”, but during the baru-inspections the liver was identified with the soul or seat of divinity, it was the god himself that was believed to offer his entrails to man.

*“May thy heart be softened, may thy liver be appeased!”*¹¹

This intimate connection between the soul of the deity and the soul of the animal, symbolised by heart or liver, (*libbu, kabittu*), can only be explained on the theory, now generally accepted, that there is in a certain sense a *double substitution*,—one on the part of the worshipper, who slays the victim instead of slaying himself, and the other on the part of the deity, who allows himself to be slain in order to expose his liver, and to enter into intimate union with the worshipper in the feast that follows. It is thus to some extent banquetting-rite, as with the *kistu above*.

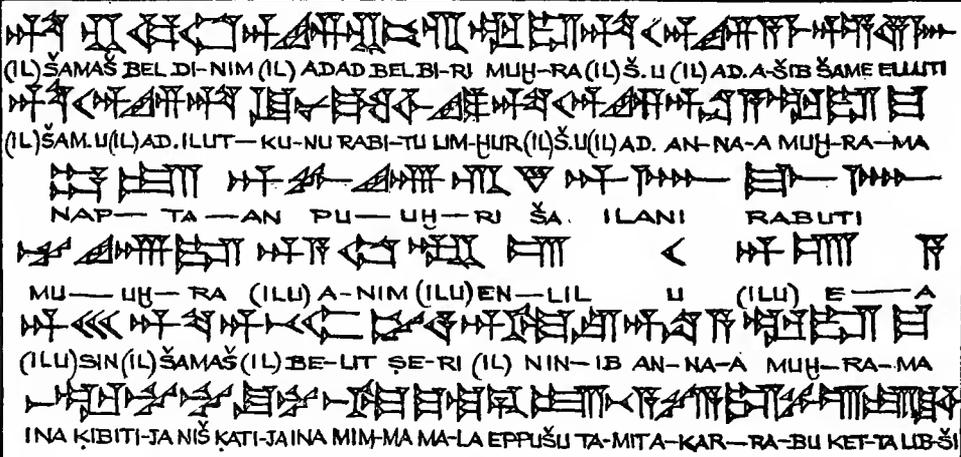
In the words of Jastrow, “the theory upon which divination by means of the liver rested is both curious and interesting. It was believed that the god to whom an animal was offered identified himself for the nonce with the proffered gift. The god, in accepting the animal, became as it were united with it in much the same way as those who actually ate it”.¹² But that this should be a real “slaying” of God, is out of the question. It is simply the result of a diseased zoomorphism, in which the deity is confused with the animal, as he is with a thousand other objects in creation,—it is pure zoolatry, nothing approaching to a divine immolation.

¹⁰ *Cun. Texts*. XVII. Pl. 37. Tabl. Z. Col. B, 14ff. ¹¹ See page 275 above. ¹² Jastrow, *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria* (1911) p. 148. Dhorme, 1. c. 272ff.

BABYLONIAN INCANTATION-RITUAL

BARU SERIES K. 2363+K. 2787

THE INVOCATION



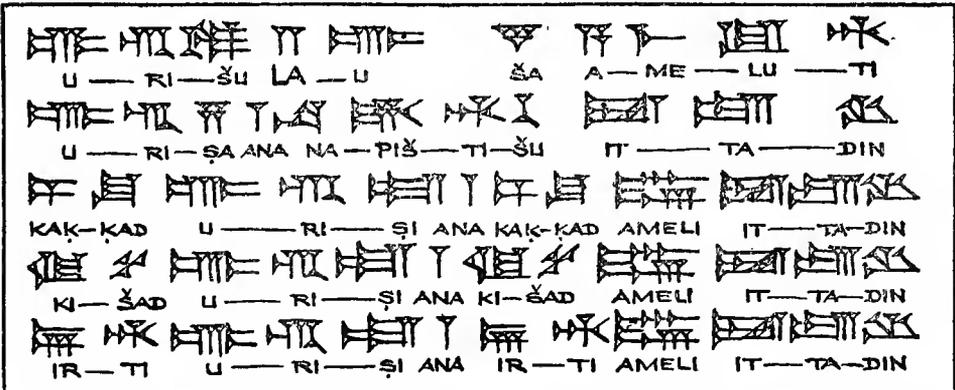
 (IL) ŠAMAŠ BEL DI-NIM (IL) ADAD BEL BI-RI MUḪ-RA (IL) Š. U (IL) AD. A-ŠIB ŠAME ELLUTI
 (IL) ŠAM. U (IL) AD. ILUT—KU—NU RABI—TU LIM—HUR (IL) Š. U (IL) AD. AN—NA—A MUḪ—RA—MA
 NAP—TA—AN PU—UH—RI ŠA. ILANI RABUTI
 MU—UH—RA (ILU) A—NIM (ILU) EN—LIL U (ILU) E—A
 (ILU) SIN (IL) ŠAMAŠ (IL) BE—LIT ŠE—RI (IL) NIN—IB AN—NA—A MUḪ—RA—MA
 INA KIBITI—JA NIŠ KATI—JAINA MIM—MA MA—LA EPPUŠU TA—MITA—KAR—RA—BU KET—TA LIB—ŠI

"O SHAMASH, LORD OF THE JUDGMENT! O ADAD, LORD OF THE PROPHECY!
 ACCEPT, O SHAMASH AND ADAD, YE WHO LIVE IN THE SHINING HEAVENS,
 O SHAMASH AND ADAD, MAY YOUR DIVINE MAJESTY ACCEPT THIS OFFERING.
 RECEIVE THE BANQUET OF ALL THE GREAT GODS!
 ANU, BEL, AND EA, SIN, SHAMASH, BELIT-SERI, NINIB! RECEIVE IT!
 IN MY WALLING, IN THE LIFTING UP OF MY HANDS, IN ALL THAT I DO,
 MAY JUSTICE CROWN MY REQUEST!"

NIKU SERIES

C. T. XVII. PL. 37. TABL. Z. COL. B. L. 15f. (JASTROW, I. 351)

THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE LAMB IN PLACE OF THE SINNER (DINANU)



 U—RI—ŠU LA—U SA A—ME—LU—TI
 U—RI—ŠA ANA NA—PIŠ—TI—ŠU IT—TA—DIN
 KAK—KAD U—RI—ŠI ANA KAK—KAD AMELI IT—TA—DIN
 KI—ŠAD U—RI—ŠI ANA KI—ŠAD AMELI IT—TA—DIN
 IR—TI U—RI—ŠI ANA IR—TI AMELI IT—TA—DIN

TEXT AND TRANSCRIPTION BY ZIMMERN, BEITRAGE ZUE KENNTNIS DER BABYLONISCHEN RELIGION, (LEIPZIG, 1901), NO. 78. L. 69-74.

BABYLONIAN INCANTATION RITUAL

SHURPU SERIES, II. 5, 130 ff.

THE SO-CALLED "CONFESSION-TABLET" (K. 8868+K. 5495)

II. 5				
	IKKIB ILI-SU	I-KU-LU	IKKIB (IL) IS-TAR-SU	I-KU-LU
6				
	A-NA AN-NA IL-LA	IQ-BU-U	IQ-BU-U	IQ-BU-U
12	-----			
		LIMUTTA	IQ-BU-U	IQ-BU-U
13	-----			
		LA BA-NI-TUM	IQ-BU-U	IQ-BU-U
14	-----			
		ZA-LIP-TA	U-SAD-SI-SU	U-SAD-SI-SU
20				
	(ITTI) ABI	MARA	IP-RU-SU	IP-RU-SU
22				
	(ITTI) UMMI	MAR-TA	IP-RU-SU	IP-RU-SU
47				
	A-NA BIT TAP-PI-E-SU	I-TE-RU-UB	I-TE-RU-UB	I-TE-RU-UB
48				
	A-NA AS-SAT TAP-PI-E-SU	IT-TE-SI	IT-TE-SI	IT-TE-SI
49				
	DA-MI TAP-PI-E-SU	IT-TA-BA-AK	IT-TA-BA-AK	IT-TA-BA-AK
50				
	SU-BAT TAP-PI-E-SU	IT-TA-AL-BA-AS	IT-TA-AL-BA-AS	IT-TA-AL-BA-AS

THE ACCUSATION OF GUILT

BE-LUM AN-NU-U-A MA-I-DA RA-BA-AHI-TA-TU-U-A

JASTROW, EBA, II. P. 102ff. (GERMAN EDITION) IV. B. PL. 10

"O LORD, MY TRANSGRESSIONS ARE MANY, GREAT ARE MY SINS!"

THE "ABSOLUTION" (K. 8868 Rev. + K. 150)

II. 130		
	LU-U PAT-RA (IL) SAMAS	DA-A-AN-NU
135		
	PU-TUR MAS-MAS ILANI	BELU REM-NU-U (IL) MARDUK
140		
	PU-UT-RA ILANI RABUTI	MA-LA SUM-SU-NU ZAK-PAU

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EARLY BABYLONIAN RITE

(4) *Penitential Practice*:—Apart from the abstinences which are ipso facto implied in every food-offering, there is little in the line of physical mortification that is required of the penitent sinner. In place of a laceration of the body there is a laceration of the soul, which is just as severe and far more searching from the point of view of moral guilt. The examination of conscience was conducted before the *šangu* as follows:—

"Has he blasphemed his god? Has he blasphemed his goddess? Has he said yes for no, and no for yes? Has he pointed with the finger, spoken evil, spoken impurity, encouraged calumny? Has he estranged father from son, mother from daughter, friend from friend, etc? Has he never released a prisoner, granted him a vision of daylight? Has he dishonored his father and mother? Has he given false measure, taken bad money, removed the boundary-stones? Has he invaded his neighbor's house, taken his neighbor's wife, shed his neighbor's blood, stolen his neighbor's clothes?" "O Lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins!" (Contrition). "Come to deliver us, O Shamash, thou Lord of Justice! (Absolution-Formula). Release the ban, thou priest of the gods, thou merciful lord, Marduk! Release the ban, ye great gods, as many of you as there are. Anu and Antum, release the ban! Bel, thou king and creator of all, release the ban! Belit, thou queen of Ekiur, release the ban! Enki, king of the ocean, release the ban! Eridu, House of the ocean, release the ban!" etc.¹³

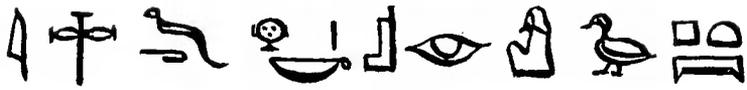
These are only a few of the divinities invoked on this occasion, but the whole ceremony reveals a genuine desire to deliver the penitent from the fetters of sin, to reconcile him with the supernatural beings that he has offended. As to physical healing, it is accomplished by water and fire, or by water and oil, with an application of the medicinal herb, the *tigallu* or *gesh-tin* ("tree of life"), and the recitation of the formulæ under (1) and (2). Yet, dignified as they are, these ceremonies are grossly polytheistic,—the culprit is released from the ban of witchcraft by a series of cosmic agents who are themselves the authors of divination and sorcery in one of its most repulsive forms. There is no guarantee whatever that the sins are in any sense pardoned.

(5) *Priesthood*:—All these functions are performed or presided over by the *šangu*, or priest, who as the *patesi* or "father", of Sumerian times, was at once the civil governor. At a later period we find three well marked groups,—the *ašipu*, or conjuror, the *baru*, or diviner, and the *zammeru*, or chanter—, the supreme functionary being the "Priest-King" or High-Priest (*šangammahu*). He is God's representative and is anointed with oil (*pašišu*), he wears the mitre and carries the mace. Though the Sumerian *šangu* was apparently shaved, the Semitic kings were invariably bearded, but the priestly unction was universal.¹⁴

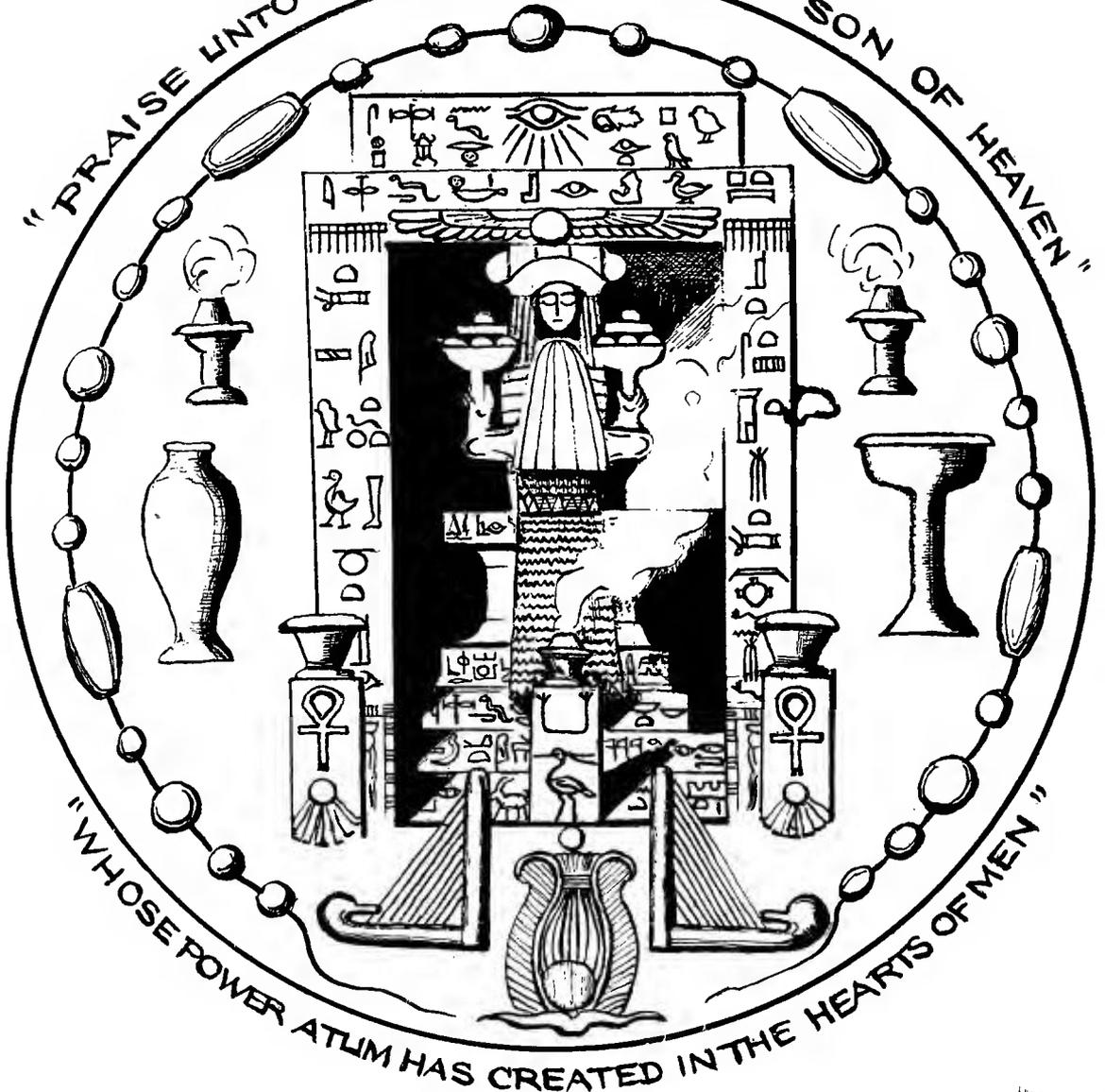
¹³ Surpu, II, 5-50ff. (K. 8868), Zimmern, 3-5. Rawlinson, IV, Pl. 10. (Contrition-formula).

¹⁴ Dhorme, Rel. Ass. Bab. pp. 282-302.

RECENT SACRIFICE
(EGYPTIAN RITE)



"PRAISE UNTO THEE OSIRIS, THOU SON OF HEAVEN"



"WHOSE POWER ATUM HAS CREATED IN THE HEARTS OF MEN"

THE PHARAOH PRESENTS THE SACRED CORN



PREHISTORIC AGRARIAN RITE CONNECTED WITH OSIRIS-UNNEFER, SHOWING THE SACRIFICIAL VEIL, TUNIC AND DOUBLE-PATEN, WATER AND INCENSE-VESSELS, HORUS-EYE, CLAY-LAMPS, HARPS, EGYPTIAN MITRE, AND CORNELIAN NECKLACE

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

(N, 2) EGYPTIAN RITE

The preceding may serve as a type of the common Western-Asiatic practice in the earlier period. In the adjacent North-African region we find the same fundamental notions, but with a few national or local differences.

(1) *Birth*.—The advent of a newly-created soul was heralded in ancient Egypt with appropriate ceremonies. Such an event was looked upon as a fresh emanation from the divine substance, something extraordinary. "When the forms of the infant to be born have been fashioned and supplied with fluid of life, the queen, supplied with the same fluid and assisted by the divine *Ennead*, brings into the world the new Horus, the new Pharaoh". This is a reminder of the *banu ilani* of the Euphrates, the "God-created" child. Nay more, we find the same purifications by water, oil, and fire, as in the neighboring kingdom, accompanied by very similar practices. An aspersion with water seems to have been very general, with the formula:—

"I purify you with this water! Life! Strength! Health! Happiness!" etc.

This might well have applied to infants and mothers alike, as it was certainly used at the coronation of kings. There are reasons for believing that circumcision was not introduced before the close of the middle empire.¹

(2) *Maturity*.—Purification by fire, water, and incense was also required on every solemn occasion, more especially when the youth was to be consecrated to some special religious calling,—the temple service or the priesthood. The mystic flame symbolised the union of heaven and earth, the candidate was sprinkled with the "water of life", and the incense was the "eye of Horus",—all this on the supposition,—plausible enough in itself, that the manhood-ceremonies followed the consecration-ritual of the Pharaohs, this being the model for all Egypt. On such an occasion the following prayer to Horus-Ra would be singularly appropriate:—

"O Sun, thou who possessest the Truth! O Sun, thou who livest by the Truth! O Sun, thou who art adored in Truth! O Sun, thou who art loved in Truth! O Sun, thou who createst in Truth! O Sun, thou who completest in Truth! O Sun, thou who art glorified in Truth! Thou who art united to the Truth, United to the Truth from thy very beginning!"

In this very old invocation *Ra*, the Sun, is recognised as the equivalent of *Ma*, the Truth, that is, ethical truth, truth which is opposed to moral evil, moral perversity. Thus "Truth was one with Divinity. Through her the Divinity lived and gave life, she was the creating Light".²

¹ Virey, *La Religion de l'ancienne Egypte*, pp. 103-113, 223. Erman, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter and Kind, aus dem Papyrus 3. 027 des Berliner Museums*. ² Virey, l. c. 104-108, 87-89.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EGYPTIAN RITE

(3a) *Unbloody Sacrifice,—Corn-Oblation*.—The parallel development of Egypt and Babylonia is brought out in still clearer perspective by the temple-ritual of the earliest days, in which Heliopolis furnished probably the model. Here also the mountain-motif was conspicuous, the solid pyramid or the obelisk representing, like the zikkurat, the unapproachable majesty of God,—the Holy of Holies, the “delectable dwelling of Ra”. In front of it was the altar of holocausts, hedged in and separated from the outer court of the “gentiles”, and here the great sacrifices to the God of On must have taken place under the broad canopy of heaven, before the protected house-temple had come into existence.

There is good reason for believing that among the earliest forms of sacrifice in lower Egypt, that of the sacred Corn or Wheat was one of the most distinctive. For not only are Osiris-Isis intimately associated with this staple commodity of the Nile, but we have monumental evidence to prove that the divinity was thus fed by his clients in remote antiquity. Corn, wine, and water were placed upon the altar, as is testified by the sacrificial baskets and libation-flasks, and hymns of praise would then be intoned:—

“Praise unto thee, Osiris, thou son of Heaven! Thou who carriest the horns of office and leanest against the pillars above! To whom the crown of dominion has been given and joy in face of the nine gods! Whose power Atum has created in the hearts of men, gods, and immortals! Whose empire extends from the city of the Sun, whose majesty reaches to the shores of Busiris, whose word evokes fear in the sacred fanes!”

This was accompanied by an aspersion with water, by the waving of incense, by a musical performance upon the harp, and doubtless by the usual prostrations so frequently depicted on the temple walls. The elaborate image worship belongs more probably to a later age, while the daily renewal of the offerings implies their daily consumption,—again a banquetting-rite.

Now it is important to note that Osiris was believed to be *in the grain* that he was *himself* the corn, dying and then rising to life with the seasons. “He could transform himself into a god of vegetation, the corn, the vine, and even the tree of life”. Both Frazer, Virey, and Wiedemann testify to the antiquity and realism of this agrarian sacrifice, and it represents the nearest approach to a doctrine of “self-absorption”,—a mystical death,—though its semi-panteistic coloring is evident; Osiris is essentially a nature-god,—he is nothing more nor less than the primitive ocean, which as the primaeval *nunu* finally reveals itself in its highest and most exuberant manifestation,—the mystic corn.^{2a}

^{2a} Erman, *Aegyptische Religion*, pp. 54-61 (Text from Louvre C. 30, free translation). Virey, *op. cit.* 165, 204. Wiedemann, *Osiris végétant* (*Muséum*, 1902) p. 1-3. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, Studies in the History of Oriental Religion*, (London, 1907), p. 330ff.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EGYPTIAN RITE

(3b) *Animal and Human Sacrifice*:—Side by side with this simple corn-offering, or gradually supplementing it, we find the presentation of animal foods to the deity in the shape of ox, calf, sheep, gazelle, antelope, etc.—, essentially Mesopotamian fauna. The table of the gods became more and more elaborate, their images were painted, dressed, combed, and anointed every morning, and the daily meal served. Prayers and ceremonies were in other respects identical, but the Holy of Holies became the closed sanctuary of the god, his inviolable precincts.

SUBSTITUTION

Here also the victim is the substitute for a double personality, the soul of the deity, and the soul of the worshipper. As the "bull of Apis", as the eye and heart of the victim, it is Osiris-Horus himself that is sacrificed, but inasmuch as the divinity imparts his nature to the worshipper in such a manner as to become *one* with him, the latter is mystically in the victim, and both god and creature suffer and die together, a strange concept. This feeling was so intense that many of the Pharaohs did not scruple to offer up the life of an enemy or a public criminal to atone for their sins.^{ab}

(4) *Penitential Practice*:—Fasting and physical mortification were in view of the doctrine of substitution of secondary importance. Though ritual-abstinences are here and there to be found, and doubtless accompanied the early agrarian rites, a public or private repudiation of guilt was more meritorious:—

"Hail unto thee, Osiris, Lord of the Twofold Truth! I come unto thee, O my God, I draw near to see thine excellences! I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of the forty-two, who are with thee in the Hall of Truth! I have done no injustice to man. I have committed no fraud. I have done no evil—I have spoken no slander—I have not suffered a slave to be ill-treated—I have committed no murder—done no sacrilege, either to gods or men—I have not been guilty of sins of the flesh, I have not sinned in the sanctuary—I have not given false measure, or deprived the infant of his milk—I am pure, I am pure, I am pure!—No sin can remain with me in this Hall of the twofold Truth. As I know the names of those who are with thee in this Hall, may I be acquitted in their sight!"

Although this is a negative confession of the glorified soul on the day of judgment, the freedom from guilt seems to imply a *remission of sin* during life, and the practice of giving bread to the hungry, clothing the naked, sheltering the poor and orphans, is directly attested on the earliest tombs. Yet even so, this is hardly a confession, but rather a repudiation of sin,—something ideal and visionary.⁴

^{ab} Erman, 1. c. 55-61. Virey, 1. c. 103, 118ff. 196, 248ff. ⁴ Erman, 117-121. Virey, 65, 157-161. (Text: Book of the Dead, chap. 125).

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

EGYPTIAN RITE

(5) *Priesthood*:—It is not as yet very clear to what extent the priest was a minister at these functions. But as he represented the Pharaoh, who was himself a representative, if not an incarnation of the deity, it is clear that he must have been of supreme importance. He was not only a physical but also a moral healer, purified with water, anointed with oil, and consecrated by the High-Priest of all Egypt. As the "son of god" the latter was thus addressed:—

"Thou art Ra, the incarnate Sun, Chepra, the production of Truth! Thou art the living form on earth of thy father Atum of Heliopolis. His substance is in thy mouth, his intelligence in thy heart. The place of thy tongue is the temple of truth, God is on thy lips, and what thou sayest will surely come to pass."

In their costuming the priesthood imitated the vesture of the god. Among these the crown and scepter, with the sacrificial patten, appear very early.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—Father-right and monogamy were firmly established in ancient Egypt. "The son who obeys his father will attain old age"—so ran the proverb. At the same time polygamy was also practiced, and became in time the recognised state of the laity as distinct from the clergy. Adultery was severely punished, and women frequently rose to the priesthood. To judge from the above confession, morality was on a fairly high level, but this must be offset by the custom of marrying one's own sister, by the reckless disregard for human life, by the existence of phallic and animal-worship over wide areas, and by the moral irregularities and perversions that characterised the later temple-rites.⁶

(7) *Burial*:—It may now be regarded as certain, that in the pre-dynastic age the simple earth-burial with contracted corpse was universal, the body being supplied with abundant trinkets and foodstuffs, nay, with the entire family retinue. It is also remarkable that the neolithic graves reveal the skeleton *dismembered*, showing the probable antiquity of the Osiris legend. (His body had been cut into fourteen pieces).

About the middle of the third dynasty (2800), the *pyramid-tomb* began to assume the ascendancy and became the royal mausoleum par excellence. This was simply a development of the stone mound, designed to protect and preserve the body from corruption. Simultaneously the science of *embalming* had attained to such a high state of perfection, that the body was preserved indefinitely, many of the mummies of the middle empire being still on exhibition. The vivid consciousness of immortality, though crude and material, has been brought home by nothing so powerfully as by the *painted spirit-door*, through which the *ka* of the dead man could pass, in order to receive the banquet prepared by his friends! ⁷

⁵ Virey, 89, 90ff. 112, 282ff. ⁶ The Precepts Ptah-Hotep, chaps. 39 and 42. Comp. Westermarck, Human Marriage, 106, 122, 229, 294, 431. ⁷ Erman, 130-166. Virey, 231-275.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

(M, 4) HEBREW—PALESTINIAN RITE

It cannot be our purpose to describe the Levitical ritual except in its barest essentials, except to indicate in the briefest manner the points of contact with Babylonian, Egyptian, Phoenician, and other Western-Asiatic cults, in so far as these go back to a common prehistoric original.

(1) *Circumcision*:—The operation of circumcision, originally a manhood-ceremony, was re-introduced by Abraham as an infancy rite about 2000 B. C. who received the divine command that it should be performed on the *eighth day* after birth. As a tribal ordeal it was a very old custom, which originated, as we have seen in the puberty-rites of the totem-peoples fully twenty thousand years before Christ. After falling into abeyance it was again revived in the West and stripped of its magical and animistic associations. It now became the symbol of the "new pact," with the inspiring words:—

"I will establish my Covenant between me and thy seed for ever!"

It was the occasion of the *naming* of the child and of ceremonial ablutions.¹

(2a) *Purification*:—For it is indeed quite probable that Abraham as a Babylonian brought with him the shiptu-ritual of lower Chaldaea, in which exorcism with water and oil was used on every important occasion. It is difficult to explain the *brazen laver* of the tabernacle and the later temple, with the numerous levitical sprinklings, unless we assume some continuity in the past with a remote tradition on "holy water" as a means of sanctification. Be this as it may, there is something suggestive in the "*seven days of uncleanness*", in the "*three and thirty days of her purification*", in her abstinence "*from every hallowed thing*", and in the "*offering of a lamb for a burnt offering and a pigeon for a sin-offering*", which latter could be commuted for two young *turtle-doves* in cases of indigence. This ceremonial "uncleanness" of the mother is in fact a very widely diffused belief, and though it need not have been borrowed from Assyrio-Babylonian sources, it is from this quarter that we may expect the nearest external resemblances.^{2a}

(2, b) *Presentation*:—The days of purification are closed by the presentation, which is twofold, that of the child and that of the mother. In so far as the *child* is presented, it is solemnly dedicated to Jehovah,—

"Every male that openeth the womb shall be called holy unto the Lord!"

In so far as the mother presents *herself*, it is almost a semi-religious vow to continue in the divine service for the rest of her life, accompanied by the above offering. This became in time a separate ceremony.^{2b}

¹ Gen. 17, 7-14. ^{2a} Exod. 13, 2. Lev. 12, 1-8. Ex. 30, 18. Lev. 8, 11. Comp. P. Haupt, *Babylonian Elements in the Levitical Ritual*, (Journ. Bibl. Lit. 1900) pp. 55-81. ^{2b} Lev. 12, 26. Ex. 13, 2. cited by Luke, 2, 23. Comp. the "Feast of the Presentation".

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

HEBREW—PALESTINIAN RITE

(3a) *Primitive Sacrifice*:—It can easily be shown that to the Jewish mind the unbloody sacrifice could claim the highest antiquity and dignity, though not necessarily the highest intrinsic value. Apart from the “trees of knowledge and life”, and the first-fruit offerings of Kain, we have the “bringing forth” of *bread* and *wine* by Melchisedech, king of Salem, which was apparently a sacrificial act, the “priest of the Most High God” (*Kohen l'el 'elyon*) standing in close apposition. At the same time the offerings of Abel and Noah show that the animal sacrifice had a higher propitiatory value, the substitution-sacrifice of Abraham revealing its equivalence with human life.^{8a}

(3b) *Mosaic Sacrifice*:—As a fact, however, most of the Jewish sacrifices were of mixed, vegetable and animal nature, and this more especially in

THE PASSOVER RITE

Instituted as a perpetual commemoration of the national deliverance from bondage, it easily took on the character of a redemptive sacrifice. The ceremonial *lamb* was to be killed and eaten on the same night (14th of Nizan) and its blood sprinkled over the doorposts. The symbolism was evident:—

“This is the sacrifice of the Lord’s Passover, who passed over the houses of the children of Israel in Egypt, when He smote the Egyptians!”

Moreover it was to be eaten with *unleavened bread* and with *bitter herbs*, the period of Azymes extending over a week, which shows that the bread was a distant type of the Redemption to come, it was a saving, life-giving oblate:—

“This is the Bread which the Lord hath given you to eat!”—

the *manna* of the wilderness reveals its heavenly, life-imparting character. In the Song of Moses we have the first intimation of a ritual chant,—

“I will sing unto the Lord, for He is gloriously great,

The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea!

The Lord is my strength and my song,—He is become my salvation.

He is my God and I will glorify Him, my father’s God and I will praise

Him. The Lord is a man of war, the Lord is His name!”

Concerning the realism of this sacrifice Dr. Renz thus expresses himself: “The original Paschal Rite knows neither priest, altar, or sacrifice (in the levitical sense). *Jahwe Himself* desires to be Priest, Altar, and Sacrifice all in one. He Himself is the spotless Lamb, whose Blood, sprinkled over the doorpost, is able to deliver them from death”. *Jahwe* is therefore mystically *in* the gift, and it is here for the first time that we have the One God of Heaven vitally associated with a sacrificial object.^{8b}

^{8a} Gen. 2, 17. 4, 3-4. 8, 20. 22, 1-14. ^{8b} Exod. 12, 1-27, 15, 1-3. 16, 15. Dr. Franz Renz, *Die Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffs* (Freising, 1901) Vol. I. p. 58 (Cath.)

THE SACRIFICE OF MELCHISEDECH
(HEBREW-PALESTINIAN RITE)

ומלכי-עדק מלך שלם הוציא לחם ויין
והוא כהן לאל עליון

"MELCHISEDECH, KING OF SALEM, BROUGHT FORTH BREAD AND WINE"



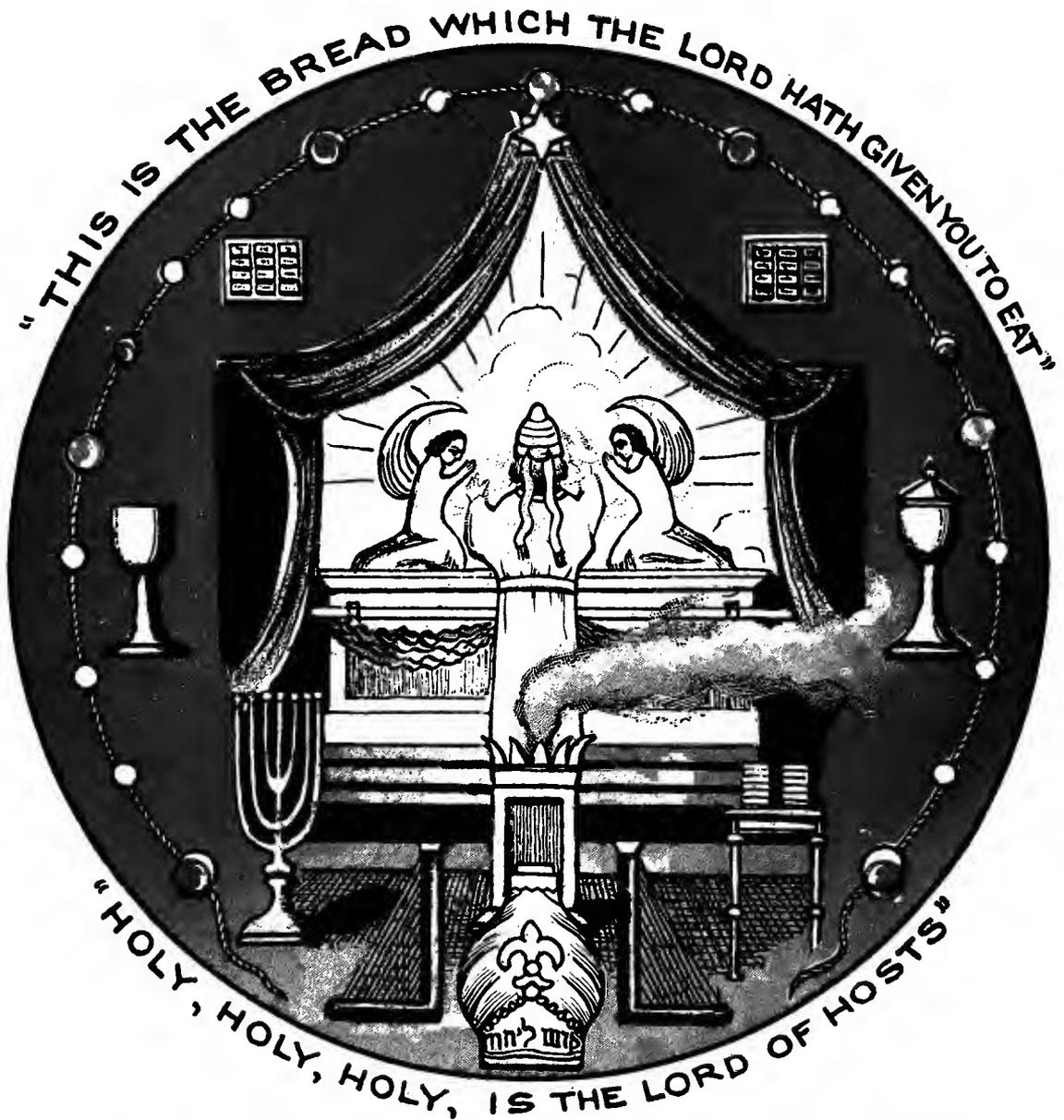
"FOR HE WAS A PRIEST OF THE MOST HIGH GOD"
(GEN. 14, 18)

"BLESSED BE ABRAHAM OF THE MOST HIGH GOD!"
"BLESSED BE THE MOST HIGH GOD!"

"BETWEEN ABRAHAM'S RELIGION AND THE RELIGION OF THE PRIEST-KING MELCHISEDEK THERE EXISTS A CONNEXION OF RELIGIOUS HISTORY UPON WHICH THE LAST WORD HAS NOT YET BEEN SAID. THE MORE OR LESS CLEARLY RECOGNISABLE WORSHIP OF 'GOD MOST HIGH' LINKS ABRAHAM THE BABYLONIAN WITH THE PIOUS KING OF THE CANAANITES." A. JEREMIAS, THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT EAST, (LONDON, 1911), VOL. II, P. 29. COMP. H. GUNKEL, URGESCHICHTE UND PATRIARCHEN (GOTTINGEN, 1911), P. 102, FOR THE HISTORICITY OF THIS CHARACTER.

RECENT SACRIFICE
(HEBREW-PALESTINIAN RITE)

הוּא הַלֶּחֶם אֲשֶׁר נָתַן יְהוָה לָנוּ לֶאֱכֹל



THE HIGH PRIEST ENTERS THE HOLY OF HOLIES AND INCENSES
THE ARK OF THE TESTIMONY CONTAINING THE
HEAVENLY MANNA

קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ קָדוֹשׁ יְהוָה [אֱלֹהֵי] עֲבֹדוֹת

LEVITICAL RITUAL ON THE DAY OF ATONEMENT, (YOM KIPPUR), SHOWING THE PRIESTLY TUNIC, MITRE AND SACRED GIRDLE, THE CUP OF MANNA AND THE PASSOVER-CUP, THE SEVEN-BRANCHED CANDLESTICK, ALTAR OF INCENSE AND TABLE OF SHOWBREADS, STAR OF JACOB, URIM AND THUMMIM, HIGH-PRIESTLY TIARA AND SACRED CHAIN.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

HEBREW—PALESTINIAN RITE

(3c) *Tabernacle-Worship*:—The ritual of the tabernacle and the later temple follows the common tradition of Western Asia in its threefold aspect:—

(1) SYMBOLISM OF THE OUTER COURT

The Altar of Holocausts and the Brazen Laver show the necessity of purification by blood and water. These mixed sacrifices were fourfold:—

<p>A. Burnt-Offering. The <i>Olah koleil</i>, or Daily Holocaust, was totally consumed (<i>latreutic</i>.)</p>	<p>B. Peace-Offering. The <i>Shelamah</i> admitted a sacrificial meal (<i>eu-charistic, impetratory</i>).</p>	<p>C. Sin-Offering. The <i>Chattah</i> was instituted for grave offences, <i>propitiatory for mortal sin</i>.</p>	<p>D. Trespass-Offering. The <i>Asham</i> was instituted for minor offences, <i>propitiatory for venial sin</i>.</p>
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(2) MYSTICISM OF THE HOLIES

The Sanctuary anticipates the higher unbloody sacrifice, to wit—

<p>A. The Light-Offering, for the Candlestick. (Light of the World)</p>	<p>B. The Incense-Offering, for the Altar of Perfumes. (Adoration by Prayer)</p>	<p>C. The Showbread Offering, for the Table of the Lord. (The Blessed Sacrament)</p>
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These features are suggestive enough, they will speak for themselves.

(3) ENTRANCE TO THE HOLY OF HOLIES

Only on the Day of Atonement could the high priest open the veil of the testimony and sprinkle the Ark of the Covenant and the Mercy-Seat with the mystic blood. Hymns of praise may well have been chanted on such occasions:—

*"Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord of Hosts! All the earth is full of His Glory!"
Hosannah to the Highest! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord! Hosannah to the Highest!"*

The typical application is evident:—"Some day Jahwe will be sacrificed in the Court (this *Earth*), He will lay the foundation of the Holies (the *Church*) and He will open the Holy of Holies to all mankind (in *Heaven*)".^{3c}

(3d) *The Malachaian World-Mincha*:—Finally we have the classic prophecy of a universal sacrifice to be offered daily in all places:—

"From the rising up of the sun even unto the going down of the same, my name shall be great among the gentiles, and in every place incense shall be offered unto my name and a pure offering. For my name shall be great among the gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts!"^{3d}

(3e) *Human Sacrifice*:—The doctrine of substitution saved the Jews from the human holocaust. This was not the case with the Canaanites, Phoenicians and Carthaginians, among whom the abominable practice of burning infants alive or throwing them under the Moloch-wagon is amply testified.^{3e}

^{3c} Lev. 1-7. Ex. 27. 28. 30. Lev. 24. Is. 6, 3. Ps. 117, 25, 26. Renz, op. cit. I. 87. Comp. Thalhofer, *Das Opfer des alten und des neuen Bundes* (Ratisbon, 1870) p. 75ff. ^{3d} Mal. 1, 11. (Douai has present tense). ^{3e} Movers, *Das Opferwesen der Karthager und Phönizier* (1847)

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

HEBREW—PALESTINIAN RITE

(4) *Atonement*:—The *Kappora*, or “Covering” of sin, is the proximate effect of the trespass-offering, supplemented by a confession of guilt and a satisfaction, either to the aggrieved party, or to the priest of the Lord. On the great Day of Atonement (the 10th of Tishri) there is a national confession and remission of sin, accompanied by prolonged wailing and “affliction of soul”. The high priest sends the *scape-goat* into the desert to “carry off their sins”, confessing over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel.

“*Pardon, O Lord, Pardon thy people, and be not angry with us for ever!*”

With the blood of the *first goat* he has sprinkled people, sanctuary, and Holy of Holies as described above. The healing of diseases is accomplished by similar exorcisms. Strict fasts are decreed on the Day of Atonement.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*:—It is clear that priest and patriarch were original-identical terms. But from the time of the exodus we find three distinct orders of sacred functionaries,—(1) The High Priesthood (beginning with Aaron). (2) The Aaronitic Priesthood (the sons of Aaron). (2) The Levitical Order, (the sons of Levi). They are anointed with oil, and wear the usual Asiatic insignia, the lofty mitre and the staff being the highest emblems of authority.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*:—While monogamy was looked upon as the primitive and ideal state of humanity, the practice of taking two or more wives was evidently regarded as having a divine sanction. Polygamy steadily grew in popular and royal favor, until by the time of Solomon it exceeded all reasonable limits (300 wives and 700 concubines!). Though the position of woman was respectable and protected by the highest social and moral practice, it could hardly be called ideal. Marriage was a purely legal contract, and could be dissolved by the “writ of divorcement” with as little difficulty as it could be embraced. Nevertheless the family life of the patriarchs exhibits many examples of noble and unselfish devotion on both sides, and the names of Sarah and Rebecca, of Ruth and Naomi, will ever be associated with what is best and highest in female nature. This means that national exogamy was regarded with favor.⁶

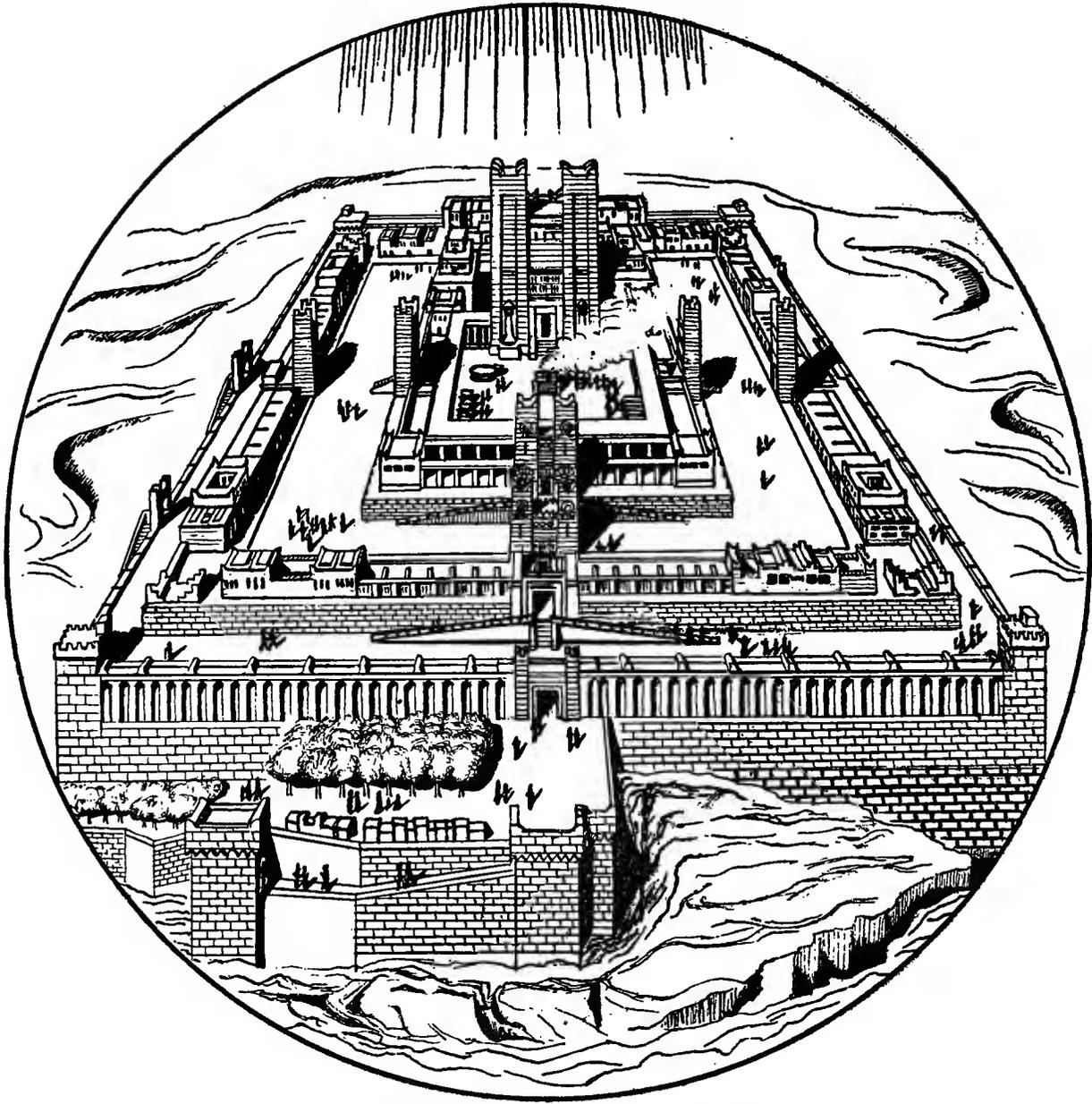
(7) *Burial*:—The idea of the family cemetery appears to be strongly developed from the earliest times. Earth, cave, and tomb-burial all claimed an equal share in the method of disposal, but the absence of cremation is again noticeable. The custom of embalming was introduced from Egypt. Though self-laceration was discountenanced, mourning in “sackcloth and ashes” was approved. The absence of offerings reflects a more spiritual view of the hereafter.⁷

⁴ Lev. 16. 23, 26. Num. 5, 5. 29, 7. Text founded on Joel, 2, 17. Healing of Lepers, Lev. 14, 1-57. ⁵ Ex. 28. 29. Lev. 8-9. Num. 3-4. ⁶ Gen. 4, 19. Lev. 18. Deut. 24. ⁷ Gen. 25, 9. 50, 26.

RECENT SACRIFICE
(HEBREW-PALESTINIAN RITE)

THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM

AS IT APPEARED IN THE VISIONS OF EZEKIEL.
"SURGE ET ILLUMINARE, JERUSALEM" (IS. 60, 1)



BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE SANCTUARY, WITH THE OUTER COURTS AND BUILDINGS, BASED CHIEFLY ON THE RESTORATIONS BY CHIEPIEZ, A HISTORY OF ART IN SARDINIA, JUDAEA, SYRIA, AND ASIA MINOR, (BY FERROT AND CHIEPIEZ, LONDON, 1890).

RECENT SACRIFICE
(PERSIAN RITE)

PLAN OF A PARSEE FIRE-TEMPLE, BOMBAY, INDIA

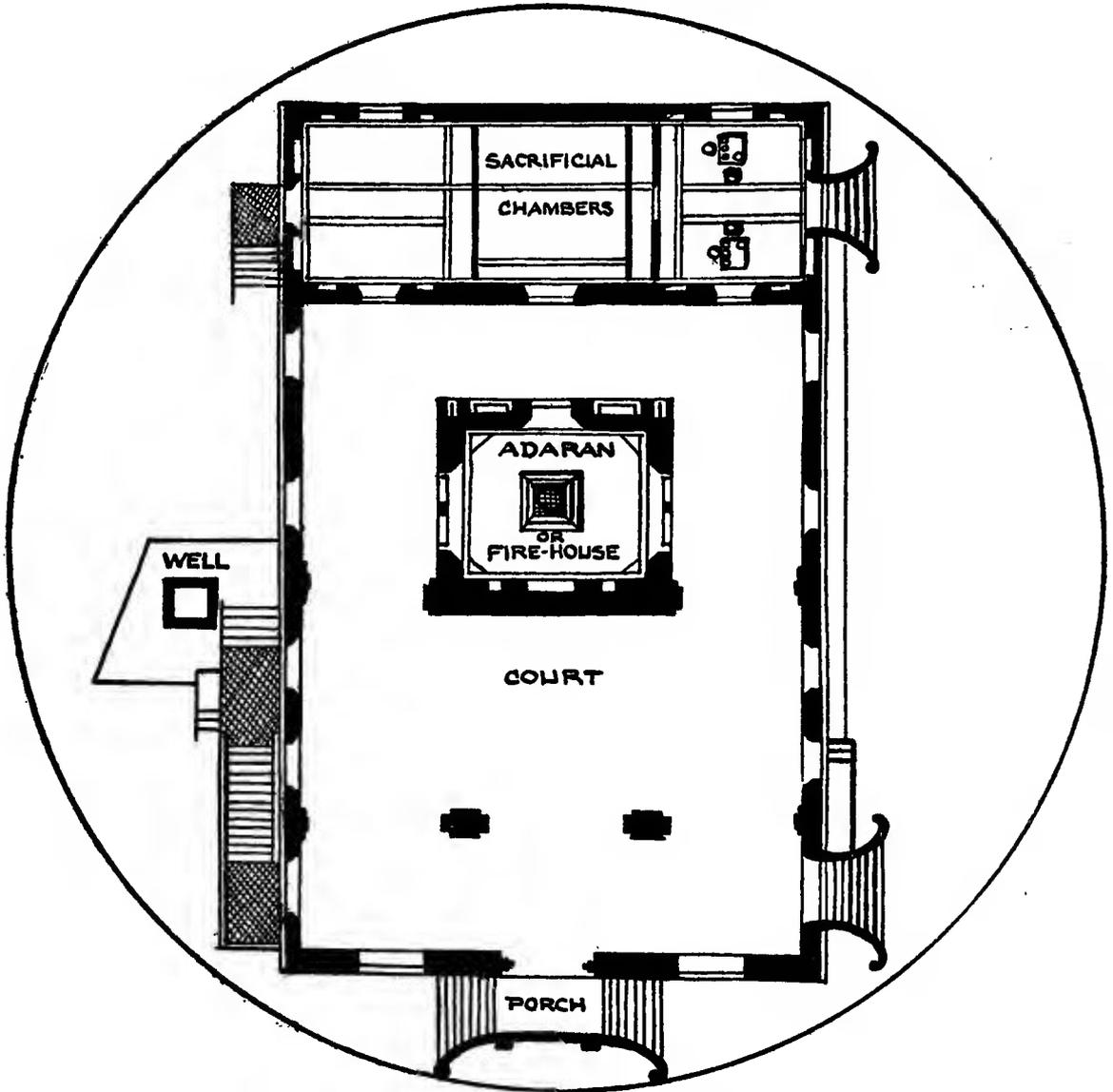


DIAGRAM TAKEN FROM JAMES DARMESTETER, THE ZEND-AVESTA, (PARIS, 1892), PL. I.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

(N, 5) PERSIAN RITE

The following represents the primitive Persian ritual as reconstructed from the earliest Avestic sources (700-900 B. C.)

(1) *Birth-Ceremonies*:—Purification by *water* is well attested in the earliest liturgical fragments, and was evidently applied to infants and mothers at birth, as may be inferred from the following powerful invocation:—

"I will praise the water of the sacred river, Ardvi Sura Anahita, the wide-flowing, the healing in its influence, powerful against demons, devoted to Ahura's lore, worshipped with sacrifice within the corporeal world, furthering all living beings,—holy, helping on the increase of our herds and settlements,—holy, increasing our wealth,—holy, helping on the progress of the land,—holy, as indeed she is!" Then follows:—*"The sacred River, which purifies the seed of all male beings, which sanctifies the wombs of all women at birth, which makes all women fortunate in labor, and brings them regular and timely flow of milk"*.

An actual birth-formula may be discerned in the prayer of Zoroaster:—

"O ye waters! I beseech you for this favor. Grant unto me this blessing, in whose bestowal ye flow down to me for my bettering, with never failing truth. O ye waters! I beseech you for wealth and power of many kinds and for a self-dependent offspring whom multitudes may bless, and for whose wasting or defeat or death or vengeful punishment or overtaking, may no man pray!"

To what extent this was a pouring or sprinkling-ceremony cannot be determined, but the description of the water as "Mazda-made" is significant,—though the same epithet is also applied to nearly every other substance.¹

(2) *Maturity-Rite*:—Purification by *fire* is of the very essence of Iranian faith, the sacred flame being tended day and night without intermission:—

"Be now aflame within this house, be ever without fail in flame!

Be all ashine within this house, be on thy growth within this house!"

"Give me, O Fire, Ahura Mazda's Son! that whereby instructors to me may be allotted, now and for evermore, giving light to me of Heaven, the best life of the saints, brilliant, all-glorious. May I reap the good reward, the good renown, the long forecasting preparation of the soul!"

This "preparation" was accomplished by a catechetical *zand* or instruction, in which domestic, civil, and religious duties, with purity "in thought, word and deed", were severely inculcated. It was the entrance into Mazda's Kingdom, though the description of the fire as Mazda's "son" reveals its strongly animistic coloring.²

¹ Fr. Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde* (Leipzig, 1873) p. 51ff. L. H. Mills, *The Zend-Avesta*, Part. III. *Yasna*, *Visparad Afrinagan*, *Gahs*, etc. (S. B. E. Oxford, Vol. XXXI.), *Yasna LXV.* p. 316-320. 321ff. ² Spiegel, p. 45ff. Mills, *Yasna*, LXII. p. 313-316. Y. XIX-XXI. p. 259-269.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

PERSIAN RITE

(3a) *Haoma-Sacrifice*:—It is generally admitted that the sacrifice of the Soma-plant is one of the oldest forms of Aryan worship, and one of the few that are “essentially connected with prayer” (Schrader).

THE ‘DRAONA-OBLATE’ AND THE ‘HAOMA-WINE’

That this offering was consumed under two species, solid and liquid, admits of no doubt, and is evident from the following offertories:—

“With a perfect and a holy oblation I offer this Myasda, and I offer the Haoma and the Haoma Juice for the propitiation of the spirit of Zoroaster Spitama, the saint, and I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for the propitiation of the Fire, O Thou, Ahura-Mazda’s son! And I offer the Haoma with a perfect and a holy oblation for the propitiation of the sacred waters, Mazda-made! And I offer this Haoma-water, this fresh milk, this sacrificial sheaf!” etc.

This means that solid wafers and a fermented drink were prepared and offered up with incense upon an altar, the former being expressed by *myasda* (*draona*), the latter being known as *parahaoma*, or sacred mixture.

This would be accompanied by the singing of the Gathas:—

“Salvation’s Hail be his, whoever he may be! May the All-Ruling send it! He supreme o’er strife. Long-lasting strength be ours, of Thee I ask it, For the upholding Right, this, Holy Zeal, vouchsafe us,— Rich Power, Blest Rewards, the Good Mind’s Life!” (See p. 291).

Then might follow an abjuration of sin (p. 376), and finally what may be called a “consecration”, an invocation to the Soma-deity:—

“I am Haoma, the Holy, the driving death afar! Pray unto me, and prepare me for thy taste. Praise me in thy praises as the saints do praise!”

Six blessings are then besought, and the faithful are invited to partake:—

“Eat, O ye men, of this Myasda, ye who have deserved it by your stainless life!”

Praises are then sung in thanksgiving for this gift of the Creator:—

“Praise unto Haoma, Mazda-made! Good is Haoma, Mazda-made! All the plants of the Haoma do I praise! From the silver cup I pour Thee to the golden chalice forth. Let not thy sacred liquor spill to earth, of precious cost!”

The chants and dedications are repeated, and the service is closed.

Now it is important to realise that the Haoma was not a mere charm but a *personal divinity*,—forming, with the Vedic god Mithra, a union, even in the most ancient times, ages before the Iranian and the Indian became two separate peoples. This *may* be called a polytheistic, as it was certainly an animistic cult, but it does not compromise the fact that a superior *deity* was believed to impart His spiritual strength *through* the Soma, that this was His symbolic manifestation.³

³ Schrader, *Reallexicon der indogermanischen Alterthumskunde* (Strassb. 1901), pp. 599, 605. Mills, *Yasna*, VII. pass. XLIII, 1. (Gathas, Leipzig, p. 3), *Yasna*, IX. 2, 19 (Hom Yasht), VIII. 2, X, 17. (S. B. E. XXXI. pp. 222-243. Comp. also Visparad, III-XII, (Ibid. p. 341-355) for ritual law, rubrics, etc. The Soma was “lifted up”).

THE MYSTERIES OF MITHRAS OR

THE SO-CALLED 'MITHRAIC COMMUNION'

AS PRACTICED ACCORDING TO THE DECADENT RITUAL OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE:
ON THE LEFT A 'RAVEN' AND A 'PERSIAN', ON THE RIGHT A 'SOLDIER' AND A 'LION'

"WHISTLE! SNARL! GRUNT! DRAW YOUR BREATH THREE TIMES!"

"HELIOS THOU SON OF HEAVEN!"



"MITHRAS, THOU GOD OF THE ROCK!"

THE HELIODROME INVOKES THE "GREAT SUN" (?)

BAS-RELIEFS FROM KONJICA, ESQUILIA, AND OTHER PARTS, COLLECTED BY FRANZ CUMONT, AND ILLUSTRATED IN HIS WORK "DIE MYSTERIEN DES MITHRA" (LEIPZIG, 1911), PL. III. FOR THE TEXT OF THE RITUAL, SEE THE SAME, AND COMPARE A. DIETRICH'S, EINE MITHRASLITURGIE, (LEIPZIG, 1910), PP. 7, 11, 218 (FOR RUBRICS, INVOCATIONS, ETC.)

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

PERSIAN RITE

(3b) *Hellenistic Development*:—This essential connexion of Haoma-Soma with the primitive Persian pantheon finds its historical complement in

THE MYSTERIES OF MITHRAS

For if *Ahura-Mithra-Hacoma* represented in the pre-Gathic Aryan period the idea of Heaven-Light-Immortality in general, though doubtless described under concrete images as Sky-Sun-Earth, etc., it was only natural that on deeper theological reflection the triad should be unified, and the great “mediator of light, truth, and friendship” brought into bold prominence as

THE SO-CALLED INCARNATION OF ALL-FATHER-HEAVEN

This was accomplished by a fusion of the Iranian Mithras with the *Bel-Marduk-Jupiter* cult of Babylon and with the Phrygian and Cappadocian worship of *Attis* and *Cybele*, not to speak of the possible Egyptian influence of *Osiris-Ra*, the “many-eyed”, the “all-seeing-one”, the savior of his people. From the former was obtained the legend of Mithras and sacred Bull, the idea of the triumph of man over the lower creation and of his conquest of the sun, from the latter the equally-inspiring doctrine of the annual death, resurrection, and assumption of Mithras into heaven. But the development did not stop here. The great banquet of the god was not forgotten, it was

HIS MANIFESTATION IN THE MYSTIC BROTHERHOOD OF LOVE

The old liturgy can dimly be recognised in the purifications with water and fire, followed by the consecration, elevation, and consumption of the cruciform *altar-breads* and of the mixed chalice of *wine* and *water*, which had taken the place of the old Haoma-juice,—this undoubtedly due to Christian influence. Nay more, we find the same adoration of the heavenly food with chants and incense, the same description of its physical and spiritual life-imparting character, the same *baresma* or sacred sheaf-bundle, and essentially the same priestly ornaments, among which the Persian mitre or the Phrygian cap have ever been the most distinctive. On the other hand, the wording of the liturgy, with its serio-cosmic situations is decidedly appalling, and reveals an undeniable deterioration.

THE SEVEN DEGREES OR MITHRAIC “SACRAMENTS”

Still more interesting was the division of the faithful into seven degrees of initiates who were bound together by a solemn oath (*sacramentum*), known as Raven, Cryptic, Soldier, Lion, Persian, Heliodrome, and Father, the title “Father of fathers” being reserved for the head of the hierarchy. Doubtless the whole system was the result of ages of syncretistic developments, but we must be prepared for its high antiquity and a comparatively high tone of ascetical practice, though much of the Mithraism of the Roman empire was undoubtedly influenced by Christian forms of thought and expression.^{3b}

^{3b} Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithras* (Leipzig, 1911) pp. 1-28, 95-135, 136-163 (with photographic plates). A. Gasquet, *Essai sur le Culte et les Mystères de Mithras* (Paris, 1899). Comp. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 29-31, 302ff. Mills, *Hom-Yasht* (S. B. E. XXXI) p. 230. Spiegel, *op. cit.* p. 78, 114ff.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

PERSIAN RITE

(4) *The Mazda-Yasnian Confession*.—Note the following abjuration of sin:—"I confess myself a Mazdayasnian of the order of Zoroaster, the enemy of the demons, devoted to the lore of the Lord, praiser of the bountiful Immortals!—And therefore I abjure all robbery, all violence against the sacred kine, all drought to the wasting of the Mazdayasnian villages. And I abjure the shelter and the headship of the demons, evil as they are and bereft of good, void of virtue, deceitful in their wickedness,—the Demon-of-the-Lie, the most loathsome of existing things, bereft of good! Off, off do I abjure the demons,—and the sorcerers,—their thoughts, words, and deeds,—and their seed—and the iniquitous of every kind!" Fasting and self-flagellation frequently accompanied this act, but it was still a long way off a personal confession of individual sins to an authorised minister.⁴

(5) *Priesthood*.—Already in the earlier period we find a well-developed hierarchy, in which the *Zaotar*, the *Ratu*, and the *Mobad* corresponded to some extent to priest, deacon, and sub-deacon, the priest being entrusted with the *zaothra*, or holy water, and the *baresma*, or sheaf-bundle. Over all stood the chief *zaotar*, or the "Arch-Priest" clothed with the Persian mitre. The *mobads* were subdivided into *Havanan*, or Mortarman, *Atarevakhsha*, Fire-tender, *Frabaretar*, Presenter, *Aberet*, Water-carrier, *Asnatar*, Washer, *Rathwiskar*, Soma-mixer, *Sraoshavareza*, Flagellant,—in all seven minor orders. Purifications with fire, water, honey, or oil, were a necessary step to admission.⁵

(6) *Matrimony*.—The practice of *monogamy*, with purity in thought, word, and deed, was one of the most distinctive features of the old Zoroastrian faith.

*"I will love him and vie with him, since from my father he gained me!
The pure for the pure ones—May Ahura-Mazda grant it for ever!"*

This solemn profession of fidelity was followed by the priestly blessing:—

"By these laws of the Faith which I utter, obtain ye the life of the Good Mind! Let each one the other in righteousness cherish!"

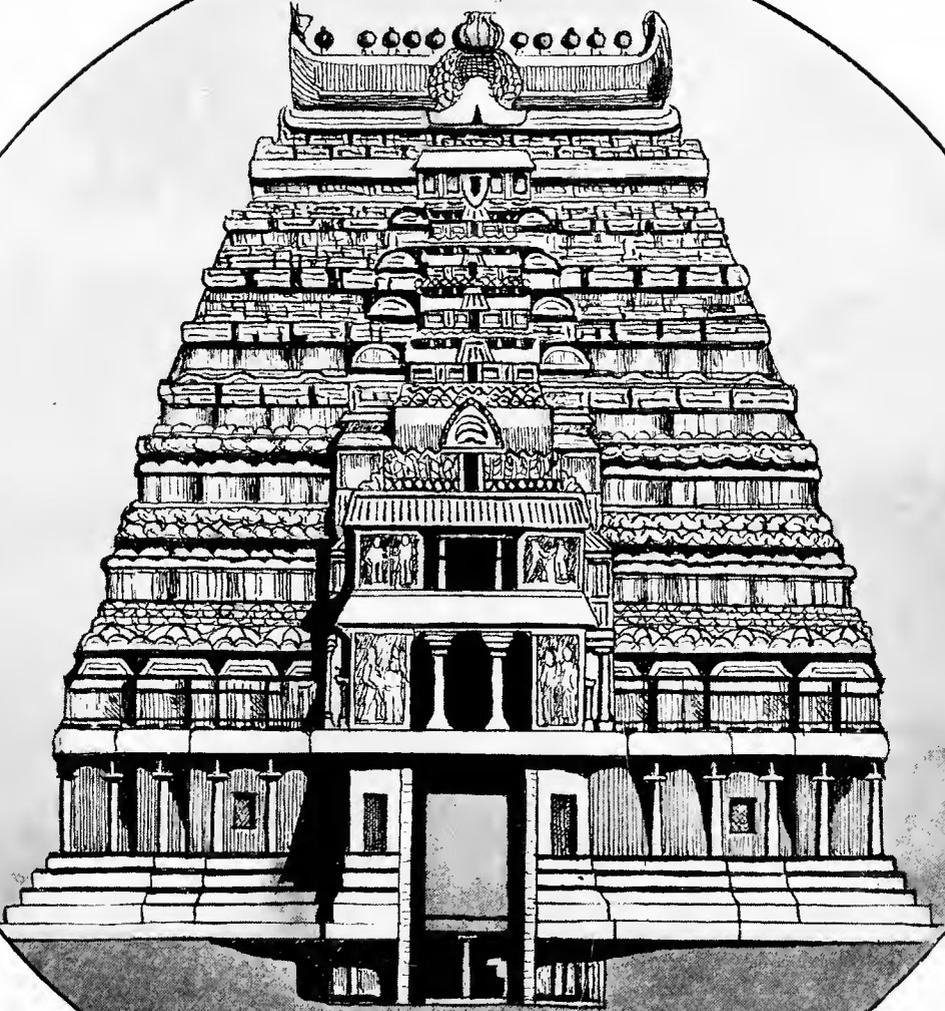
Institutions were evidently patriarchal and aristocratic, but although polygamy and divorce were alike discountenanced in ancient times, they became common enough in the historic period, and the only flaw to an ideal family system was the kinship-marriage which often passed into actual incest.⁶

(7) *Burial*.—It likewise appears that burial of the dead in the tomb (with occasional cremation) was the original Iranian practice, the custom of exposing the corpse in the "tower of silence" belonging to the later period.⁷

⁴ Mills, *Yasna*, XII. ⁵ *Idem*, *Yasna*, II. *Visparad*, III. ⁶ Y. LIII. ⁷ *Idem*, p. XXXI. *Comp. Geiger*, *The Civilisation of the eastern Iranians in ancient times, for Persian archaeology in general*. Also James Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, (Paris, 1892), Vol. I. (Introduction).

RECENT SACRIFICE
(BRAHMINISTIC RITE)

THE SERINGHAM PAGODA OF TRINCHINOPOLI



APPROXIMATE OUTLINES OF THE STRUCTURE ILLUSTRATING THE STEP-MOTIF
IN THE MODERN HINDOO ARCHITECTURE

RECENT SACRIFICE
(BRAHMINISTIC RITE)

THE CAVE-TEMPLE OF VISHVAKARMAN, ELLORA, INDIA



THE BUDDHIST CAVE-TEMPLES ARE HEWN OUT OF THE SOLID ROCK, AND HERE IS THE SANCTUARY OF VISHVAKARMAN, ONE OF THE PROMINENT DEITIES OF THE ANCIENT PANTHEON

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

HINDOO-CHINESE RITE

In countries where the Brahministic faith is in the ascendant,—using the word in the widest sense as a conglomerate of refined nature-worship with metempsychosis in the background,—we find a superficial resemblance of thought and practice to much of the foregoing, but revealing on closer examination the strong naturalistic undergrowth by which it is tainted, an element which we have already traced to a prehistoric contact with the totem-peoples of Southern Asia. These regions embrace the greater part of Aryan India and to some extent of Mongolian China, and a few notes on this subject seem to be called for.

(1) The consciousness of depravity, with a growing moral pessimism, finds its expression in the excessive multiplication of exorcism-rites by which delivery from the pains of *karma*, or reincarnation, was hoped to be secured. Hence the Bath-House or the water-front were in continual requisition, not only for curing the original uncleanness, but for daily, nay even hourly, purification. It is not surprising therefore that the use of “holy water” should be more conspicuous in this than any former age, in itself a laudable practice, but one that was rarely if ever associated with a unique personal divinity,—it was a reversion, unconsciously, no doubt, to the magical control of the sinister powers of nature by contrary influences, an expurgating spell. The comparatively low and “impure” condition of women, while by no means universal, emphasises the growing disgust for physical existence in general.

(2) While the early Vedic initiations still breathe the lofty spirit of the Avesta, with personal prayers, consecrations, absolutions with water, investiture with the sacred girdle, moral and religious instruction, etc., they became more and more the privilege of a special *caste*, and in the later Hindoo rites ascetical practices in the shape of fasting and self-torture had reached such a height of unnatural development as to culminate in the incredible austerities of the famous “anchorites” with nothing more hopeful than entire self-extinction or absorption into the great Brahma, the unconscious All.

(3) In like manner the sacrificial worship shows a steady degeneration, from the primitive Soma-offering to the horse, the ox, and even the human sacrifice. The so-called Buddhist “Mass” retains many elements of the primitive concept and the Chinese emperor undoubtedly offers his annual holocaust to the great *Shang-Ti* above; but on the other hand the “enlightened” ascetics repudiated all external immolations as useless, and it is important to understand that the religion of these devotees was largely self-centered, not to say egotistic; they relied on their own, not on supernatural power. Apart from this, however, sacrificial observances do not greatly deviate from the normal. The commonest form of religious offering in most of these lands consists in the burning of scented sticks or aromatic spices through which the favor of this or that divinity is sought to be obtained.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

HINDOO-CHINESE RITE

(4) Expiation, in the sense of a personal accusation of faults and with a definite moral content, was to be found side by side with self-flagellation and bodily torments endured for their own sake or as a means for entirely extinguishing the lower appetites. As is well known, the penitential discipline originally included works of charity, feeding the hungry, nursing the sick, etc. and it was only among the extreme ascetics of later times that the doctrine of self-help gave birth to a fatalistic view of existence, which, especially in the Mongol kingdoms, excluded all aid to the suffering. Yet even here, the existence of medical dispensaries tells a different story,—consistency is rarely to be found in any of these nature-religions.

(5) The clerical state, formerly within the reach of all, was now made so difficult of entrance, that only the enlightened few had any chance of attaining to it, the *Brahminical* Priesthood being narrow, ultra-exclusive, and contemptuous of manual labor. While this may be interpreted as in a certain sense "aristocratic", it led to a growing estrangement of the people, who, precisely through this neglect, fell into every kind of grovelling superstition. Hence the infinite variety of faiths in modern India.

(6) This dualism became still more pronounced in everything that concerned the moral and matrimonial life. While it is undeniable that purity in thought, word and deed, and even absolute chastity, were held out as the highest ideals of man, the development of this true and noble doctrine became so one-sided among the higher yogi devotees that it condemned marriage as something immoral,—the parent of all the Montanism and Manichaeism that were destined to overrun the West. The consequences to public morality were naturally most deplorable. With the sanctity of human life branded at its very source, the people in their despair gave themselves up to every form of natural and unnatural indulgence, and had it not been for the innate conservatism of humanity, the "religious marriage", with the edifying ceremonies that still accompany it, might have been swept from the face of the land.

(7) In the disposal of the dead we also meet with a corresponding variety of practice, but the frequency of cremation is in harmony with a growing disregard for the body, with a more pessimistic view of its ultimate destiny.

To sum up,—we cannot afford to lightly dismiss a series of religious beliefs, which, however decadent, represent for hundreds of millions of souls their only hope of deliverance, their only escape from sorrow and pain.¹

¹ Sources in S. B. E. (Oxford), Vol. I. II. VII-XV. XVII-XXII. XXV-XXVI. XXXII-XLIV. (India), III. XVI. XIX. XXVII-XXVIII (China). Comp. also Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, (Berlin, 1894), Hildebrandt, *Ritual-Literatur Vedischer Opfer und Zauber* (Jena, 1897). Rev. C. F. Aiken, D. D., *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, (Boston, 1900), for a comparative estimate.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

GRAECO-ROMAN RITE

Somewhat more hopeful was the development of theology in the Western-Aryan region, where as a fact it paved the way for the seed of the gospel. Not the escape from existence, but, on the contrary, the glorification of life in all its artistic fulness, this was the ideal of the Greek and Roman. If we take the Augustan empire as the climax of the Graeco-Latin spirit, fused as no doubt it was with nearly every cult of the Orient, we shall find practically the whole spiritual world represented in miniature, and focussed upon one single point,—the city of Rome, the meeting-point of the nations. So much has been said of the boundless corruptions of this great Circe of the West, that it is time that the brighter side of the picture were also presented, even if only to enumerate a few of its more elevating aspects.

(1) Apart from the Mithraic "fonts", which had penetrated into the remotest confines of the empire, we have reasons to believe that the *lavacrum* and the temple bath-house served the purpose in part at least of religious purification-ceremony, in which water was poured or sprinkled over the neophyte in probably the same manner as in the eastern rites. Certain it is that the idea of a *baptizeria* can be traced to Homeric times, where we find ceremonial ablutions distinctly enjoined as preparation for any solemn event, and in the times of Terence and Plutarch we hear of a lustration ceremony on the eighth or ninth day after birth, during which the new-born child received its distinctive name and was consecrated to heaven by a suitable sacrifice. There can be no doubt of its religious significance.¹

(2) The more barbaric initiations by fire and physical endurance have given place to a refined system of *education*, in which the youth of both sexes were carefully trained and prepared for the duties of civil and matrimonial life. At the assumption of the *toga virilis*, the Roman boy was solemnly dedicated to the service of the state-gods with impressive ceremonies.²

(3a) The old agrarian sacrifice of the Homeric age, in which a meal-offering was prepared for the deity, (*oulai*), and libations of wine were made in his presence, (*spondai*), may still be detected in the annual harvest-festival celebrated by the Roman Pontiffs in the temple of Jupiter-Capitolinus, not to speak of the *Bacchic Mysteries*, the *Ceres-Festivals*, the *Mithraic Suppers*, etc. in which the "bread of chastity" was eaten or the "chalice of life" was drunk in the hope of attaining to some special praeternatural purity of soul. That this was in part attained, in spite of corruptions, should not surprise us, though we have already noted its very flip-pant and largely degenerate character.³

¹ Iliad, I. 449. III. 270, etc. Terence, Andria, 3, 2-3. Plutarch, Quaest. Rom. 102. Cicero, De Leg. 2, 10. ² Cicero, ad Att. 6, 1, 12. Ovid, Fasti, 3, 771. (Feast of the Liberalia). ³ Iliad, I. 449 (oulai), II. 341 (spondai). Lucian, De Sacrificiis. 14 (to lares and penates), and compare R. Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen, (Leipzig, 1910) and p. 375 above.

RECENT ASIATIC FORM

GRAECO-ROMAN RITE

(3b) But this was not deemed sufficient to appease the anger of divinity except for the very elect, those who had risen above the grosser failings of humanity. For the sins of the nation gigantic *hecatombs* were offered as early as the days of the heroes, and the ox, the horse, and the sheep recall the common Indogermanic materials of sacrifice. That human life itself was not spared on these greater occasions, is only too evident, and it is the one stain that disfigures the whole of the Western-Aryan worship.^{3b}

(4) Penitential practice reveals the greatest contrasts, from the cast-iron rigorism of the Stoics and oriental sects to the easy, happy-go-lucky morality of the Epicureans and later Hedonists, in which the pursuit of pleasure was extolled as the highest duty of man. A middle course was steered by the ordinary fasts and penances that were commonly imposed by the *flamens*.⁴

(5) For it is more especially in the hierarchical organisation that we discern the greatest external resemblances to the Christian Priesthood. The very names of *Pontifex Maximus* and *Flamen Dialis* will speak for themselves; they were held in the greatest reverence as the channels, nay as the incarnations of deity, they were obliged to live up to the highest ethical and monogamous standards, and it is from them that we obtain the Roman *Pallium*, to a less extent the Cope, Chasuble, Dalmatics, Tunics, Albs, Maniples, and other items of ecclesiastical millinery, the mitre being probably of oriental origin. Moreover in the *Vestal Virgins* we have a distinct anticipation of an order of female celibates, consecrated to Heaven by the emission of vows.⁵

(6) It can no longer be maintained that Roman morals were that unspeakable thing painted by the later cynics. Before the days of decadence *monogamy without divorce* was the law of the land, marriages were valid only when celebrated in the presence of the priest (*confarreatio*), and though the legal position of women was good, it was hardly as high as in some of our modern Christian states.⁶

(7) Finally, in the matter of burial, we find the nearest approach to the Christian tomb in the reverential disposal of the dead in the earliest ages.⁷

Now it is quite true that this picture reflects the Rome of the Kings and Consuls rather than that of the Caesars, when corruption was already flowing in a mighty torrent. But it does represent the external mould, as it were, into which the new metal of the Christian Faith was about to be poured. The subject tapers too much into the historical field to be further discussed.

^{3b} Iliad and Odyssey passim-Iphigenia, etc. ⁴ See the works of Horace, Sallust, Juvenal, and Seneca for contemporary sects. ⁵ Livy, Roman History, 1, 20. Cic. De Leg. 2, 8, 12, (for *pontifex*). ⁶ Cicero, pro Flacc. 34. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 2, 25 (for *confarreatio*). ⁷ See the early classics throughout, and compare Joseph Müller, *Das sexuelle Leben der alten Kulturvölker*, (Leipzig, 1902), pp. 43, 84ff. for Graeco-Roman morals in general.

RECENT OCEANIC FORM

(N, 6) POLYNESIAN RITE

In the far eastern world the more prominent features of this newer cult can still be traced, though they lack the refining element that was destined to prepare the world for the classic civilisation of Europe. Passing over the Indo-Melanesian zone, we may take the modern Polynesian culture as a fair exponent of its more recent Oceanic development.

(1) *Birth-Customs*—At the moment of birth the Samoan child is placed under the custody of the household god, the *aitu fale*, from which it receives its name, followed by the usual *purification-baths* for parent and infant. This occasion is not lacking in solemnity and religious fervor, as the child is believed to be not only the protégé but the incarnation of the special divinity that descends in the father's line, the father being in fact the family priest, though mother-kin is also recognised. One of the commonest household patrons is known as "Child of the Moon", *Aleimasima*, the son of Heaven and Earth being the common Polynesian *Tangaroa*, the ever renewing Moon. "*Child of the Moon, you have come!*"—such is a common exclamation to the protecting spirit that watches over the new fledgeling.

(2) *Maturity Rites*:—But it is more especially at a solemn feast of the New Moon, which may be fixed for any period of the child's life, that the members of the family join together in the following prayer,—

"O Child of the Moon! Keep far away disease and death!"

This is accompanied by food-offerings to the birth-deity and prolonged feasting, though it has no essential connexion with a coming-of-age ceremony. A more distinct initiation-rite is marked by the custom of *branding* and *tattooing*, which admits the youth to the full privileges of manhood. That these ordeals, though theoretically religious, are mixed up with sexual and phallic dances, seems to be certain,—they are indeed barbaric and reflect the growing degeneracy of the period to which they belong.

(3) *The Sacred Cup-Sacrifice*:—Like other peoples of this age, the Samoans have advanced to closed temple-worship. At the annual May-Festival a coconut-cup is suspended from the temple roof, and part of its contents is poured out or dedicated before the god of heaven (*Rangi*), the remainder being consumed by the worshippers according to rank, *all* drinking from the same cup.

"With my hand on this cup, may Heaven-God look upon me, and send me swift destruction, if I took the thing which has been stolen!"

This conjuration-formula, by which sin is repudiated, reveals an ethical content to the ceremony which is surprising, for "they firmly believed that it would be death to touch the cup and to tell a lie" (!).

RECENT OCEANIC FORM

POLYNESIAN RITE

(3b) *Human Sacrifice*:—While the modern Samoans have outgrown the barbarity of the human sacrifice, there is ample evidence for its practice in the adjacent Oceanic regions, the Sandwich Islands and Tahiti being particularly famous for this form of immolation, formerly no doubt very prevalent. Yet common as it is, it belongs to a comparatively recent epoch.

(4) *Penitential Practice*:—This is the region above all others in which the *taboo* is in force, understanding by this a complicated system of fasts and abstinences,—a relic of the old totem-cult. Personal penances invariably assume this form, frequently coupled, however, with a public accusation and satisfaction for the crimes or faults committed. Though Polynesian justice is strict, the religious conception of sorrow is weakly developed.

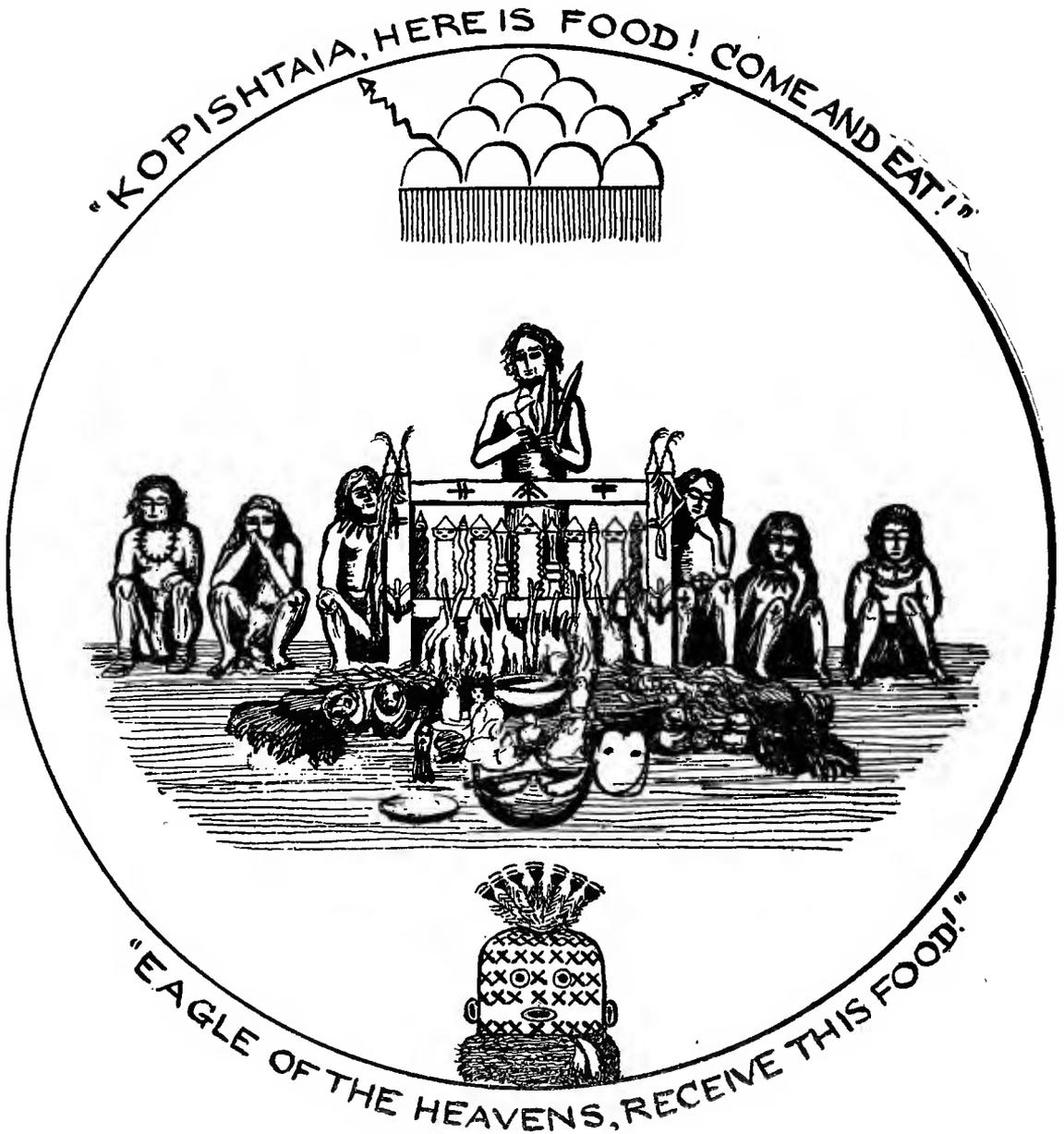
(5) *Priesthood*:—As in India, the caste-system pervades all branches of Polynesian society, including the priesthood. It is true that domestic worship is commonly conducted by the father of the family (*supra*), but all the more important public functions are in the hands of an order of hereditary *tulafale*, or pleading-chiefs, who constitute a landed aristocracy and culminate in that typical institution of the South-Sea Islands, the *Priest-kingship*, with agnatic descent. So great is the power vested in this Polynesian “pope”, that in some cases he cannot even touch the earth without making it taboo, that is, unfit for any other mortal to cultivate.

(6) *Matrimony*:—Nothing separates this aristocratic exclusiveness from the old totem-system so strongly as the common practice of *endogamy*, the custom of marrying within the class or the caste, as the case may be. Any violation of this rule is punishable in the Tonga Islands with burning. Union of relatives, however, is strictly forbidden, and in many respects the rank accorded to women is comparatively high, the wife of the Samoan chief sharing his political power. As might be expected, *polygamy* is universally tolerated, and divorce legally obtainable, but on no subject are we presented with such a variety of pictures as on that of sexual morality.

(7) *Burial*:—This extreme development of class-distinction is carried even into the grave, only the souls of princes being regarded as immortal and worthy of a dignified tomb- or urn-burial. For the common people and the “slaves” almost any form of disposal is deemed sufficient.¹

¹ Main sources in George Turner, *Samoa a hundred years ago and long before*, (London, 1884). A. Krämer, *Die Samoa-Inseln* (Stuttgart, 1903). W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, (London, 1859). R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907). F. Graebner, *Die sozialen Systeme in der Südsee*, *Zeitschrift für Socialwissenschaft*, Vol. XI (1908), Heft 11 and 12. Idem, *Kulturkreise in Ozeanien*, *Z. f. Ethn.* Vol. XXXVII. pp. 28-53. See also p. 114 above.

RECENT SACRIFICE
 (NORTH-AMERICAN RITE)
 "THE BANQUET OF THE CLOUDS"

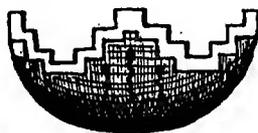


THEURGISTIC RAIN-CEREMONY OF THE SIA KNIFE-SOCIETY, NEW MEXICO, INVOKING 'KOPISTAIA', THE EAGLE-DEMIURGE OF THE SKY-FATHER.

NOTE THE CEREMONIAL ALTAR, THE RAIN-PRIEST WITH RATTLE AND PRAYER-PLUME, THE VARIOUS ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE OFFERINGS, THE MEDICINE-BOWL, THE CLOUD-SYMBOL, THE CEREMONIAL MASK, AND THE CARVED FETICHES. SUBJECT TAKEN FROM MRS. M. C. STEVENSON, THE SIA, 11th REPORT OF THE B. A. E. (WASHINGTON, 1894) PL. XXIII. INVOCATIONS, IBID. P. 105

RECENT SACRIFICE
 (NORTH-AMERICAN RITE)
 THE DANCE OF THE CORN-MAIDENS

"BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF THE NEW CREATION
 AWONAWILONA, THE FATHER OF ALL, ALONE HAD BEING"
 "LET THE HEAVENS BE COVERED WITH BANKED-UP CLOUDS"



"LET THEM COVER THE EARTH WITH RAINS."

THEURGISTIC CEREMONY OF THE ZUNI-PUEBLOS FOR SECURING AN ABUNDANT HARVEST. THE RAIN-PRIEST MARSHALS THE CORN-MAIDENS AND THEY PARADE IN HONOR OF THE MOTHER-CORN. ABOVE: THE MEDICINE-BOWL FOR THE POWDERED MEAL. BELOW: THE CEREMONIAL CORN-COBS AND THE 'NEW FIRE' AS PREPARED AT THE SUMMER SOLSTICE. SUBJECTS TAKEN FROM MRS. M. C. STEVENSON, THE ZUNI-INDIANS, 23D. REPORT (B. A. E. WASHINGTON), PL. XX, XXXV, XXXIX

RECENT AMERICAN FORM

(N, 7) PUEBLO RITE

A similar transition from barbarism to civilisation may be witnessed in the Western hemisphere, whose more recent culture is represented by the Zuni, Hopi, Sia, Cochiti, and other Pueblo tribes, together with the Apaches and Navajos of the Mexican borderland, and the Tlingits, Haidas, and Kwakiutl of the Alaskan region. It will be quite impossible to do more than call attention to a few striking features of the Pueblo ritual.

(1) *Infancy*:—"The relation of parent to child", says Mooney, "brings out all the highest traits of the Indian character." This is more especially the case with the mountain tribes, whose delicate care and attention of children, from birth to maturity, is almost European in its character. The new-born infant is commonly treated to a *cold bath*, and among the Hopi *ashes* or *sacred meal* are rubbed over its body, and the name bestowed on the 20th day, when it is dedicated to the Sun-Father with impressive ceremonies.

Though parental discipline is strict, it is founded upon solid natural affection, and the religious and moral training of a Zuni child surpasses anything to be found among the wild, and even among many civilised peoples.

(2) *Maturity*:—Apart from the ceremonial "whippings", by which the Zuni or Hopi child is initiated into the sacred mysteries, there are special ordeals for admission to secret societies, which range from the simple fast to running in the burning sun or standing a *douche* of ice-cold water. As an external mark of maturity the *polychrome tattoo* is conspicuous among the wilder tribes, but is now superseded by a simple clothing-ceremony.

(3a) *The Sacred Cup and the Corn-Dance*:—The old corn-offering of the prairies has been developed into an elaborate corn-sacrifice, in which the High-Father of the Zuni Pantheon occupies a supreme position:—

"Before the beginning of the New Creation, Awonawilona, the Maker and Container of all, the All-Father alone had being! He then evolved things by thinking himself outward in space", etc.

This preliminary chant would be followed by the consecration of a mixture of water, corn-meal, and powdered root in a sacrificial bowl amid the wafting fire-sticks or the whirring of bull-roarer, and accompanied by a long incantation:—

"Let the heavens be covered with banked-up clouds, let the earth be covered with mist, let her cover the earth with rains!" etc.

In the dance of the Corn-Maidens, the *Sun-Father* is then implored to "embrace the *Earth-Mother* that she may bring forth the "Great Mother Corn", which shows that the grain is more than taboo, it has vital relation to the divinity; it is one of his most bountiful manifestations.

RECENT AMERICAN FORM

PUEBLO RITE

(3b) *The New Fire and the Snake-Dance*:—The ceremony of kindling the "new fire" at the winter or summer solstice is best explained on the principle of sympathetic magic, but the Snake-Dance of the Hopi is not so easily disposed of. Certain it is that the scattering of the white *corn-meal* over ground, serpent, and performer alike must, in view of the above, be interpreted as an agrarian rite, while the holding of the snakes between the teeth is probably nothing more than an endurance-test and has little to do with ophiolatry. Such at least is the opinion of our leading authority, Dr. Fewkes. The idea is that by physical bravery man will merit an abundant harvest.

(4) *Atonement*:—From the point of view of the subject, all these practices may be regarded as expiations for sin, though their moral aspect is not at first sight very evident. The custom of self-accusation shows, however, that personal remorse is looked upon as an essential part of the atonement, and a beautiful contrition-formula is couched in the following language:—

"Pity me, Sun! You have seen my life. You know that I am pure!"

(5) *Priesthood*:—Hierarchical organisation has reached its supreme development among the Zuni. It is a limited theocracy, divided into Sun, Rain, and War-priests, the "Great Sun" being the High Priest-King of the Pueblo. Ceremonial blankets with richly-woven designs, feather-crowns, sometimes combined with masks, ornamental moccasins and plumed prayer-sticks,—such are a few of the priestly ensignia, though they rarely present the elaborate appearance of the gorgeous Alaskan vestments. It is especially among the Haida that religious symbolism has been developed to its highest degree.

(6) *Marriage*:—Clans and phratries are still in evidence, but they are descriptive rather than totemic, that is, they bind the members to mutual exogamy, but do not imply a physical relation of kinship with old-time totems. Father and mother-right are apparently co-existent, and the position of the Zuni wife in what is normally a monogamous family approaches the freedom and independence of the American house-wife, even down to the facility with which she can dismiss her husband. Though Pueblo morals are generally decent, these loose practices cannot but impair the well-being of the body politic.

(7) *Mortuary Customs*:—Again, the frequency of tomb-burial, with prolonged funeral rites, is in harmony with a strong belief in a personal hereafter.¹

¹ Sources in F. H. Cushing, *Zuni Creation-Myths*, (13th. Rep. B. A. E. Washington, 1891), p. 368. T. E. Stevenson, *The Religious Life of the Zuni Child*, (5th. Rep.) p. 539. M. C. Stevenson, *The Zuni Indians*, (23d. Rep.) p. 291. J. W. Fewkes, *Tusayan Snake-Ceremonies*, (16th. Rep.) p. 307. J. G. Bourke, *The Snake-Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, (London, 1884). Comp. also Hodge, *Handbook*, Vol. I. p. 560 (Hopi). Vol. II. 318-324 (Pueblos), 402-407 (Sacrifice), 604-606 (Snake-Dance), 610 (Social organisation), 1015-1020 (Zuni).

RECENT SACRIFICE

(AZTEC RITE)

THE GREAT FIRE-TEMPLE OF TEOTL, MEXICO

PYRAMID AND TEMPLE AS SEEN TODAY WITH LIMITED RESTORATIONS



Photograph after the model constructed by Prof. William H. Holmes, of the United States National Museum, and now in possession of the Smithsonian Institution. Collaboration of G. F. Colebaugh, Washington, D. C.

RECENT SACRIFICE

(AZTEC RITE)

THE GREAT FIRE-TEMPLE OF TEOTL, MEXICO

THE SACRIFICIAL ALTAR UPON WHICH THE HUMAN VICTIM WAS PLACED WITH THE OBJECT OF CUTTING OUT HIS HEART AND THEN CONSUMING IT IN THE FIRE-BOWLS



Courtesy of the Jesse L. Lasky Film-Corporation, New York, with the collaboration of G. F. Colebaugh, Washington, D. C.

RECENT AMERICAN FORM

NOTES ON THE MAYAN, MEXICAN, AND PERUVIAN RITES

In so far as this grade of culture is represented with still more recent developments by the extinct civilisations of Central and South America, the latter should claim our final attention, if only to indicate in a general way how the apparently startling archaeological facts can probably be explained as a continuous development from ancient Asiatic models, and do not necessitate a direct borrowing from any of the white invaders, real or suppositious.

(1) It should not be surprising, for instance, that the *font* or water-basin should be a fairly universal institution, the idea of purification from moral guilt being as conspicuous among the Toltecs and Incas as among any of their predecessors. If, as is most probable, the artistic monuments show points of connexion with eastern Asia, and especially Java, it is only to be expected that the ceremonial bath-house should accompany them and need have no connexion whatever with a Christian rite. Such washings are familiar enough among all prehistoric peoples, and as to the Sign of the Cross and the beautiful legends connected with it (including that of the Savior), we have already seen that both Latin and Greek Crosses are as old as the human race, though the idea of a dying and martyred *Christ* must of course be attributed to Christian sources. All these things are prophetic and symbolic, and Spanish, Norwegian, and Christian-Asiatic influence must no doubt have operated in particular instances.

(2) In like manner the introduction to the religious mysteries approaches to some extent an initiation-rite. Though still accompanied by the face and body *paint*, with occasional *tattooing*, head-flattening, etc., it reveals its more civilised character by the perfected *school-system*, which, especially in Yucatan, was in direct control of the higher clergy. The child was thus liberally educated, and at the same time consecrated to religion.

(3a) Prehistoric connexion with the Old World is once more suggested, though by no means proved, by the truncated pyramids, step-towers, stone altars, and temple-structures, in or upon which the originally *unbloody* sacrifice was offered. Many of these temples are replete with very elaborate carving and incised picture-writing, which seem to postulate a long period of artistic development. Here also the "Mother Corn" is a general cult, and the Mexican "food for our soul" is nothing less than an *altar-bread*, which is supposed to contain the divine life of *Tolque* or *Teotl*, the supreme God of the Pantheon. That this was in part a feasting-ceremony, is unquestionable, and it establishes one more analogy with the *angistoma* of the far East. In sharp contrast to this is the terrible custom for which Mexico has earned the lasting condemnation of mankind,—that of slaughtering and eventually cremating a human victim "to pacify the gods," a sufficiently powerful commentary on the utter depravity of the times.

RECENT AMERICAN FORM

NOTES ON THE MAYAN, MEXICAN, AND PERUVIAN RITES

(3b) A controverted question is that of the number of human victims that were annually sacrificed in any one kingdom. Allowing for possible exaggerations, it appears that a minimum of 20000 *per annum* must be assigned for the Aztec empire, while on great occasions this number might be quadrupled within the space of a few days. Not prisoners and war-enemies alone, but innocent virgins would either be burnt alive or thrown into wells, as is testified by the Mayan and Peruvian archives.

(4) The practice of *auricular confession* is a form of penance which in view of parallel customs in the more recent Asiatic world and throughout all ages of human history should occasion as little wonderment as the "ablution" of water or the "communion" of bread. The washings and flagellations which accompany it are another relic of the commonest form of self-humiliation, though here again we cannot exclude remote Christian influences. *Where* did these people come from, and *when*?

(5) An elective and hieratic *monarchy* seems to have been the prevalent form of government, the *Montezuma* of the Aztecs being hieratically supreme, but otherwise removable, his assistants being divided into various orders of warriors, hunters, medicine-men, etc. In Yucatan, however, the government was hereditary and absolute, the Mayan King and High-Priest being closely united offices. The same for the most part in Peru. Slavery was a common feature inherited from an undivided past, and in no sense peculiar. Rich vestments, plumed coronets, and elaborate croziers give evidence of the highest artistic taste, though the painted mask reveals the lingering barbarism of the times.

(6) While there is a growing practice of professional or social endogamy, developing into a complicated aristocracy, the prohibition of marriage to those who are even remotely akin is a very general characteristic, the few exceptions undoubtedly proving the rule. Marriages were commonly performed by the priest, the Mayan ceremony being preceded by a confession of sins and a special purification by water, without which the function was invalid(!). It is one of the most curious facts in the history of morals, that although *monogamy* with the strongest sanctions for female chastity and for family virtue were ever held out as the highest ideals, *concubinage* should so often have been legally permitted, and *divorce* as easily obtained. But this is only in harmony with the other social and moral contrasts presented by this period.

(7) Tombs and mausoleums testify to a high regard for the princely dead, though the above "burnings" speak as eloquently for a contempt of the body, and on the whole we may conclude that we are here in presence of a double-sided and extremely complex stage of civilization.¹

¹ Literature:—H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, (N. Y. 1875). *Idem*, *History of Central America, History of Mexico*, (San Francisco, 1886). Bowditch, *Mexican and Central-American Antiquities*, B. A. E. 28th. (Washington, 1904). Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of Peru*, (London, 1688).

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

With this general sketch of the rise and development of the more important ritual observances under each head, we are now in possession of a sufficiently large body of facts to be able to form an opinion as to their combined nature and meaning, to draw some solid conclusions as to their religious and moral content. This treatment should be critical and historical, not dogmatic and exegetical, for it is most important to separate Christian dogma once and for all from any of its corrupt forerunners, and not mix up the revealed Christian ideas with what, apart from the Mosaic rites, are nothing but the vague gropings of the human heart to satisfy its innate longings for some form of religious expression, some assurance that the divinity is not altogether unapproachable.

SEPARATION OF MEDICINES FROM SACRAMENTS

In view of the fact that many of the Christian sacramental actions show undoubted similarities with pagan and primitive ceremonials, and have been thus identified by careless and superficial writers, it will be correspondingly important to realise that a similarity of *form* does not carry with it a similarity of *content*, but that on the contrary, the external mould of a religion may be strikingly similar in all the ages of man without postulating any similarity, much less identity, in the power that is believed to be conveyed in these rites. In this way the various purifications and immolation-ceremonies, however suggestive of supernatural power, will be found as a fact to dissolve into merely natural actions for a purely natural, however moral end, they cannot be mentioned in the same breath with the Seven Sacraments of the New Law,—they are mere antidotes, the number “seven” being a Christian stamp, not an original pagan possession.

SEPARATION OF THE HOLOCAUST FROM THE DIVINE SACRIFICE

In like manner, the offering up of this or that object as “sacred” to the deity, and the dim consciousness that the god is in some cases “slain” with the destruction or consumption of the gift,—this must be invariably interpreted in its only legitimate sense, as the outgrowth of a purely natural, however perverted feeling, that the god is so human as to share with man the infirmities of his state. This can be easily shown by the fact that the god to be immolated is invariably a created demiurge or a super-terrestrial being, never the God of Heaven in His unapproachable purity. Here then we have an absolute criterion for separating the one all-sufficient Sacrifice from any of its miserable forerunners, and to show, moreover, that only in the Jewish Holocaust have we a direct type of its future consummation.

Let us now see how all this applies in particular instances.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

I. THE RITE OF BAPTISM CANNOT BE DERIVED FROM THE PRIMITIVE ABLUTIONS

This is the first proposition that should claim our attention in this regard, though such an exclusion would seem to be self-evident. The ablutions practiced by primitive peoples were, needless to say, far beyond the reach or cognisance of any supposed "revivalists" in the lands of Palestine, and to talk of a borrowing of ritual from distant savages is clearly absurd. We may therefore exclude such a source as a blatant anachronism,—it is too far off to furnish the presumable model.

NOR FROM THE LEVITICAL WASHINGS

A more insinuating suggestion is that the Christian rite is merely the outgrowth of the numerous Levitical sprinklings and "lavers of repentance", which in the time of the Messiah were undoubtedly employed as a means of purification from sin. Here of course we stand on a more solid and rational footing. Even if the "baptism of John" was without any direct antecedents, it shows nevertheless that such a rite could be practiced on the banks of Jordan without occasioning any extraordinary comment. But in estimating the value of all these ceremonies as in the best sense "precursors", there are three points that make the Christian rite an entirely novel one,—the repudiation of the baptism of John, the dialog with Nicodemus, and the invocation of the Tri-Une God. For to take the most glaring incident of all, the well-known discussion on the necessity of the New Birth, it is impossible to account for the extraordinary question of the "ruler" of the Jews without postulating the epoch-making character of the new revelation. "*How can a man be born when he is old? Can he enter a second time into his mother's womb, and be born again?*" (John, 3, 4). This remarkable interpretation is a direct proof that the Christian rebirth was unknown to Jewish theology.¹

NOR FROM THE MITHRAIC "FONTS"

A still more plausible connexion has been discovered by others in the so-called "baptisteries" and ceremonial washings that accompanied the Mithraic orgies in the Roman empire. The word "orgies" is here used advisedly, for there is little in common between the Mazdaean *Anahita* of old and the much-corrupted ritual of these imperial devotees as revealed in the only liturgy that we possess for this period. "*They flap their wings like birds, they mimic the voice of the crow, they howl like lions*", says a Christian writer of the IV. century, and the remark of Tertullian that (Mithras) "*promises an expiation of sins through the sacred font*" is evidently meant as a satirical slur.²

¹ Alfred Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, (London, 1903), Vol. I. pp. 275, 386ff. W. Brandt, *Die jüdischen Baptismen*, (Giessen, 1910). ² A. Dietrichs, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, (Berlin-Leipzig, 1910). F. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithras*, (Leipzig, 1911), p. 139, 144. Tertullian, *De praescr. heret.* 40. *De baptismo.* c. 5.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

NOR FROM ANY OF THE "LIFE-PHILOSOPHIES" OF THE TIME

Admitting, however, that many of these sources are late, doubtful, or tarnished by personal prejudice, it is still a thankless task to look to this quarter for inspiration, even under the most favorable light. For even if it be granted, as indeed quite possible, that the idea of a new life associated with the sprinkling of water was still a comparatively pure concept, there is an enormous hiatus between the "life" of Mithras, a species of solar archangel, and the unique Life of the Divine Trinity as conveyed by the Christian rite. We do not realise that technical terms have entirely changed their meaning as a result of the unique fact of the Incarnation. "Divine Life", in the neo-oriental sense, is not what we understand by the term, the raising up of the subject to the level of a personal fruition of a single incommunicable Godhead *through* the only-begotten Son, but rather a decidedly scattered, semi-pantheistic notion of oneness with the creation *divinised*, the "holy water" being nothing less than a goddess,—*Ardvi-Sura-Anahita*—, who, like *Ishtar* and *Hathor-Isis*, is largely identified with a sacred river, not with a direct gift of the Creator Himself, (see p. 359, 373). While willingly granting that such a life may be ennobling and ultimately God-given, it is too intermediate and secondary to be compared to the Christian gift.

BUT MUST BE INTERPRETED BY THE PHENOMENAL CONSCIOUSNESS OF A NEW BIRTH

If then the expression "to live the life of God" cannot be taken at its face value, but admits of as many interpretations as were current in the Graeco-Roman world, it is nothing less than a crime to derive the Christian idea of regeneration from the pagan "new birth" as understood in the contemporary sects. Even the externals of the ritual are by no means identical, the Egyptian bath-house and the Mithraic lavacrum having little in common with the Christian font, the use of the shell being very probably of Jewish-Christian origin. But even if the two ceremonies were externally undistinguishable, this would establish at the outside an identity of form, not an identity of content. For that which lifts the rite of Baptism sky-high above all its predecessors is not only the uniqueness of the Divine Life that is promised, but the *trinitarian formula* by which it is administered. If then the dogma of the Trinity cannot be derived from any triad-philosophies of the day, as we have shown in our first chapter, it is equally certain that the invocation of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, raises the entire ceremony to a super-natural level. This is not a philosophy, but a heaven-imparted mystery, and thus the rite in which it is clothed, partakes of the same character.³

³ Compare H. Rahlenbeck, *Die Einsetzung der Taufe und des Abendmahls*, (Gütersloh, 1907), p. 7-13, Lebreton, *Les Origines du Dogme de la Trinité*, (Paris, 1910), Strzygowski, *Ikongraphie der Taufe Christi*, (Munich, 1885). Contra: H. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, (Göttingen, 1903), p. 256.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

THE RITE OF BAPTISM IS TYPIFIED IN THE LUSTRATION-CEREMONY

With this general principle well in the foreground, the question naturally arises, what could have been the meaning or the providential purpose of the numerous liturgical washings which are so prominent in nearly every age of mankind. We have seen that the use of water as a purge from the initial defilement is the most universal rite of which we have any knowledge, being as conspicuous among the East-Indian primitives as among the highest Cordilleran peoples. It precedes circumcision, scarification, or tattoo by indefinite ages, these being originally manhood-ceremonies. That some of these dippings or sprinklings should be connected with birth is indeed quite natural, they are often purely hygienic in nature, being little more than sanitary ablutions. In many cases, however, there seems to be a distinct impression that some kind of praeter-natural help is thereby conveyed, that "life, health, strength, blessing", formerly lost, are thereby restored by the Father of all, the invocation "*May Heaven help you*" being probably at its foundation.

BUT TRANSCENDS THE WATER-ABLUTION IS ITS BEATIFIC EFFECT

But does this imply a real cleansing from the moral guilt of original sin? It would be impossible to say that such could be its effect. The strong consciousness of a moral fall, of the loss of divine friendship, of eternal life, suggests, it is true, its negative basis, its positive character as a purification-rite being revealed by the equally vivid persuasion that the birth of an infant is a solemn moment to be immediately consecrated to heaven by appropriate fasts and penances, sometimes even by the full *Couvade*, as in Borneo, Melanesia, and Brazil, and finally that the deluge was sent as a punishment for neglecting these or similar birth-customs. (See the above data.) All this is the effect, no doubt, of some past revelation concerning a divine estrangement, which is sought to be healed by a corresponding purge. But that such a purge should confer the potency of a supernatural beatitude, of seeing the All-Father face to face, is contradicted by everything that we know of the eschatology of these peoples. They go to the island of fruits or the underworld, never is there a hint that they enjoy the Divine Being *as such*, it is a purely naturalistic recompense. (See under Life-Eternal below, p. 462-500). If then the future life falls infinitely short of a Beatific Vision, it will follow that none of the pre-Christian rites are capable of granting what in its essence is a *supernatural effect*. We may, therefore, appropriately describe these acts as preliminary cleansing-rites, congruous purification-ceremonies.⁴

⁴ For the typical meaning of the pre-Christian rites consult St. Thom. 3, qu. 70, a. 4. Scotus, in 4 dist. 1, qu. 3, 7. Suarez, disp. 4, 3-4. "Nor is it to be believed that even before the institution of circumcision the servants of God, in so far as they had a faith in a Mediator to come in the flesh, did not help their little ones by some sacrament of his love, although the Scripture for some necessary reason wishes to conceal its precise nature" (S. Aug. c. Jul. v. 11, n. 45. Comp. Tanquerey, Synop. Theol. Dogm. III, 2, 155ff.)

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

PREHISTORIC ABLUTIONS ARE ESSENTIALLY DEFICIENT

Such a congruence is brought into still bolder relief by the fact that even in the ages of greatest decadence we find these or similar practices connected with birth and with the supreme cosmic divinity,—“*May Sun-god protect this boy*”, “*May Heaven forget it*”. (India, Africa). It is true that the water is frequently supplemented by oil (India), by grease (Australia), or by Indian red (North-America), the sign being more frequently totemic or circular, but the idea is essentially the same, the deity is asked to save and protect, to forget and forgive, the latter petition clearly implying a state of guilt in the new-born. In the later neolithic and copper age pure water is once more employed, but the expulsion of demons becomes uppermost:—“*With pure sparkling water, with bright, shimmering water, seven times, and again seven times, besprinkle, cleanse, purify!*” (Babylonia). In all these cases there is abundant evidence of the negative cult, of the warding off of sinister influences, but positively no evidence that the recipient is in possession of more than an expurgating spell, of some means by which the powers of evil are held more or less in check, (p. 359).

THE NEW BIRTH MARKS A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND

It will therefore be sufficiently clear that all the pre-Christian rites must be looked upon as partial, imperfect, and to some extent typical, for in all the great works of the divine mercy there is always something that “goes before”, something that “prepares the way of the Lord” by removing the obstacles. This levelling down of the mountains, desired, but hardly obtained, in the pagan rites, reaches its logical fulfilment in the purifying laver of the Baptist, who thus becomes the immediate forerunner of “*Him who shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost and with Fire*” (Mat. 3, 11). Here we have the direct testimony of a Jewish ascetic to the conditional efficacy of his own, and therefore of all previous baptisms. But this is not all. The Messiah Himself descends into the waters of the Jordan and submits to the rite, showing that He regards it as the stepping-stone to the New Kingdom. “*Go ye therefore and teach all nations, BAPTISING THEM IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER AND OF THE SON AND OF THE HOLY GHOST*” (Mat. 28, 19). “*He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved, he that believeth not shall be condemned*” (Mark, 16, 16). “*Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*” (John, 3, 5). These repeated commands in the name of the Tri-une God show with accumulating force that the Baptism of Water raises the subject to an entirely new and hitherto unattainable level in the divine fruition, it stamps the soul with the image of the Holy Trinity and gives him the faculty of seeing God face to face,—a permanent “character”.⁵

⁵ S. Thom. 3, qu. 68-70. Suarez, disp. 4, 26. Trent, VII (passim). Tanqueray, III, 2, 225ff. Compare P. Pourrat, *Theology of the Sacraments*, (S. Louis, 1910), p. 93-203. L. Capéran, *Le Problème du Salut des Infidèles*, (Paris, 1912), Vol. II. p. 80-110.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

II. THE SEAL OF THE NEW COVENANT IS NOT AN INITIATION-RITE

In like manner the various maturity-marks by which the adult member of the tribe or nation is commonly raised to level of citizenship can hardly serve as the basis for a confirmation-rite. These ordeals are practiced only by more or less savage peoples in the wild state and have absolutely nothing to do with any temple dedications. It is true that they have a semi-religious significance, quite often the Father of all is invoked to strengthen the candidate in the observance of the tribal laws and ordinances, and some of the formulae have quite an inspiring ring,—“*Be brave, be generous, be true!*” More often, however, they are not distinctly associated with any divine names, they are for the most part endurance-tests, by which the juvenile is given a foretaste of what he is to expect in life, and how he is to fight the powers of evil. In these ceremonials the candidate is smeared all over with turmeric or palm-juice, he is appropriately declared a “man”, and the *antu* is invoked to protect him from evil. In later ages the maturity-rites become more severe. The fasts are rigorous and prolonged, and are accompanied by tooth-filing or tooth-pulling, shaving with sharp shells or flints, scarifying or cutting the skin, and above all by *circumcision*, the most distinctive rite of the totem-cult. The body-paint is now most elaborate, and the circular and spiral designs testify, in union with the mythology, that dedication to the sun, the snake, or the serpent, is the leading theme, the sun-ancestor being fundamental. This seems to be of fairly wide distribution, the sexual part of the ceremony being wanting only in North-America. Here, however, we have the elaborate rite of “acquiring the guardian”, which in union with many of the above practices constitutes the severest preparation that we know of,—“*Wakanda, here needy stands he, and I am he!*” As to the ghost-dance and the fire-walk, with their masquerades and their phallic fertilisation-magic, they represent the extreme development of nature-worship, and are about as far removed from a religious ceremony as the spermiatic “fire” is from the God of Heaven.

NOR HAS IT ANYTHING IN COMMON WITH A BRANDING-CEREMONY

For it was only in the more recent period that the element of fire, formerly applied to the person, was gradually applied to the demons, the so-called branding and tattooing surviving only among the wilder peoples or some of their modern degenerates. Exorcism by fire, water, and oil, is now all important, but the torch consumes the *demons*, the water chases them away, the whole ceremony is prophylactic rather than self-torturing,—“*I will raise the torch, I will consume your effiges,—may the consuming fire-god strengthen my hands!*” It is essentially a polytheistic fire-ritual.⁶

⁶ Compare R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, (London, 1913), and Tallquist, *Maklu-Series*, (passim). It is possible, of course, to emphasise the demoniacal element too exclusively, but witch-burning was too common to be called exceptional, (see p. 359).

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

THE "MARKS" OF MITHRAS CONFER MILITARY DEGREES

Still less pertinent are the supposed analogies between the Christian "seal" and the Mithraic initiation-ceremonies. Here also Tertullian compares the rite of Confirmation with the ceremony by which the military orders were enrolled,—"*Mithras signs his soldiers in their foreheads!*" But, apart from the entirely different theological meanings underlying the two ceremonies, and allowing also for a liberal influence of Christian custom upon all the surrounding cults, it is important to note that this was not an imposition of hands, as in the Christian rite, but a branding with red-hot irons,—something that would remind the recruit of his loyalty to the army of the "archangel" by marks more terrifying than directly inspiring. The similar practice of besmearing the hands or the tongue with *honey* must be traced to the popular belief that this article was in some way connected with the moon, and thence with a vague immortality in the skies.⁷

THE JEWISH "PRESENTATION" IS A FEMALE RESTORATION-RITE

More suggestive in some respects is the priestly blessing given to the mother and child in the Jewish Purification or Presentation. This, however, is a birth-ceremony, not a maturity-rite, it has no connection with oils, and though doubtless foreshadowing the more abundant gifts of the New Law, it seems best to compare it to the modern "Churching of Women".

THE NEW SEAL MUST BE TRACED DIRECTLY TO THE MESSIAH

If then all exact analogies to the rite of Confirmation are demonstrably wanting, if the savage unction had been forgotten, the branding and sign-burning hardly known except as a pagan travesty on the New Birth, we are forced to turn to the personal example of the Messiah in the early apostolic circle as the only possible basis of its primitive practice. "*Then they laid their hands upon them, and they received the Holy Ghost*" (Acts, 8, 17). From whom was this post-baptismal ceremony derived? Surely not from the synagogue or the temple, for it had no connection with these. Not from the Roman *liberalia*, for this was a dedication to the state gods. Not from the seal of Mithras, for this again was entirely different. There remains on critical consideration but one possible source, the example of Him who in His treatment of little children "*laid his hands upon them and departed thence*" (Matt. 19, 15). It was the divine Hand, extended in blessing, and combined with the Holy Unction, that gave birth to the Christian seal:

"I SIGN YOU WITH THE SIGN OF THE CROSS AND I ANOINT YOU WITH THE CHRISM OF SALVATION. IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST."

This practice is hinted at in the Apocalypse: "*Hurt not the earth, nor the sea, nor the trees, till we have sealed the servants of our God in their foreheads*",—the divine seal imprinting a permanent character.⁸

⁷ Tertullian, de praescr. haeret. 40. Cumont, Mysterien des Mithras, p. 144. ⁸ See Acts, 8, 17, 196. Apoc. 7, 3. S. Thom. 3, qu. 72, a. 1. Tanqueray, III, 2, 274ff. Pourrat, 82-85, 323ff.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

III (A) THE EUCHARIST IS NOT THE OUTGROWTH OF A SADAKA-SACRIFICE

But if it is hopeless to force the idea of a new birth in the Christian sense out of the prevailing life-systems, it is still more unprofitable to search for any first-fruit or "divine-banquet" cults as the supposed model of the Last Supper and of the Holy Mass. As to the *Sadaka* of the far East, it would be the height of folly to imagine that such a cult was ever known or even heard of in the Palestinian hieratic schools, its prophylactic character and its nomadic open-air ritual being as far removed as possible from the artificial show-bread offerings of the temple or the unleavened cake offerings of the Passover rite. Moreover, its purpose and meaning are as un-Jewish as they are non-Christian. Unlike the *Manna*, which is a miraculous "gift" of God, or the eucharistic bread, which becomes the Body of Christ, the sacred flower or the coconut-blossom is a wild product of the jungle which is offered to the Father in Heaven just as it grows in nature, it requires no elaborate preparation and has nothing to do with a temple-rite. Moreover, though associated with a healing and life-restoring quality, it functionates as a mere channel of the divine mercy, it is a mere symbol of the divine benevolence, it has no essential or vital relation to the divinity as such, the only exception being that of a supposed demiurge who appears under the fruit form. To imagine that this should have been revived by the Messiah in the shape of a love-feast, when it had long been forgotten, except perhaps by a few *bedouins* in Arabia, is entirely incredible. The *Sadaka* is a mere offering of fruits to the divinity, not the calling down of the divinity from His throne in Heaven,—it is, as we have seen, a purely symbolic rite. (See p. 320ff.)

MUCH LESS OF A TOTEM-CULT

Some, however, have gone considerably further in suggesting that the sacramental eating of the consecrated species is the relic of an age when the totem-ancestor was believed to be devoured in the form of some vegetable herb in the hope of sharing the praeternatural qualities of that ancestor. This extraordinary and slightly blasphemous theory has found several advocates in our own day, but we need waste no time in refuting it. Totemism had been buried for thousands of years in Western Asia, and to draw the remotest parallelism between reincarnated *bongas* and *avatars* of India, or the wheat-gods of Egypt and North-America, and the unique giving of the Savior of the world in the Sacrament of His love is little short of deliberate sacrilege. The totem contains the pre-human "ancestor", nothing approaching to a Divine Personality. God and nature are so confused in the minds of the natives that to speak of a "divine presence" in the monotheistic sense reveals a deplorable ignorance of the meaning and portent of these wonder-working charms.⁹

⁹ Compare Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV. p. 230, (Magical and utilitarian aspect of the totemic "sacrament"). Idem, *The Golden Bough*, (1907), p. 228, (*Mysteries of Attis*), p. 330, (Osiris, the Corn-god). See above, p. 349ff.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

NOR IS IT DERIVED FROM THE BABYLONIAN "BREAD AND WATER OF LIFE"

Another suggestion, though no longer put forward with much seriousness, is that the Adapa-legend of Babylonia furnishes the long-sought basis for a tradition on the "bread and water of immortality". We know that bread, water and wine were offered up to the divinity by the earliest kings and undoubtedly associated with some life- or health-restoring quality. Nor is there any reason to question that some quasi-divine power, physical or moral, was believed to be conveyed in these elements. But we have carefully noted, that the formulæ employed in these invocations are one and all *polytheistic*, it is not *Anu*, the god of heaven, that operates in these rites but the entire pantheon,—"*In these breads is contained the abundance of the gods!*" Even if the expression *dingirinekam* be taken as a Sumerian abstract for godhead in general, for "divinity", the Assyrian transcriptions show pretty clearly that a pluralism is here implied,—"*Receive the banquet of all the great gods!*" (p. 361). It is, therefore, grossly absurd to draw the faintest comparison between the *naptani ilani* and the Christian cenacle, between the Babylonian *sukum* and the Sacred Host. Moreover the entire ceremonial was far too remote in its nature and origin to have had any influence in the Western-Semitic world, and had long been superseded by a largely sanguinary ritual, in which the lion or the antelope played the principle part. With all the edifying aspect of the old Sumerian worship, it would be a fatal mistake to suppose that it greatly survived the fall of Babylon, or even the last Sumerian dynasty.¹⁴

NOR FROM THE EGYPTIAN OR ELEUSYNIAN MYSTERIES

The same remarks apply to the Osiris-cult of the lower Nile and to the various ambrosial "nectars" that were commonly associated with the Graeco-Roman gods. The sacred corn of Egypt was the "body" of *Osiris-Isis*, a male and female couple, whose solar and sexual features dragged them down to the level of purely natural, if not actually depraved influences, they became the parents of the most corrupt form of "affinity"-worship (p. 366). And as to the Hellenistic nectars, they are too trivial to be taken seriously. "*Hooey-Kooey!*" "*Heaven-Earth!*" "*Up-Down!*" "*Holy-Strong!*"—such was the climax of the Eleusynian rites, and in the Dionysian orphic mysteries the hierophant bawls out from the top of his lungs:—"The bull brought forth the dragon, and the dragon the bull!" In the interpretation of all these rites it is, therefore, essential to analyse them into their constituent natural, mimetic, and polytheistic parts, and not to make them serve as the basis, even the most remote, of a monotheistic and supernatural banquet.¹⁵

¹⁴ The later Assyrian sacrifices become increasingly bloody. Ashurbanipal pours out libations over slain lions. See Jeremies, OT. II. 116. ¹⁵ Hyie-Kyie (Eleusis III), Hieron-Brimon (Eleusis II, 138), Tauros-Drakon (Dionysos VIII, 155) apud Dietrichs, op. cit. pp. 214, 213, 215. Compare Reitzenstein, Die Hellenistischen Mysterien-Religionen, (1910), for Gnostic and Egyptian mysteries.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

NOR IS IT BORROWED FROM THE MITHRAIC SUPPERS

But the nearest external resemblances are supposed by many to be contained in the magical formulae that were pronounced over the so-called "elements" in the Mithraic love-feasts. "In the Mazdaean Mass", writes Cumont, "the celebrant consecrated bread and water, which he mixed with the stimulating Haoma-juice, and consumed these foods while performing the functions of the divine service". "From this mystical meal, especially from the drinking of the consecrated wine, they expected supernatural influences: the enervating beverage bestowed not only physical power and material well-being, but also the spirit of wisdom; it fortified the neophyte in his battle against the evil spirits, nay more, it gave him, as it did to his God, a glorious immortality".¹⁰ H. J. Holtzmann and Dietrichs take largely the same view, and the grounds upon which this ritual is projected into the Roman empire and made to serve as the pattern of the Eucharist and of the Mass are several undoubted hints at a "divine" banquet among very early writers and a singularly suggestive bas-relief, in which the adepts are sitting around a table and apparently offering cruciform altar-breads and a vessel containing the sacred haoma. (See p. 375.) That this ceremony was known to the early fathers seems certain, Justin refers to it in his Apology, and Tertullian speaks of it in ironical terms,—"*Mithras celebrates even the offering of bread*",—and he traces his mimicking of Christian rites to the "devil".¹¹

Now this is precisely the one suspicious feature in all these attempts to make the Christian Eucharist "grow" out of the contemporary love-feasts. The fact that ecclesiastical writers denounce these rites as humbug, as miserable imitations, this alone should make us beware of attributing too high a character to them, and the liturgy discovered by Dietrichs must, if genuine, be described as a piece of religious baffoonery. "*Whistle, snarl, grunt! Draw your breath three times!*" "*Helios, thou lord of heaven! Mithras, thou god of the rock!*"¹² Admitting, however, as quite probable, that the "angel of light, truth, and friendship" was still believed to impart his benign character in a more or less dignified consumption of a celestial food, it is all-important to realise that this food was *the divinised soul of the primitive ox*, mountains apart from the Body and Blood of a personal Messiah, given under the concealed forms of Bread and Wine. "*I am Haoma the Holy, the driving-death-afar!*" The Mysteries of Mithras, however appropriate for their age and clime, cannot touch the transcendent mystery of divine Love. For Mithras is the *Sun of Heaven*, not the uncreated *Son of God!*¹³

Moreover, it cannot be insisted too often that the apparently close similarities between all these symposiums and the external setting of the divine banquet can easily be explained by Jewish-Christian influence. The enormous gap between the Persian *haoma* and Mithraic "bread and wine" is a positive proof of such influence.

¹⁰ Cumont, *Die Mysterein des Mithras*, p. 145-147. ¹¹ Tertullian, *de praescr. haeret.* 40. Justin, *Apol.* I, 66. S. Jerome, *epist. ad Laetam*, 107. ¹² Dietrichs, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 7, 11, 218, (invocations). ¹³ See pp. 374-375 above.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM
 NOR FROM THE JEWISH FUNERAL-FEASTS

A final source for the Last Supper has been discovered by others in the memorial banquets celebrated by the Jews as a pious tribute to their departed ancestors. Such a love-supper would be natural enough in any age of humanity, and appears to have been widely practiced by the Jews of the *diaspora*, as it was certainly not unknown to the Palestinian faithful. But it seems to be sufficiently clear that, however much such an eating and drinking may have been associated with the "body" of the deceased, with a mystical acquisition of some of his virtues, there is one all-absorbing incident that makes anything approaching to a realistic "giving" of the body of the dead an impossible thesis to maintain. "*This is a hard saying. Who is able to receive it? How can this man give us his flesh to eat? And after this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him.*" (John, 6, 61, 53, 67). Here we have an irrefragable proof that such a feasting on the body of the ancestor was taken to be purely mystical and allegorical, and that when these startling words fell from the lips of the Messiah, they came as a thunderbolt to the Jewish mind. If then we may say with some propriety that Christ was eating His own funeral supper in a higher sense in the Holy Eucharist, it is no less evident that this Supper possessed a theological content entirely unknown to the funeral feast.

BUT MUST BE TRACED TO THE DIRECT INSTITUTION OF THE
 REDEEMER HIMSELF, AND FOUNDED PROXIMATELY ON THE PASSOVER-RITE

There remains, therefore, but one possible foundation for the Christian Cenacle-rite. While the external aspect of all sacred meals must partake of some similarity, while the various stages of the divine supper were no doubt redolent, now a Mithraic feast, now of an Eleusynian mystery, now of a Jewish funeral dirge, the unity and unicity of the entire action, culminating in the extraordinary words of Institution, cuts it off completely from any of its profane imitations, while the general setting of the prayers, and still more that of the sacred table, betrays its connexion with the Jewish Passover. It is here then that we may look for the proximate model of the Christian Eucharist; though this must not imply a simple taking over of the Talmudic ritual. The Jewish Haggadah furnished at most the framework of an entirely new and divinely established sacrificial action. And with this we have arrived at the most wonderful event in the world's history,—the giving of God Himself as the Paschal Lamb of the New Covenant.

"THIS IS MY BODY"—"THIS IS MY BLOOD"

In these words we discern the "double sword" of the eternal High Priest.¹⁴

¹⁴ Literature: F. Bickell, *Messe und Pascha*, (Mainz, 1871). Idem, *Die Entstehung der Liturgie aus der Einsetzungsfeier*, (ZKT, 1880), p. 90ff. Idem, *Die neuentdeckte Lehre der Apostel und die Liturgie*, (ZKT, 1884), p. 405ff. Probst, *Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte*, (Tübingen, 1870). Edersheim, *Essenism and the Paschal Rite*, op. cit. sup. I, 325, II, 181ff. Fr. Renz, *Geschichte des Messopferbegriffs*, (Freising, 1901). F. Raible, *Der Tabernakel einst und jetzt*, (Freiburg, 1908). E. Baumgartner, *Eucharistie und Agape im Urchristentum*, (Solothurn, 1909). Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Bussakrament*, (Freiburg, 1910). *Controversial*: H. J. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, (Leipzig, 1905). O. Holtzmann, *Das Abendmahl im Urchristentum*, (ZNW, 1904), Heft 2, p. 89. Fr. Wieland, *Mensa und Confessio*, (Munich, 1906). K. G. Goetz, *Die heutige Abendmahlsfrage*, (Leipzig, 1907). *Scholastic*: S. Thomas, 3, qu. 83ff. Suarez, disp. 74. De Lugo, disp. 19. Tanqueray III, 427. Pourrat, 106, 302ff.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

III (B) THE HOLOCAUST IS NOT AN IMMOLATION OF GOD

Turning now to the bloody sacrifice, the offering up of animal life to the divinity, we have seen that in many cases this is a simple giving of the life of the bird, the stag, or the buffalo *as such*, there is not the remotest consciousness that the divinity is in the gift or in any way connected with it. "*O spirit of this bird! Ask the heavenly Father to take away all sickness from us and to keep us from all harm!*" The *bali flaki* carries the message to the Sky-Father, he is a kind of angel whose blood typifies the consciousness of sin in the worshippers, not the immolation of the God in the blood of the bird (p. 335). The same of the *Kor-loi-melloi* of Malakka, though here the human blood is associated with a shadowy demiurge, it is the fruit-god that is offered to the thunder-god as a placation for the sins of mankind, the expression *pe-met-katop* being moreover extremely vague, "heaven, sky, sun, upwards", or what not. The Australian wallaby-offerings and the African firstling-rites evidently partake of a similar character. In no single case is there any evidence that the God of heaven is in any sense sacrificed in these functions, and in this they are sharply distinguished from the later totem-rites, in which the bird, the beast, or the reptile are undoubtedly confused with the supreme divinity. In our elucidation of the strange concepts underlying these rites we have discovered, however, that the whole of nature is falsely looked upon as the "body" of God, and to speak of an Australian *inkara* or a North-American *wakan* as remotely identical with the primitive Sky-Father would be the greatest possible blunder. It is the totem that is sacrificed in these rites, not the Maker of all, the generic term *buru* or *wakanda* emphasising its pantheistic aspect.

And when we come to those more recent exhibitions of sacrificial feeling, in which the divinity is actually believed to substitute himself in the place of the sinner and to "slaughter" himself for man, it would be the wildest fancy to imagine that the animal thus substituted was identified with anything but a fleeting demiurge or a personified cosmic essence. It is either *Enlil*, the "mighty bull of *Anu*", or *Enki*, the "goat of wisdom", that offers his exposed liver to man, never the Heaven-God as such,—He is too far off to be accessible. Even the suffering and dying *Osiris*, slaughtered in the sacred Ox, (*Serapis*), is at most a generative principle in nature, whose endless genealogy connects him with the primitive ocean, not with an absolutely First Cause. Moreover these "sons of heaven" are too numerous and grossly materialistic to satisfy the most elementary definition of Sonship in the revealed Christian and theological sense in which we understand it.¹⁵

¹⁵ See G. H. Dalman, The Title "Son of God," being chap. X of the "Words of Jesus," (Edinburgh, 1902). "Jesus showed no cognisance of any beginning in this relationship," "nowhere do we find that Jesus called Himself the Son of God in such sense as to suggest a merely religious and ethical relation to God,"—it was an Eternal and Physical Sonship. (Ibid, pp. 285, 287). Compare this with the purely moral and ephemeral "sonship" of the demiurge, sprung from the rock or the ocean (?), and the comparison becomes absurd.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

NOR IS THE SACAENIC SACRIFICE A "CRUCIFIXION" OF GOD

And this leads us to that most insinuating parallelism of all, the supposed anticipation of the sacrifice of Calvary by the occasional scourging, mocking, torturing, and final "crucifying" of a human victim, with the distant hope of "saving" the race. There seems to have been at times a morbid desire to punish the powers of heaven, not only for their failures to help, but also to place the sins of the nation on the shoulders of the deity, to make him suffer for the guilt of mankind. The story of *Bilindi-Yaka*, the martyred "brother" of the Great Spirit of Ceylon, is possibly an early reference to such an idea, and in the later ages of man these examples seem to increase in direct proportion to the growing depravity of the race, they become more and more terrible. The annual death of *Tammuz* with the change of the seasons, the wounding of *Adonis*, the crucifixion of *Prometheus*, the cutting of the body of *Osiris* into fourteen pieces, these are but the prelude to the offering up of the living victim as impersonating the deity,—the so-called Sacaenic Sacrifice. In these ferocious ordeals it was more commonly some great public or national criminal, who was selected to bear the sins of the people. This creature was put to every conceivable outrage,—he was hailed as a king, mocked with a sceptre, crowned with a diadem, beaten with rods, and finally hanged,—a sufficiently gruesome ordeal to suggest a "passion-play", a vivid portrayal of divine suffering.

But here again we shall find that the supposed parallelisms cannot stand the test of theological criticism. For, in the first place, the "king of the *Sacaea*" is offered to *Kronos*, *Diana*, or *Artemis*, and therefore the man is offered to the god, not *vice versa*,—there is not the faintest evidence that *Kronos* is "slaughtered". In the second place, the anthropic sacrifice of a god, even if actually believed to occur in the Roman *Saturnalia*, must, by all the laws of critical fairness, be consigned to a somewhat different category from the sacrifice of Him who was so phenomenally conscious that "He and His Father were One". The anthropic god is a mere mimic, a mere masquerade of divinity, and to project Christian terminology upon the head of a poor benighted criminal, who offers himself as the laughing-stock of the people and as a propitiation to "Father Time", is a palpable playing with words, it is not serious science. Finally, though the Passion of Christ was no doubt founded in part on the treatment of Jewish and Pagan Malefactors, the more startling details of these stories appear so late that they may well have sprung from a gospel source. They show, if anything, that the scene in the Pretorium and Way of the Cross must have taken place about the time of Tiberius.¹⁶

¹⁶ Compare H. Vollmer, *Jesus und das Sacaeenopfer*, (Giessen, 1905), pp. 27-31. Philo's story of the "passion" of King Agrippa I. (A. D. 38) coincides strangely with the approximate date of the gospel event and reveals the antecedent probability of the narrative. Could all these details be invented and later fastened upon the Messiah? They prove the historicity of the Sacred Drama.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

BUT BOTH MUST BE REGARDED AS PSEUDO-THEISTIC ANTHROPOMORPHISMS, THE OBJECTIVE REDEMPTION BEING TYPIFIED ONLY IN THE MYSTICAL LAMB

It may, therefore, be regarded as critically certain that none of the so-called "immolations" of the divine, as they appear in the pre-Christian records of the race, can offer the smallest approach to the great historical Tragedy of the ages, and that where we hear of an apparent "sacrifice" of the god, the divine name must be written in small capitals, it can never be made to cover a purely theistic concept. It is simply one of the endless designations for the powers of nature, for all-mother-earth, or for all-father-ocean, never for the Divine Being as such,—He has long been forgotten. For it is precisely in the earliest period of the race, when the Father-in-Heaven belief is still comparatively vivid, that we find a simple offering of gifts in the shape of first-fruits, in which the object is lifted up, poured out, or consumed, without the remotest feeling that the divinity has thereby been sacrificed,—the immolation is in the worshipper and in the object, not in the deity.

On the other hand, we would be missing a golden opportunity to bring out the supernatural character of the Messiah, were we to ignore the divine and evidently prophetic portent of some of these rites,—of those, namely, in which the supreme God of Heaven is *typically* slaughtered in the victim,—and this takes place only in the Sacrificial Lamb of the Passover or in the mystical blood of the Scapegoat sprinkled over the Ark of the Testimony on the Day of Atonement. Now here we are face to face with an unaccountable fact. However unreal, on their own showing, these divine immolations may be taken to be, however short they may fall of the very essentials of an all-sufficient act, they show nevertheless that, by some extraordinary premonition of heaven, the divine was *associated* with suffering, that there was no contradiction between an ever-living and a sometimes dying divinity. We are here in presence of a paradox which defies the limits of natural logic to explain. How can the Immortal clothe Himself in the garments of death? No stretch of reason can bridge the awful chasm between celestial glory and divine martyrdom. We are therefore forced to the conclusion that the Almighty has purposely permitted these rites in order to reveal their essential inadequacy, in order to manifest in unmistakable terms that He alone is capable of paying the infinite price. And so we see that the mystical show-breads and the accumulated hecatombs of antiquity are but so many proofs of the Godhead of Christ as revealing Himself in the typical Lamb, they dissolve in the One, all-sufficient Sacrifice of Calvary and in the Banquet of His Love. The veil of the temple is now rent in twain,—we have entered the Holy of Holies.¹⁷

¹⁷ Recent literature: J. Rivière, *the Doctrine of the Atonement*, (London, 1909), 2 vols. Contra: M. Sabatier, *La doctrine de l'expiation et son évolution historique*, (Paris, 1903). C. A. Briggs, *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, (New York, 1909), p. 101-109 (Order of events in Passion-week).

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

IV. THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE DIFFERS FROM THE PREHISTORIC EXPIATIONS BOTH IN FORM AND CONTENT

Another and in some respects more plausible analogy between Christian and Pagan practice has been discovered by many in those undoubted exhibitions of grief and sorrow, followed by some sort of atonement, by which the savage sinner believes that his sins are forgiven, that the powers of heaven have been reconciled. Such penitential actions are well within the limits of the natural law, but are traceable to a fear of evil rather than a love of good,—an imperfect motive. For, we universally find that *physical* and *moral* sickness are closely allied, that “they must have done something wrong before any demon gets permission from the Father above to attack them” (Malakka), that “disease is the punishment for wrong-doing” (Philippines), that “there would be no disease or death if all men were good” (Brazil). This means that the cure of the soul goes hand in hand with that of the body, and as the latter is treated with the usual unguents, more especially with the mystic palm-branch, the exorcism of demons is at the same time an exorcism of sin, and both are performed in the “medicine-hut” by the paternal chief or headman:—“*O spirit-guides, both all and sundry, both large and small, and old and young, I crave your help in healing him, whose soul is sick, whose body stricken.*” The so-called “healing” which follows is administered by tapping the patient with the palm-branch, by blowing over his head, or by brandishing the bamboo cross, (Indo-Africa.) Here we have an apparently suggestive ritual, which, however, is lacking in the very essentials of a supernatural rite. For, first,—sin is not hated for its own sake, but for its physical consequences,—second,—there is no manifestation of guilt except *in globo*,—and third,—there is absolutely no mention of a single divine name nor any evidence that a “confession” is made to the Father above. While all this may, no doubt, be vaguely implied in the distant recognition of a Supreme Power, it is clear that it falls considerably short of a supernatural action.

The same idea is found in more explicit development among the totem-peoples, though here the opposition between good and bad medicine, between divine power and witchcraft, has become so strong, that the patient is obliged to submit to every kind of rough treatment, in some cases to real torture,—sweating, bleeding, laceration—, in order to expel the demon, to prove his innocence,—a kind of third-degree rite. “*Alas, thou spirit of the sun, why dost thou treat me thus?*” (India). These wails are sufficient to show that the divine benignity is still distant, reconciliation has become more difficult than ever.¹⁸

¹⁸ The extraordinary formula discovered by Bishop Le Roy, “I absolve you,” is too exceptional and doubtful to serve as an authentic instance of prehistoric “absolution.” Its content is entirely vague and its form may be traced to a possible contact with Portuguese missionaries. See *La Religion des Primitifs*, (Paris, 1911), pp. 247-250. The performer uses the buffalo horn!

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

THE MORE RECENT ANALOGIES BREAK DOWN ON THE SCORE OF POLYTHEISM

And when we come to those more specific ordeals in which an accusation of guilt is undoubtedly made to some particular deity, followed by some kind of priestly assurance that the guilt is pardoned, it would savor of the greatest superficiality were we to confound these semi-magical invocations to a highly developed pantheon of gods with the prayers and acts of the Christian penitent or the absolution given in the name of the Tri-une God. In the first case we have a mere catalog of faults, not an actual confession of sin:—“*Has he blasphemed his God? dishonored his father? ill-treated his neighbor? spoken impurity? been guilty of theft? told the untruth?*” And the self-accusation which follows is purely generic,—“*O Lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins!*”, while the so-called “absolution” has no direct connexion with this, but is a magical spell pronounced by the *sangu* to deliver mankind from the charms of sorcery:—“*Come to deliver us, thou son of justice, release the ban!*”, followed by an incantation to every power in heaven and earth, including the inanimate sea. While there is ample evidence for the moral content of these and the similar exorcisms in the more recent Asiatic world, it is only in the Mosaic ritual that the priestly confession, whether public or private, is offered directly to the great *I AM*:—“*Pardon, O Lord, pardon thy people, and be not angry with us for ever*” (Joel, 2, 17.), but this “covering of sin” is at most promissory. We must, in fact, look upon these rites as purely dispositive, as preparing the soul for the real deliverance.¹⁹

THE NEW RECONCILIATION IS IN THE HANDS OF A SINGLE DIVINE PERSONALITY

For it is only from the lips of the Messiah Himself that we hear that startling announcement that “*the son of man hath power on earth to forgive sin*”, “*arise, take up thy bed and walk*” (Mat. 9, 6), and the well-known interpellation of the scribes “*Who can forgive sins but God only?*” (Mk. 2, 7), is a direct proof that the Jewish *kappora* was something widely different from the new power claimed by the Son of God over an unredeemed humanity. But more than this. The power is to be transmitted from the Great Healer to His lawful successors,—“*Whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven, whose sins ye shall retain, they are retained.*” (John, 20, 23), and the repeated instances of a personal confession of sin, of a direct manifestation of guilt, (James, 5, 16. Acts, 19, 18), shows that the *exomologoumenon* is essential to the New Sacrament.

“*I ABSOLVE THEE IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, AND OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST.*”

It is this Trinitarian formula, gradually forced on the mind of the Church, which reveals its supernatural character from the earliest times. It is not a deliverance from the charms of magic, but a positive confession to the Father of all, followed by an equally positive Absolution.²⁰

¹⁹ P. Dhorme, *La Religion Assyrio-babylonienne*, (Paris, 1901), pp. 282-302. ²⁰ S. Thom. 3. qu. 84ff. Suarez, *de Poenit. disput.* 1-7. Tanqueray, III. p. 475, 531ff. Pourrat, I. c. pp. 76, 152, 306ff. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Bussacrament*, (Freiburg, 1910).

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

V. THE HOLY UNCTION HAS NOTHING IN COMMON WITH THE PREHISTORIC OINTMENT EXCEPT THE NAME

The external aspect of all healing rites must partake of a certain similarity the world over. If a release from the ban of witchcraft is bound to assume the external form of a priestly expurgation, the fear an impending doom naturally causes the culprit to seek a similar assistance at the approach of death,—he uses every means in his power to persuade himself that forces of heaven are friendly, that the nervous spasm of death will be reduced to a minimum. And so, it should not be surprising that, by the most spontaneous of human instincts, the sufferer should desire some natural specific by which through a perverse identification of moral and physical evil, the disease is hoped to be cured,—he uses the oil, the grease, or the fat precisely because these are felt to be helpful, they are the only medicines that he knows of. In all these so-called “anointings” it is therefore of primary importance to understand, that they are strictly material or utilitarian, they have no direct connexion with a forgiveness of sins, they are mere medical prescriptions, therapeutic spells. “*I rub you with this fat. May you continue to live!*” (East Indies, Melanesia.) Even in the Andaman Islands, the tracing of the “paint” to the Father above is not accompanied by any consciousness, however remote, that the patient desires more than his own physical well-being.

PREHISTORIC EXORCISMS ARE CONNECTED WITH THE BURIAL RITE

A still more distinctive phenomenon is found in the fact that these rubbings, aspersions, sprinklings with blood and water, and so on, are essentially coupled with the burial-rite, they have no absolute value of their own, and therefore distinguished *toto coelo* from the Christian rite, which has no immediate connexion with the funeral. The fifth Sacrament stands entirely alone, and cannot be made to correspond with that which is *last* in the ritual of the savage and exclusively so. In other respects the death-ceremonies show many edifying traits. The family will gather around the dying, whisper a last farewell, and with little more than a burial-bamboo or a bow and arrow, he is consigned to mother earth. “*Our father who went to that world, come to this world, come very quickly!*” This Vedda prayer to the dead reveals some consciousness of intercommunion, though the feeding at the tomb is a later device. The arms are sometimes crossed and the body contracted, but tribal chiefs are commonly buried in trees, which is probably a very old practice. In all these matters we are dealing with the most spontaneous feelings of the human heart, and their occurrence at this early stage of humanity furnishes a good example of the primitive ideas on this subject.²¹

²¹ They will also furnish a valuable antecedent for the traditional orthodox “funeral,” the custom of cremation being unknown in the earliest times, or at least rare and exceptional. (See the data above.)

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DEATH-CEREMONIES SHOW CONSIDERABLE VARIATIONS

But if the dignity of the body and the solemnity of the moment are visibly brought to the surface by these and the mourning services which follow,—wailing, fasting, taboo, strict silence, etc.—their neglect is believed to be the cause of severe visitations from heaven, divine friendship having been lost by “kicking the body into the sea” (Australia). In later ages we find a growing indifference to the fate of the body, the *mummification* of the corpse is more often the prelude to the *pyre-funeral*, the body being cremated, and the bones sometimes collected in the family urn or preserved as trophies. Quite often, however, the body is thrown into the river, or given to the hyaenas to eat (Africa). “*You are going back to the buffalos, you are going to rejoin your ancestors*”,—such is the only consolation given to the dying North-American Omaha.

In sharp contrast to this is the painful care that is given to the dead or dying in the more recent stone or bronze period. Not only an unction, but even an *embalment* of the body, is or becomes the general rule in Western Asia and Egypt, the corpse is placed in tomb, temple-tower, or pyramid, the soul is despatched with nearly all its earthly belongings, it even re-enters the tomb by means of the “spirit-door” in order to partake of the rich banquet prepared by the relatives to keep it from starvation! While this is doubtless an extreme practice, the custom of feeding the dead is so universal that it may be called typical of the age, with the final result that it degenerates into a worship of ancestors, (China). In still later historic times the burning of the dead is revived with great pomp and ceremony, and is again indicative of a more pessimistic outlook into the future, being the normal practice in the days of the Graeco-Roman decadence and in fact of all modern degenerate peoples. Nevertheless, the simple earth-grave has never been forgotten, it exists side by side with the soul-boat or the funeral urn, and the last rites of the dead are still in evidence. But all is only tentative and ephemeral.

THE CHRISTIAN SACRAMENT IS A NEW INSTITUTION

“Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priests of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with the oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man, and the Lord shall raise him up: and if he be in his sins, they shall be forgiven him” (James, 5, 14). Here we have for the first time an anointing of the sick coupled with a supernatural pardon:—

“THROUGH THIS HOLY UNCTION MAY THE LORD FORGIVE THEE THY SINS”.

It is this “Extreme Unction”, instituted by Christ and promulgated by St. James, that alone avails us, foreshadowed as it is by the anointing of His own body in anticipation of His death.²²

²² Comp. Matt. 26, 12, 27, 60. John, 12, 3. James, 5, 14-15. “For in that she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial” (Matt. 26, 12). See also S. Thom. Supp. q. 29ff. Suarez, disp. 39-44. Tanqueray, III. 570ff. Pourrat, op. cit. pp. 101, 155. 308, 352ff.

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VI. THE SACRAMENT OF ORDER HAS NO PARALLEL IN PREHISTORIC ANTIQUITY

If then the preceding rites can hardly be made to fit in with the new channels of supernatural power, either in their nature or in the order in which they appear, it is hardly to be expected that the perpetuation of a priesthood in so far as this is a general practice among the nature-peoples, should show anything but the most distant analogies to the Christian Ordination-rite. That there should be some mediator between heaven and earth, is only to be expected, but his office cannot in any sense be compared, either morally or theologically, to the extraordinary position of the Christian Priesthood.

THE PRIMITIVE PATRIARCHATE CANNOT EXPLAIN IT

We have seen that in the first ages of man priest and family-father were identical terms, which in view of the rudimentary social state was indeed inevitable. It is quite clear, for instance, that in the first human family, the father was *ipso facto* priest, ruler, and doctor all in one, as there was no one else to usurp the office. This is known as the primitive Patriarchate, or father-rule, of which we have abundant evidence. On this system, the father administers the entire ritual in the name of the All-Father above, and thus the priesthood is derived from God, the Father of the human race. This is the first and original title of every form of divine minister, as may be easily proved by an analysis of the earliest terms,—*Peng, Penglima, Pengulu, Papa, etc.*—forms which go back to the root *Ab* or *Ap*, from which we get most of the designations for Sky-Father. Nay more, the father trains his son to succeed him, and thus provides for the needs of his spiritual posterity. "*May your life be long! I am training a scholar of the mind!*" (Ceylon). This preparation naturally includes a moral instruction, an explanation of the tribal mysteries, and finally a delegation, in which the son inherits the father's powers, when the latter can no longer officiate. As an external sign the candidate is commonly besmeared with oil, turmeric, or some kind of body paint, he receives the sacred bamboo, the wand, or the pastoral staff, he is bidden to nurse his locks of hair, and after a short fast he is ready to assume the duties of his office. Naturally enough celibacy is unknown in this early stage of society, the *penglimas* are married, but as they believe in *one* God, so they have only *one* wife.

THE 'DUPLEX POTESTAS' IS NATURALLY WANTING

This, however, is a comparatively minor issue. That which separates the Christian Priest from the Patriarch is not so much the married tie as the entire absence of anything approaching to the "Double Power," the jurisdiction over the natural and the mystical Body of Christ.²³

²³ This must not be taken to imply that marriage furnishes a diriment impediment to all priesthood, but simply tends to show that where the higher ideal is entirely ignored, we have a consequent lowering of the office to the level of a more secular or lay profession, though the married Patriarch is in possession of supernatural power.

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THE LATER "MEDICINE-MAN" IS A TRAVESTY

In the nature of the case such a primitive organisation could not last very long. With the expansion of the family into the tribe, and this again into the horde or nation, different vocations begin to assert themselves, and by degrees the office of healer, dreamer, or medicine-man becomes a separate profession, though the chief medicine-man is still the head of the community, it is the most powerful *patti* or *gommera* who generally governs the tribe. Minor offices are known as "ghostfinder" (India), "healer" (Africa), "bone-wizard" (Australia), "mystery-doctor" (North-America), but the magical nature of this profession is revealed by the extraordinary, in some cases the unnatural practices by which this power is believed to be acquired,—by prolonged starvation, swooning away in delirium, seeing the totem-guardian in a trance, cutting into the entrails or cranium, snake-charming, boning, pointing and crystal-throwing. "*May your heart be rent asunder!*" This Australian curse summarises the evil effects of this terrific medicine, even if it is meant to counteract witchcraft. In other instances we find the same respect for the genuine healer as heretofore. He is as a rule elaborately painted, carries the nose-quill or the atongara-crystal, brandishes the prayer-stick or the buffalo-horn, and wears the totemic plant or animal ensign on his head. But here more than ever the healing profession is essentially medical; it exercises physical, not moral disease.

THE MORE RECENT "PATESI" IS ESSENTIALLY A DEMON-HUNTER

So far the physical and moral healers are united in the same person, the priest is also the doctor. With the gradual separation of the two offices the more purely spiritual functions of the priesthood become more pronounced and a definite hierarchy with a Priest-Kingship begins to evolve. The Babylonian *patesi* is still the "great father", but he is assisted by numerous lower orders, more especially the exorcist (*asipu*), who conducts for him the physical cures. Nevertheless, the fact remains, that his power is still essentially *negative*; he is himself an exorcist in that he procures the good only by chasing away the contrary evils, he is a high-class demon-hunter. While this is not without its moral value, it shows that the direct acquisition of positive spiritual power is beyond his reach, that the power is still largely prophylactic and utilitarian,—a mere counter-irritant to destroy the identical medicine. "*Similia similibus curantur*",—it is this homeopathic principle which underlies all these purging actions of whatever kind; the practitioner uses nature to cure nature, he can never get outside the cycle of purely natural causes.²⁴

²⁴ Compare Dhome, *La Religion Assyrio-Babylonienne*, p. 282ff. for the connexion of the sangu with sorcery. Also Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, (London, 1913). Introduction.

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THE LEVITICAL PRIESTHOOD OFFERS A BRIGHTER OUTLOOK

It is refreshing to turn by contrast to the land of the Hebrews and to note the rise of a higher and purer ideal of the divine ministry. From the first the separation of religion from magic, of spirit from ghost, is a pronounced feature in the higher life of this people, and with it the complete disconnexion of the Lord's anointed from the mere spell-worker. This medicine is strongly allopathic from the remotest times; it knows only one source of power, and that a supernatural one, symbolised by the *Urim* and *Thummim*, the "Light" and the "Truth", and by the majestic inscription on the diadem of the High Priest, *Kodesh LeAdonai*, "Holiness unto the Lord". This pure theology has been ever at warfare with all forms of witchcraft, divination, augury, astrology, heptascopy, and other pernicious devices, and so we see the Jewish *kohen* in possession of a power which is derived directly from the God of Heaven; he is in fact, like Melchisedech, "the priest of the Most High God", and he exorcises sin and sickness, not by Beelzebub, but by "invoking the Name of the Lord".

BUT LABORS UNDER EQUALLY GREAT IMPERFECTIONS

Yet in spite of the elevated, sorcery-hating character of his profession, he is the mere type of forerunner of a still higher and holier office. With all the prophetic importance of the Mosaic ritual, it is still essentially *figurative*,—the Lamb and the mystical Blood are powerless to effect the redemption; they are types of a power to come, they have no absolute value.

AND FINALLY DISSOLVES IN THE HIGHER ORDER OF THE NEW COVENANT

This inherent deficiency is brought into unmistakable clearness by the growing consciousness that sin cannot be pardoned through human channels, nay, that a complete pardon of sin is unattainable,—"*Who can forgive sins but God only?*" (Mark, 2, 7), "*I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, neither will I accept a sacrifice from your hand*" (Mal. 1, 10). All this shows the essentially tentative and limited nature of the *kappora*, it is a mere cloak of the past transgression, not its destruction. With the positive teaching of the Messiah and the institution of the Primacy, this "covering" of sin becomes an *aphesis*,—the old *mincha* a "*koinonia of the Body of Christ*", two entirely new supernatural concepts. "*And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and he said to them: RECEIVE YE THE HOLY GHOST. WHOSE SINS YOU SHALL FORGIVE, THEY ARE FORGIVEN THEM; WHOSE SINS YOU SHALL RETAIN, THEY ARE RETAINED*" (Jh. 20, 22). "*THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU. DO THIS FOR A COMMEMORATION OF ME*" (Lk. 22, 19). It is this "dismissal" of sin and "communion" of Christ, which, with the new ideal of virginal chastity, of voluntary celibacy, has consigned the old Jewish theocracy to the forgotten past.²⁵

²⁵ Comp. Matt. 16, 18. John, 21, 15-17 (for the Primacy). John, 20, 22 (for the Delegation). Matt. 19, 10-12 (for the Counsel of Celibacy). I Cor. 7, 25-40 (for Apostolic Counsel of Virginity). Also S. Thom. Supp. qu. 34ff. Bellarmine, de sacram. ordinis. passim. Tanqueray, III. 594ff. Pourrat, I. c. p. 100, 311ff.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

VII. NEITHER HAS THE SACRAMENTAL UNION OF MAN AND WIFE ANYTHING BUT THE MOST DISTANT ANALOGIES WITH THE PRE-CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE-RITE

As a final nexus between the old and the new, the religious joining of hands as practiced by ancient and primitive peoples is made to serve as the only basis for the promulgation of an identical ceremony under the New Law,—a mere continuation of what has already been handed down and believed from the earliest times. Such a swift and easy comparison reveals its essential superficiality by drawing attention to the following facts:

THE PRIMITIVE MARRIAGE HAS A DIVINE SANCTION

In consideration of the fact that the Messiah Himself bears witness to an original sanctity in the matrimonial relation, it is instructive indeed to turn to the nature-peoples and to see how the earlier practices in this regard testify to His own omniscient consciousness. So far from finding a condition of promiscuity or sexual free love, the more recent discoveries are sufficiently numerous and well-authenticated to establish the thesis that *monogamy* was the original state of man, that all other forms of this union are corruptions that came in with a later age. Not only does this imply the union of one man with one woman, but in addition the union is very generally regarded as *permanent*,—divorce is not commonly recognised, and desertion apparently rare. The aboriginal family was of course endogamous,—there were no people to marry without—, but with the spread of the race a mild form of *local exogamy* became the rule, and in time all blood-marriages were tabooed as incestuous. In the choice of the bride a good deal of liberty prevailed in other respects, there was no bridal purchase and rarely an artificial betrothal, though the consent of the father and the free consent of the bride were as a rule demanded, marriage by elopment being strongly disapproved. On the contrary, in the most primitive regions the marriage is valid only when celebrated in presence of the father of either family, and accompanied by prayer, sacrifice, or the lighting of torches, (Andaman Islands). "*May you be blessed with offspring!*" (Malakka), "*Praise to the supreme Being, our Maker!*", (Philippines, Borneo). As in all ages, it is the occasion of feasting and merriment, of exchange of gifts, of presenting of "rings" in the shape of bamboos, hair-combs, or shell-necklaces, of sprinklings with water, rice, or the mystic fern-juice.

AND IS DOUBTLESS OF SUPERNATURAL INSTITUTION

And with this comes the rather important indication that the ceremony is more than the outgrowth of a universal human instinct, dictated by the common necessities of mankind. The Creator and Lord of nature is often asked to bestow His blessing upon what is felt to be an act of fundamental social importance, evidently instituted by Him alone.²⁶

²⁶ See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, (New York, 1903), and Idem, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, (N. Y. 1908), for a broad confirmation of these statements, and compare p. xxxv-xl above.

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THE TOTEMIC MARRIAGE IS SOILED BY ITS "ANIMAL AFFINITIES"

With the introduction of the totem-cult, all these items become increasingly complex, but without any corresponding moral advantage. There is a long list of prohibited degrees, depending upon plant or animal ancestry, and the individual totem competes with the class or phratric ensign in determining what people are *not* to marry. While this has its useful aspect, it has been the occasion of secondary developments which are far from pleasing. It is true that the externals of rite are for the most part preserved,—“*May our hands remain clasped for ever*”. (India), but the growing secularisation of the union and the increasing laxity of the tie is revealed by the frequency of *polygamy*, by the approval of *divorce*, and by the institution of marriage by *purchase* or *capture*, secret elopements being rarely reprehended. Under the still later “matriarchate”, with its secret societies and phallic dances, religious symbolism has practically vanished, and the inroads of polyandry and other unnatural practices show that the so-called “mother-right” is not the unmixed blessing that some have supposed. Women are now feared and terrorised rather than loved, the masked dance being designed to keep them under subjection—, the whole reveals a decidedly unnatural and sordid relation.

THE MORE RECENT MARRIAGE EXHIBITS A DOUBLE PICTURE

All this is swept away with the dawn of the new stone age, when the ancient concept of a single permanent union is once more revived, but only with partial success. Throughout Western Asia there is evidence of an original monogamous practice, the Babylonian patesi and the Egyptian pharaoh being generally ornamented with one wife, at least in theory. The same applies to the Palestine of the patriarchs, the Persia of Zoroaster, the India of the Rig-Veda, the China of the first celestials, and more distantly to the Polynesian and more recent American cultures. One example will be sufficient,—“*By these laws of the faith which I utter, obtain ye the life of the Good Mind*” (Persia). Concomitantly there has been a desire to grant more liberty to the female partner, to make her a free agent in business-contracts, and to admit her to the privileges of the sanctuary as a virgin, as a devotee or a priestess. This is especially the case in Greece and Rome, where the oldest classics give evidence of a high feeling for the dignity of the bond and the equality of conjugal rights, the priestly marriage being regarded as the only legal one, (*Confarreatio*). This, however, is only one side of the picture. The other is represented by the indefinite polygamy of the later Hebrews and indeed of all historic peoples, by the extraordinary freedom in the change of partners, and finally by the abominable practice of *temple-prostitution* and habitual incest, which brought on the dissolution of the later empires. Nothing on earth is more tragic than to watch the gradual degeneration of the sex-instinct from a divinely implanted feeling of oneness to the licenses and terrible excrescences of the age of Nero.

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ALL PRE-CHRISTIAN UNIONS ARE LACKING EITHER IN THEIR NATURE OR IN THEIR RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

If then we gather all the marriage-ceremonies of mankind under one head, we shall see that, while the fundamental principles of the natural law are too deep-seated to be entirely effaced in any age of the race, they either remain on this purely natural level, or are distorted and perverted with the most fatal consequences to the well-being of mankind. If the primitive union is conspicuous both for its unity and its stability, it is the result of a past supernatural revelation on the dignity and inviolability of the tie,—*“And they shall be two in one flesh”* (Gen. 2, 24). In no case however, does it rise to the importance of a special channel of divine sanctity, co-ordinate with the other great functions of religion. And this is the one differentiating note of all the pre-Christian ceremonials in so far as they show any approach to the Christian rite. The wedding is more of a social necessity than a positive means of sanctification, and it reveals its fragile character by the loose relations which, even in the ages of its purest manifestation, so often disfigure the private lives of the couple.

THE NEW BOND OF LOVE IS BASED ON A SUPERNATURAL PARALLEL

It is therefore in harmony with the works of the divine wisdom that with the advent of a new supernatural dispensation, the old giving in marriage should acquire an entirely original, supernatural stamp. *“Whom God hath joined, let no man put asunder”*, (Matt. 19, 6). The unity and indissolubility of the tie, battled shattered by the Mosaic prescription, is not only restored to its pristine level of strictness, but it becomes the sign or symbol of Christ's union with the Church:—*“Let women be subject to their husbands as to the Lord: Because the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church. He is the savior of his body. Therefore as the Church is subject to Christ, so also let the wives be subject to their husbands in all things. Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the Church, and delivered himself up for it: that He might sanctify it, cleansing it by the laver of water in the word of life! So also ought men to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself. For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife, and they shall be two in one flesh. THIS IS A GREAT SACRAMENT: but I speak in Christ and in the Church.”* (Ephes. 5, 22-32). The *mysterion* here referred to is thus raised to the level of a unique communication of supernatural gifts, based upon as sublime an analogy as can well be conceived. It is the Redeemer's marriage with His mystical Bride which is the model of this union, consecrated as it is by His personal presence at the marriage of Cana. Montanism and Matriarchates fade away in its cleansing atmosphere.²⁷

²⁷ P. Devine, *The Law of Christian Marriage*, (New York, 1908). S. Thom. Supp. qu. 42ff. Bellarmine, *de Sacram. Matrimonii*, passim. Tanqueray, III. 626ff. Pourrat, I. c. 314, 321ff.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

VIII. MINOR SACRAMENTALS EXHIBIT FEW EXTERNAL ANALOGIES

Coming now to those secondary acts of divine worship in which any appropriate object is used as the expression of the divine benevolence or the worshipper's feeling of dependence, there will naturally be many occasions in which the common longings of the human heart will take on similar forms of expression the world over. Yet even here there are certain glaring facts which make it impossible to derive the more distinctively Christian practices from any of their presumable antecedents, but which point rather to the opposite,—the influencing of Pagan by Jewish and Christian forms.

THE TRINITARIAN SIGN OF THE CROSS, COUPLED WITH THE ASPERSION OF WATER, IS OF CHRISTIAN AND PRE-CONSTANTINIAN ORIGIN

Foremost among these is the common and extremely ancient practice of dipping the fingers in the font of Holy Water and signing the person with the sign of the Cross. While a cruciform symbolism need have no connexion as such with the central mystery of the new Faith, the making of the sign with the arms and fingers and the accompanying invocation of the Trinity is something that cannot be found in any pre-Christian cult of whatever kind, and, we may safely say, will never be found. It hangs together with the rite of Baptism, and should be judged accordingly,—it is a continual reminder of the primitive cleansing. "*We mark our foreheads with the Sign of the Cross*", says Tertullian in the II. century (de cor. mil. 3). If then the formula for the New Birth cannot, as we have attempted to show, be extricated in any theological sense from the cosmic triads of the day, it will hardly be necessary to point out that its symbolic repetition stands in the same category,—it is a spontaneous piece of devotion which grew out of the Church with the same facility as did the conservation of the eucharistic elements in the Mass, a desire to have the source of Life continually accessible. "*In this Sign thou shalt conquer!*" Had the Christian symbolism been understood in precisely the same sense as its predecessors, it could not have occasioned the conversion of Constantine; he saw in the heavens that which no pagan symbol could contain,—the "*Sign of the Son of Man*" (Matt. 24, 30). It is therefore sufficiently obvious, that, however ancient the prehistoric sign of the cross may be taken to be, it was absolutely devoid of anything approaching to a supernatural content; it was simply the designation for All-Father-Heaven, having no connexion with a definite, divine, or historical mystery. The four points of the compass or the three dimensions in space can suggest some beautiful thoughts, but they can hardly be made to serve as anything but the scaffolding of the new doctrine; they break to pieces when touched by the transforming spell of the Holy Trinity. Thus the prehistoric data bring into ever stronger relief the essentially unique character of the Divine Sign.²⁸

²⁸ Bunsen, *Das Symbol des Kreuzes bei alten Nationen und die Entstehung des Kreuzsymbols der christlichen Kirche* (Berlin, 1876). Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History and Art* (New York, 1898). Lowrie, *Christian Art and Archaeology*, (New York, 1906), pp. 236-244.

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THE HOLY ROSARY IS NOT DERIVED FROM THE MAGIC NECKLACE

Another sufficiently common but very deceptive parallelism is drawn by many archaeological writers between the Christian Rosary as we now have it, and the regular repetition of set forms of prayer as undoubtedly practiced by ancient and primitive peoples and occasionally counted on so-called string-beads or prayer-necklaces. That this should be a fairly general practice should occasion as little astonishment as the custom of kneeling or of throwing up the hands, they are convenient ways of approaching the divine mercy, putting law and order into religious devotions. An early example of repeated prayer-forms may perhaps be seen in the Bakatan invocations to the heavenly "Medicine-Man",—"O holy Dayong, thou who lovest mankind, bring back thy servant from Leman, the land between life and death!" (p. 334). Similar forms are found throughout the primitive zone, and there can be no question that the efficacy of the prayer is in some way connected with the string of shells or precious stones by which the savage commonly adorns his person. In this way the different stones have different magical or religious powers, or are sometimes symbolical of different virtues,—the amethyst of courage and constancy, the ruby of loyalty and devotion, the emerald of perseverance and hope, the diamond of immaculate purity, stainlessness of religious character. It is by no means certain, however, that definite stones are connected with definite prayers, nor that these are regularly counted on "beads", as some would imagine. Except for the dropping of the stone or shell as an offering to the deity, they partake very largely of the character of charms.

MUCH LESS FROM THE DIVINING-CRYSTALS

The use of the magic stone as an amulet leads to the still more occult practice of reading hidden events in the polished stone, so-called crystal-gazing. That such a pretence is made by many savage or civilised peoples, need no longer be questioned; it belongs to that class of phenomena known as clairvoyance, telepathy, mental dissociation, the sub-conscious(?) The diviner or medicine-man takes the magic ball, and by gazing stedfastly into it, "sees whatever he wishes to see", "locates the hidden disease", "discovers the unknown criminal", and so on. Similar feats are performed by looking into the water, using a drop of blood, or gazing into red ink. But apart from the very questionable character of these phenomena, there is no reason to regard them as more than advanced medical practices having their modern analogues in "radium", X-ray-treatment, auto-hypnotism, and other exceptional devices. That primitive man should make use of the "crystal-beads," is indeed rather surprising, but the accompaniments of all these practices,—craniotomy, swooning away, the kniving and boning of victims—, shows that a large part of them must be attributed to demoniacal power.²⁹

²⁹ Compare A. Lang, *Crystal Visions*, savage and civilised, being pp. 83-104, of "The Making of Religion", (London, 1909), where most of these phenomena can be explained as hallucinations.

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THE SACRED CHAPLET CANNOT BE TRACED TO THE HINDOO PRAYER-WHEELS

A still more impossible comparison is founded on the alleged similarity between the rotating prayer-machines of the Hindoos and others and the counting of prayers on the string of beads as practiced in the Christian rite. The endless repetition of such sounds as *Aum*, *Bhuh*, *Bhuvah*, *Svah*, standing for "three", "earth", "air", "heaven", tell their own story of a cosmic philosophy, while in the later Lamaism, the all-powerful formula, *Om mani padme hum*, "*O jewel of the lotus, hum!*", is a purely machine-made invocation, written and multiplied on slips of paper running around a cylinder, and operated by hand, wind, or water-power. It is sad to think that modern Buddhism should have turned to the "magic flower" for inspiration, a cult which in primitive times was purely symbolic and comparatively harmless, but which is here regarded as the mainspring of all supernatural effort and stripped of every connexion with a personal God. Moreover, it is quite certain that this very late system of "forcing" the divine by means of purely automatic actions was entirely unknown in the western world, Buddhism, with its reincarnation-doctrine, exercised no influence whatever on the spread of the Gospel, and to insinuate any contact of early Christian with Shamanistic practice indicates a gross want of perception of the significance of two entirely different religious movements. Nothing approaching to a prayer-mill was ever known in the land of Palestine. On the other hand, the somewhat startling fact of the existence of attested prayer-beads in many of these eastern lands, and accompanied by fastings, penances, "mass"-offerings, sacred vestments, holy-water aspersions, monastic orders, and even complete "monasteries", while not necessarily or universally imported, show, according to our most careful authorities, that some part of the external ritual of these peoples must in all probability be traced to early Christian, and very probably to Nestorian influences.³⁰

NOR TO THE JEWISH "SACRED CHAINS"

As a more rational basis for what is after all a very obvious instrument of devotion, the knotted cords and emblematic chains of the Jews offer a more attractive comparison. It appears to be fairly probable that the psalms of David were thus counted from the earliest times, and on the Day of Atonement the national wailing, "*Pardon, O Lord, pardon thy people!*", might be facilitated by a similar marking of prayers. This and the twelve precious stones of the High Priest, symbolising the twelve tribes and the twelve precious virtues, are suggestive enough of a "rosary" to merit our passing attention. But apart from the "one hundred blessings", there is no reason to believe that these necklets were thus used in the time of the Messiah, and their meaning and function are, as far as we know at present, very obscure. There is no proof that the "chains" of Isaiah, 3, 19, were used as counting-machines, though they might well have been so.³¹

³⁰ Rev. Charles Francis Aiken, D.D. *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, (Boston, 1900), pp. 11, 149ff. Sven Hedin, *Trans-Himalaya*, (London, 1913), pp. 310-329. ³¹ See J. R. Volz, Art. "Beads," *Cath. Encycl.* Vol. II. pp. 361-362.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

BUT MUST BE ULTIMATELY FOUNDED ON THE LORD'S PRAYER AND THE ANGELIC SALUTATION

It is to this quarter, however, that we may look for the more plausible antecedents of early Christian custom. "*Hold fast the form of sound words*", (2 Tim. 1, 13). That the apostle is here referring at the very least to the Paternoster and the primitive Apostles' Creed, seems probable, and the "form" of the words had long been determined by the Master Himself,—"*When ye pray, say: Our Father, who art in Heaven*", etc. (Mat. 6, 9 Lk. 11, 2). What more natural than that these set forms of prayer should be kept in memory by the help of a simple cord of knots, beads, or shells, as we read in the lives of some of the early ascetics? The sacred formulæ were continually on their lips, they were constantly repeated, from hour to hour, nay, from minute to minute, and they had only to use the instruments already familiar, to transfer the old beads from the Jewish Psalter to the Lord's Prayer and the Angelic Salutation,—"*Hail, thou that art full of grace, the Lord is with thee: Blessed art thou among women*", (Lk. 1, 28). While the whole of this devotion was no doubt of gradual and silent growth, and suggested possibly by Jewish custom, it was certainly not directly derived either from this or the analogous pagan rites. In other words, the Annunciation must be coupled with the Incarnation; if the latter is an unparalleled fact, so indeed is the former.

THE MODERN MEDITATION-ROSARY MUST BE TRACED TO ST. DOMINIC

But while the fifty Paternosters and Aves may be indefinitely ancient as invocations, the numbers being suggested by the fingers of the hand or the Davidic Psalter, the new arrangement in groups of three, representing three phases in the life of Christ or the heavenly Mother, each decade commencing with the Lord's Prayer and followed by ten Marian salutations, demands a more positive and personal source for its propagation. Whatever may be said on the side of criticism in favor of a gradual development of the modern out of the primitive Rosary, the sudden appearance of the Marian Psalter in the hands of the Friars-Preachers at the close of the fifteenth century is something that calls for a more adequate explanation. Even if the contemporary sources are deficient on this subject, the finger of the supernatural points, with its wonted element of mystery, to the personality of St. Dominic as the original bearer of the famous celestial vision; for it is through his sons and followers pre-eminently that the Marian Rosary has attained to the proportions of a world-embracing cult. Here we have a symphony of prayer which, beginning in joy, ascending in sorrow, and triumphing in glory, runs through the whole gamut of the supernatural, and by its threefold appeal to the infancy, passion, and resurrection of Christ, sounds the minor triad of harmony, the most beautiful chord in music. We may well be thankful for this most precious boon of our Faith.³²

³² For controversial questions see H. Thurston, S. J., Art. "Rosary", Cath. Encyclop. Vol. XIII, pp. 184-187. Contra: A. M. Skelly, O. P., St. Dominic and the Rosary, or, Was he its Founder? (Portland, Oregon, 1913). Comp. I. M. Casanowicz, The Collection of Rosaries in the U. S. National Museum, (Washington, 1909), p. 350ff.

COMPARATIVE CRITICISM

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS HAVE THEREFORE NO PARALLELS IN THE PREHISTORIC PAST EITHER IN THEIR NATURE, NUMBER, OR ORDER

Returning, then, to the question which we set ourselves to discuss at the beginning of this chapter, that on the essence of sacrifice and on the nature and meaning of the primitive medicines, we see now that the latter cannot be equated with the Christian Sacraments on any system which involves a fair comparison. In the first place, their nature has been seen to be purely negative and dispositive and their efficiency purely natural,—in the second place, their number is entirely indefinite, having no essential connexion with the number seven,—and finally the order in which they are treated is strictly conventional, following the various needs in the higher life of man, but showing no necessary succession from one to the other except in the broadest and most general way, and different essentially in some of the most important links of the chain. If we have arranged them in an ascending series of seven, it is because the Christian sacramental system was the first to select this number as marking out *seven special and supernatural channels of power*, with which the medicines offer at times striking though very defective analogies, but which are too solidly founded on the universal needs of the human soul not to reveal some points of contact with the principal stages in the savage use of the corresponding remedies,—miserable attempts to supply the innate feeling for help during the different periods of his life, beginning with birth and closing with death. I have shown, I hope conclusively, that in these, as in other matters, there is a deep undercurrent of universal sympathy running through all the ages of man, but that the pouring of the new wine into the old bottles by the transforming hand of the Messiah was so violent as to burst the bottles as well as their content and to stamp the new number seven upon seven entirely new and life-giving vessels of sanctity.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS INAUGURATE A NEW ERA OF GRACE

We are thus brought face to face with the historic and uniquely supernatural Person of Christ as the direct source of our modern sacraments. He is baptised in the Jordan, He blesses little children, He sacrifices His Body, He forgives sinners, He heals the sick, He ordains His apostles, He assists at the marriage of Cana. And with this as our dogmatic rallying-point, we may sweep all secondary issues for the present aside, the detailed matter and form of each sacrament, with the nature and efficacy of its power, being partly revealed in the scripture, partly defined by the institutional Church. In the meantime we have realised with sufficient force that as the new Healer is incomparatively superior to any shadowy demiurges of prophetic fame, so the powers that issue from Him cannot be measured in terms of their corrupted folklore; they are raised to the level of unique, divine, incommunicable mysteries.

THE "FRACTIO PANIS"

OR

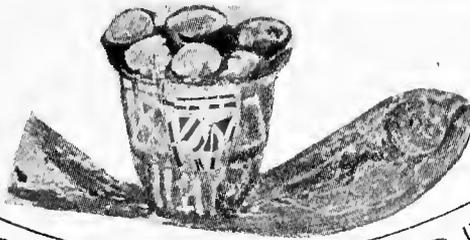
THE EUCHARIST IN THE CATACOMBS

REVEALING THE EXTREME POVERTY OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH COUPLED WITH
A VIVID FAITH IN THE DIVINE PRESENCE,
"I AM THE GOOD SHEPHERD: THE GOOD SHEPHERD GIVETH HIS LIFE FOR THE
SHEEP" (JOHN, 10, 11)

"NO MAN IS SO RICH AS HE WHO CARRIES THE BODY OF CHRIST."



IN A BASKET OF OSIERS, AND HIS BLOOD IN A CUP OF GLASS"
(S. JEROME, EP. 125)



"I AM THE BREAD OF LIFE" (JOHN, 6, 35)

CENTER-PICTURE REPRESENTS THE "BREAKING OF BREAD" AS FOUND IN THE
"GREEK CHAPEL" OF THE CATACOMB OF ST. PRISCILLA, ROME, FIRST HALF OF THE
II. CENTURY. ABOVE: "THE GOOD SHEPHERD," A POPULAR CHRISTIAN SUBJECT OF THE
III. CENTURY. BELOW: THE "BASKET OF OSIERS" AND THE "CUP OF GLASS," RESTING
ON THE MYSTICAL FISH, AND REPRESENTING THE PERMANENT PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN
THE SACRED SPECIES,—CATACOMB OF ST. CALIXTUS, II. CENTURY

THE UNIQUENESS OF THE CHRISTIAN IDEA OF
SACRIFICE AND OF SACRAMENTAL VIVIFICATION

It would be a grave oversight to dismiss this subject without making a final appeal to the united facts of antiquity with a view to understanding, more explicitly perhaps than heretofore, how unbridgeable is the chasm that separates the new dispensation from the old, how incomparably superior is the Christian doctrine of sacrifice and its mediation through sacramental channels than any of its pagan or Jewish forerunners. For this purpose it will be both useful and equitable to make a short comparison of the two systems in order to bring out more forcibly, (1) the points of resemblance, (2) the points of intrinsic difference, by which this superiority may be brought more clearly to the surface.

BOTH SYSTEMS CONVEY THE MEANS OF SANCTIFICATION

It is evident, in the first place, that in so far as nature herself can be used as a "symbol of love", the employment of this or that medium for communicating with the powers above is simply dictated by the common conscience of mankind, it is the most natural and spontaneous of human actions. Without some external ritual or symbolism a real, living religion cannot for a long time continue; it sinks into mere speculation, a mere "theory" of the relations of God to man. Hence it should not be surprising that in almost all the ages of man the idea of obtaining some kind of help from supernatural powers by means of ordinary every-day channels is the outgrowth of a mere instinct, for which there is abundant precedent in human nature as such. What would we think of a human family, or even a large society, in which all expressions of devotion, all tokens of affection, all signs of internal gratitude, all marks of internal love, were constantly and conspicuously absent? They would be branded as barbarians, unfit to share in the common decencies of humanity. And so, in the liturgical practices of mankind we note the common yearning of the human heart for some kind of assurance that the deity is benevolent, that as a fact he is there to help them, that he has signified his approval by external signs.

SOME CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE DIVINE BENIGNITY IS UNIVERSAL

In the interpretation of the pre-Christian ritual of mankind it is, therefore, no strain whatever upon our Christian conscience to admit that many of these practices may, and perhaps actually do, confer a certain natural tendency to things above, a certain beginning in the fruition of the divine goodness.

SIMILARITIES OF NEEDS BEGET SIMILARITIES OF EXPRESSION

Coming more particularly to the individual rites, we may also willingly concede that, as they are founded upon the universal needs of humanity in all ages, some external, and even internal resemblances may be traced in their general structure and portent. The sprinkling of water is vaguely promissory of a rise to a higher life, of the washing away of the initial defilement, of the healing of the primitive breach between God and man. Nay more, in the climax of all the ritual we may dimly discern a faint analogy between the first-fruit *sadaka* and those more exuberant gifts of the divine love that are in the exclusive possession of the Holy Eucharist. In both cases there is an imparting of divine power in or through the sacrificial elements, which, however misunderstood or perverted in the premessianic days of humanity, cannot but betoken some form of union, and that of the most intimate kind, between the Creator and the creature. The whole ceremony is dimly prophetic of the day when the God of Heaven shall give Himself in His fulness to His starving children, shall be sacrificed in a unique and unapproachable sense on the altar of Calvary and in the Eucharistic Cenacle. To this extent, then, we may speak of a mystical or prophetic yearning after God throughout the cycles of time, in that by some mysterious supernatural light, He has signified His coming in human flesh and His conveyance of the divine life as a food for the soul by certain vague and adumbrative symbols, which prefigure the real immolation that will some day be enacted. In this, as in other great interventions of the divine mercy, coming events cast their shadows before. "As he spake by the mouth of his holy prophets, which *have been since the world began*",—in the canonical "prophets" these signs are unmistakable, they are explicit predictions.

BUT SIMILARITIES ARE OPPOSED BY ESSENTIAL DIFFERENCES

Nevertheless, a more searching study of the internal content of these rituals will bring into ever-increasing clearness, that the differences are on the whole far more pronounced than the resemblances, that while some form of communication of the divine is universal, the mythology in which it is clothed and the manner in which it is manifested, differentiates the pre-Christian rites so essentially and fundamentally from their modern successors that anything like a continuity cannot be spoken of. As this subject is one of the burning questions of the day and is so commonly mishandled by superficial students of comparative religion, it may be worth while to call attention to three aspects at least, in which the old and the new medicines differ, not only in degree, but also in kind, in the manner in which the divine is conceived to operate.

THE TRINITARIAN FORMULA IS ONE OF THE TRANSCENDING ELEMENTS

For, at the very threshold of the Christian system we find an invocation of the divine name, which under the triune designation of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is something entirely new in the religious experience of mankind. To wash with water, and to invoke the blessing of Heaven is indeed natural enough; but to baptise in the name of a superhuman, incomprehensible mystery is clearly beyond the unassisted powers of man to effect,—it postulates a direct and unique illumination from an equally unique and supernatural source. Hence the derivation of the rite of baptism from the Levitical, nay even from the Mithraic purification-ceremonies, breaks to pieces under this one hammer alone, for in none of the pre-Christian or non-Christian rites is there the remotest hint of a triune nature of God, the so-called triads being, as we have conclusively shown in our first chapter, but an empty and cosmic designation for the three points of the universe, and moreover entirely eclipsed and forgotten in the age of the historical appearance of the Messiah. And this will apply with equal force to all those further sacramental actions, with which the name of the Trinity is essentially coupled,—Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Holy Order, and the rest. If the Trinity itself is a unique revelation, it will stand to reason that these trinitarian rites are equally so; they are raised far above the level of nature.

THE PERSONAL IMMOLATION OF GOD IS ANOTHER

But we would be ignoring the central dogma of the Christian faith were we to stop short with the mere names of things, however sublime. The invocations of the Holy Trinity lead us to suspect that in other departments also there have been divine activities which are far in excess of what has ever before taken place on the stage of the world's history. We have seen that, although we have something approaching to the idea of personality in the earliest consciousness of man, the so-called "immolation" of God is at most mystical and adumbrative, while in the later ages the notion of a personal subsistence begins to fade away altogether, until it is revived, but only with partial success and with a strongly animistic and pantheistic coloring, among the more refined peoples of Western Asia. But it was reserved for the historic incarnation of the Son of God to bring out this idea of personality, whether in the Creator or in the creature, in all its sublime and unadulterated purity. Here alone do we find, not only the idea, but the actual fact of a suffering and dying God, one who is no mere product of the mythical fancy, but the personal supporter of the powers of the universe,—God *and* man.

THE IMPARTING OF THE DIVINE LIFE IS A THIRD

From this inimitable reality it will follow that the sacramental "giving" of the Body of Christ is hardly the outgrowth of a Jewish *agape* or a Persian love-feast. Apart from the entire novelty of the words of institution, the terms "body of God", "life of God", "gift of God", as used in the contemporary cults, must always be understood in the light of the mental atmosphere of the times,—they are one and all either tinged with the idea of "emanation" pure and simple, as in the Egyptian mysteries and the later Neo-Platonism, or they are obscured by a vague naturalism and undisguised polytheism, which makes of Mithras and Demeter little more than solar or lunar heroes, or, finally, they have lost all definite theological content, if indeed they ever possessed one, as in the Jewish funeral feasts. Moreover it is no small assumption to suppose that the Mithraic rites of the time of Augustus were identical with those of the Persian Achaemenids or of still earlier times, when the worship of the great Mazda was still comparatively pure. The one liturgy that we possess of this kind is of very late redaction, and would rather incline us to suppose the opposite, it is full of puerilities and corruptions. Thus in spite of a similarity of terminologies it is quite impossible to derive the Christian concept of a personal sharing of the Life of God from any of the surrounding "life"-philosophies. That which makes the Christian doctrine of the Eucharist so incomparably superior to any of its supposed predecessors is the *giving of God Himself in His own incommunicable purity*, not the acquiring of this or that mysterious or praeternatural quality vaguely associated with a power above. And it is this which should always be uppermost in our minds whenever we attempt to institute comparisons.

THE MORAL CRITERION SHOULD NOT BE OMITTED

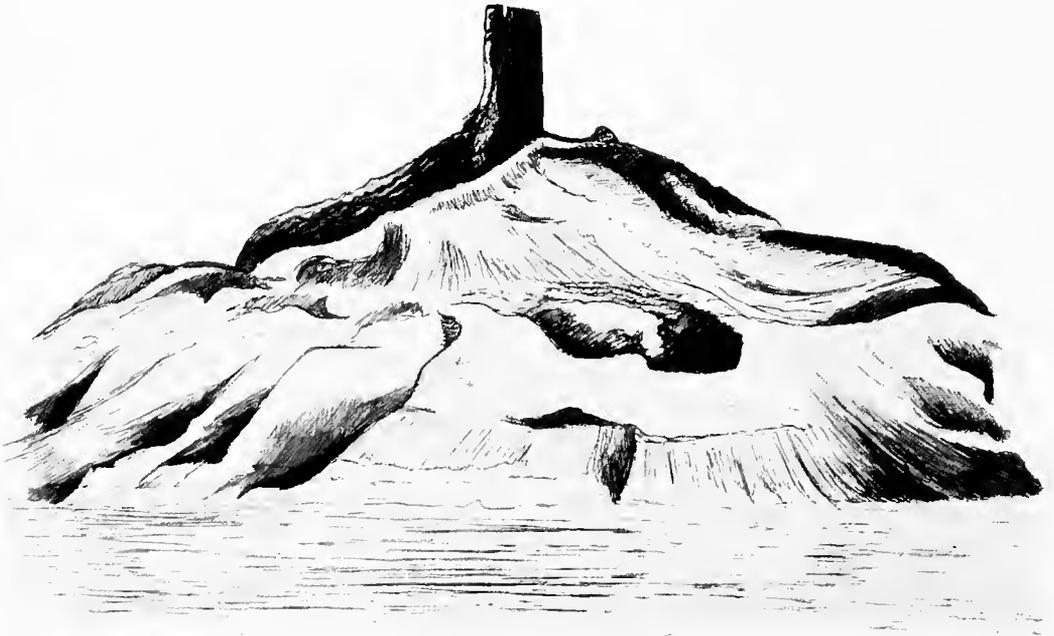
While anything like an adequate treatment of this subject must here be relinquished, it is clear that a supernatural moral effect requires a proportionately supernatural cause. If then the worship of Osiris finally dissolved into the lowest of sex-worship, and even the "brotherhood of love" was incapable of stemming the tide of universal corruption, we have one more reason to look to those spotless souls of the early Christian ages as a final confirmation of our theological thesis. "*These are they that follow the lamb whithersoever it goeth. And they are not defiled with women, for they are virgins*". This alone is a moral miracle, which can only be adequately traced to a heavenly power. The fact is, they are living the life of God in a personal sense, for the first time they are sharers in the divine nature as such, they are pulsating with the super-conceivable life of the Holy Trinity,—*divinae consortes naturae!*

CHAPTER THE SIXTH
DE DEO CONSUMMATORE
IN VIA

Illustrations of the Doctrine of
Temporal Retribution

THE RUINS OF THE GREATEST MONUMENT IN ANTIQUITY

THE GIGANTIC MOUND OF BIRS-NIMROD STANDS AS A SENTINEL OF THE DIVINE JUSTICE AND A PERPETUAL EXAMPLE OF THE FRUSTRATION OF HUMAN AMBITION,—THE MOST CONSPICUOUS OBJECT IN THE ENTIRE MESOPOTAMIAN PLAINS,—ITS PRESENT HEIGHT BEING ABOUT 150 FEET, AND VISIBLE FOR MANY MILES OVER THE FLAT LOWLANDS.



FOR POSSIBLE CONNEXIONS WITH THE TRADITIONAL 'TOWER', CONSULT VIGOUROUX, LA BIBLE ET LES DECOUVERTES MODERNES, (PARIS, 1896), VOL. I. P. 375-401, AND COMPARE THE FINDINGS OF RAWLINSON, SAYCE, BALL, OPPERT, SCHRADER, SKINNER, JASTROW, AND JEREMIAS ON THE SAME SUBJECT.

FOR BORSIPPA=SUM. BAR—SAP, "DIVISION OF TONGUES," SEM. BAR-SIPTU, HEBR. BAR-SEPIATH (BARAR-SAPIAH), AND THEN ASSIMILATED WITH BALAI, BALBEL, BABEL, (BAB-ILU, "GATE OF GOD"), SEE VIGOUROUX, OP. CIT. P. 398, DILMANN, GEN. 207, NIKEL, GEN. 200. HOBERG, GEN. 133, BARTON, BABYLONIAN WRITING, No. 77 (BAR), No. 310 (SAP).

In the preceding chapters we have treated of the supreme Being chiefly as the Creator and the Preserver of man, we have looked upon Him as the source of existence, the hope of salvation, the object of sacrifice. It is now time to turn our attention to a different aspect of the divine economy, that under which He rewards or punishes mankind by sanctions more or less rigorous in order to carry out the moral plan of the universe, the glorification of His name, the fulfilment of His eternal law. For it is clearly insufficient to speak of God as the ultimate aim of humanity unless he is capable of vindicating his authority as a moral person by actions, purgative, punitive, or remunerative, as the case may be. If human justice requires the punishment of the sinner and the reward of the just, in default of which human life would have no meaning, so much more does the divine justice necessitate a definite system of retribution, without which the moral government of the world would come to an end, and He Himself incapable of carrying out the great plan. It is true that the nature of this recompense is not thereby specified, nor can we exclude those higher counsels of perfection by which select souls serve him for His own sake and not for that of his gifts, and are thus not directly seeking the external reward. But let no man presume to say that for humanity *as such* physical pain and pleasure are a matter of indifference, that for the great majority of mankind, including the "saints", the hope of heaven and the fear of hell, have not ever been the strongest incentives to right conduct, nay, even to the heroic, however much their ideas of beatitude and damnation may have been colored by their own personal phantasies. Happiness of some kind, even at the cost of sacrifice, is the necessary end of all being, whether we define it as a purely spiritual delight or as flowing over upon the senses, and its opposite in the form of failure, calamity, misfortune, is as much abhorred by the hunted bison of the prairies as it is by the disappointed anchorite of the desert, who has failed to "find his God", to ward off the attacks of the demon.

If then the cycle of life is inconceivable without a constant struggle for a definite end, physical or moral, there must surely be many examples of success and failure by which this universal law of existence is illustrated. Will it be possible to find such examples in the annals of the past, to discover how the Creator has disciplined the race by His rewards and punishments?

This brings us to the subject of our present consideration. For as there are two sides to the dispensation of justice,—one in this world, and one in the next—, so there are two ways of approaching the doctrine of retribution,—first, as a system of temporal recompense, by which the good survive and the evil perish as a result of their observance or contempt of the moral law,—and secondly, as a system of spiritual recompense, by which the same souls are blest or lost in eternity for identical reasons.

RETRIBUTION, TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL

But as there is no direct equation between physical and moral felicity in the present order, as it quite often happens that the wicked prosper and the good are chastised or humiliated, it is manifestly impossible to treat the two subjects under one head, they should be separated if for no other reason than to emphasise the all-important moral truth that the existing inequalities and social conventionalities are in no sense final, that there is a “triumph of failure” of which economists have not as yet taken cognisance, that perhaps “the last shall be first, and the first last”.

TEMPORAL RETRIBUTION AS A MORAL EXAMPLE

Nevertheless, as the preservation of the race and of moral goodness in general normally stand or fall together, it is equally in harmony with the divine wisdom that certain brilliant examples of physical and moral triumph over the powers of evil should be held up as evidence that even in this world the good shall be saved and shall prosper, while the end of the ungodly is, “they shall be rooted out at the last”.

THE DELUGE AND THE BABYLONIAN DISPERSION

We have already seen how the origin of death and of physical misery is traced to moral causes, it is man that has brought this temporal misfortune upon himself by an act of moral rebellion. But this is not all. In the later ages of humanity we hear of another great catastrophe,—that of the deluge—, in which the few only are saved, the great mass of humanity perishing in the all-devouring waters. It is the object of our present essay to attempt a short pre-history of man, by way of showing how far the existing traditions on this head are borne out by the universal folk-lore of antiquity and can be harmonised in such a way as to present a fairly complete picture. In this way the story of the Flood and the Babylonian confusion of tongues,—familiar from our infancy—, may take on a new scientific and moral value, now that we are able to estimate them in the light of a more extended knowledge of nature and man.

EARLY ASIATIC TRADITION

Turning again to the far East as the earliest theatre of human activity, it has already become sufficiently evident that the idea of retributive justice is a pronounced feature in the mythologies of a large portion of the aborigines. Apart from the fall, by which death, sickness, black magic, or the evil eye, were set free to roam the earth and afflict humanity, we find the equally strong persuasion that by degrees the whole of the race became so entirely abandoned as to bring upon themselves a great world-cataclysm, by which all or nearly all were destroyed as a punishment for their moral obliquities. Side by side we invariably find the picture of some great national hero or popular demi-god, who, with a small fraction of humanity, generally saves himself and his household from the rising waters of the ocean or from a rain of fire by his own virtue, industry, and foresight, and thus figures as the type or the model of the divine deliverance. Let us see to what extent this is borne out in individual instances.

(A) PENINSULAR REGION,—MALAKKA

We have already called attention to the swift judgments passed by the old Heaven-God upon those who transgress His laws. The first humans violate the decrees of heaven by contracting irregular unions, which evidently implies some command of sexual restraint, of observing the ordinary laws of social decency. As a punishment He "burns them up with His breath", He "turns them into trees", He "converts the demons themselves into stone",—surely a powerful warning. But if the lightning destroys individuals or at most smaller groups of mankind, it is the great world-deluge that destroys humanity as such. Relics of this idea may still be found among some of the natives.

THE FLOOD, THE ARK, AND THE RAINBOW

"According to the Semang legend of the Rainbow, a great dragon or snake in ancient times broke up the skin of the earth, so that the world was overwhelmed with water. According to the Mantra, it was a giant turtle that brought the water up from below through a hole in the ground, from among the roots of a "pulai" tree, thus causing a flood which developed afterwards into the ocean. A Benua account, which is the fullest of the three, refers besides to a kind of vessel in which the first parents of the race are alleged to have effected their escape from drowning. According to the traditions of both Semang and Benua, moreover, it is the mountains that give fixity to the earth's skin".¹

¹ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, II. 186. Compare II. 339 for the Mantra, II. 356 for the Benua version.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SEA AND THE CULTURE-HERO

In at least two cases we have a fairly definite account of the origin of the sea and of a semi-divine deliverer. Among the Mantra it is *To-Entah*, the "Lord-knows-who", who saves mankind from complete destruction by procuring the death of the turtle from which the menacing waters take their rise, while for the Benua we have a few additional data:—

"The ground on which we stand is not solid,—it is merely the skin of the earth. In ancient times *Pirman* (= *Tuhan, Peng*) broke up this skin, so that the world was destroyed and overwhelmed with water. Afterwards he caused the hills of Johor to rise out of water, this low land which we now inhabit being formed later. These mountains in the south, together with Mount Ophir, and other hills to the north, give a fixity to the earth's skin. The earth still depends entirely on these mountains for its steadiness," etc.

"When the first hills had already emerged, a ship of pulai-wood, completely covered over, and without any opening, was left floating on the waters. In this *Pirman* had enclosed a man and a woman whom He had created. After the lapse of some time the vessel no longer progressed either with or against the current, and ceased to be driven to and fro. The man and the woman, therefore, feeling it to be motionless, nibbled their way through it, and standing upon the dry ground, beheld this our world".

THE REPEOPLING OF THE PENINSULA

"In an age gone by, of which they do not even know the century, a Mantra chief named *Batin Alam*, "King of the Universe", constructed a large and beautiful vessel and set sail from Constantinople(?). This ship not only sailed with great rapidity, but possessed the wonderful property of propelling itself. It anchored after several days voyage in what was then a small port, since named Malakka. In this ship had been brought all the requisites for founding a colony. *Batin Alam's* ship was not destroyed, but still exists (they say) underneath the mountains of the peninsula".

THE MORAL CAUSE OF THESE VISITATIONS

These items can hardly be called more than incoherent scraps or fragments of a story which probably reached them from Western sources. Only among the negritos and the wild forest-folk is a moral cause seemingly implied, the fire and brimstone no less than the flood being sent by the Father-God as a visitation upon the sins of humanity (*supra*). On the other hand they seem to have *heard* of the flood rather than to have actually *experienced* it,—they talk of others building a boat and landing, not of themselves.

EARLY ASIATIC TRADITION

(B, 1) ANDAMAN ISLANDS

Among the neighboring Andamanese the recollections of a past devastation by water are more pronounced as well as original. Here the race is pictured as continually deteriorating in consequence of their growing disregard of the laws of the Heaven-God, the violation of the first-fruit taboo being the root of the evil. The original paradise-race, known as *chaugata-bangas*, are described as fine tall men with large beards, and they are said to have been long-lived, but otherwise similar to the present inhabitants. In those days *Puluga* was their friend and companion, He taught them all the arts and the use of fire, and instructed them in the use of speech and the manufacture of simple tree-stump canoes, which could float without braces! All this came to an end with their continued disobedience of His commands.

THE PULUGA-FLOOD AS A PUNISHMENT

“At last *Puluga's* anger burst forth, and without any warning He sent a great Flood which covered the whole land (except His own mountain) and destroyed all living. Four persons, who happened to be in a canoe when the catastrophe occurred, were able to effect an escape, *Lorola* being the principal man, and *Kalola* the chief woman. When the waters subsided, they found themselves near *Wotaemi*, the original paradise, where they landed and discovered that every living thing had perished, but *Puluga* re-created the animals, birds, etc. In spite of this, however, they suffered severely in consequence of all their fires having been extinguished, and they could devise no means of repairing their loss. At this juncture one of their recently deceased friends appeared in their midst in the form of a bird named *Luratut*, a Kingfisher. Seeing their distress he flew up to the sky, where he discovered *Puluga* seated beside the fire. He thereupon seized and attempted to carry away in his beak a burning log, but the blazing brand fell on *Puluga*, who, incensed with pain (sic), hurled it at the intruder. Happily for those concerned the missile missed its mark and fell near the very spot where the four survivors were deploring their condition”. They were now once more equipped with their domestic fires, and in spite of their resentment of *Puluga's* policy, were finally reduced by him to submission. “This is said to have been the last occasion on which *Puluga* rendered Himself visible or held any communication with them, but the warning He then gave them has not been forgotten, and the islanders are to this day strict in the observance of His commands”. As these commands cover practically the whole decalogue including theft, murder, and adultery, the moral import of this “flood” is obvious.²

² Man, Andaman Islands, 95-102, and compare p. 13 above.

RETRIBUTION

EARLY ASIATIC TRADITION

This is one of the clearest accounts we possess of a drowning-calamity in the earlier days of mankind, and its authenticity and indigenous origin seem to be demanded by the antiquity and isolation of the people. But what is more important, it puts a definite ethical content into the story, it is here more than elsewhere that the whole transaction is looked upon as a punishment for sin, and as an example and encouragement for the faithful. From this consideration alone it should merit our study, as well as from the fact that it recognises an ante-diluvian race to have preceded the present pygmyoids and to have been more closely allied to the normal type, though otherwise belonging to the same group and of similar habits and industry. It points to the existence of a taller and more masculine branch.

(B, 2) CEYLON

Concerning the folk-lore of the Veddas Dr. Seligman thus expresses himself:—"There is an extraordinary absence of legend among all groups of Veddas who have not been greatly influenced by the Sinhalese. Concerning the origin of men, natural features and things, the Veddas seem absolutely incurious, nor do their songs refer to any of these subjects. There are no stories of talking animals or of how their rockshelters were formed, they have not even a tale of their own origin. Apart from a few accounts of the origin of particular *yaku* and the deeds they performed, the following two legends,—on the origin of fire and the rainbow—, were all that we could hear, though the most diligent inquiry was made".²

These stories of the fire-eating chief and the rainbow-woman are entirely devoid of serious import. But it is surprising that no echoes, at least, of world-inundation should have reached them. Are we to infer that they escaped the ordeal, that the waters should have spared the land of Ceylon? This no doubt is possible, but in the mean time the case should be placed on file, pending further investigation.

(C) PHILIPPINES

Similar remarks apply to the Philippine archipelago, at least to that portion inhabited by the aboriginals, or Aetas. That the Negritos of Zambales have a wholesome fear of divine justice is revealed by the fearful consequences that are believed to follow the sin of sacrilege, that is of tampering with the sacrificial objects,—it means instant death, or some great misfortune. Manifestly our knowledge of their folk-lore is as yet too limited to pronounce upon the presence of absence of any distinct nature-myths.³

² Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 322. ³ Reed, *Negritos*, p. 65.

(D) BORNEO AND THE EASTERN ARCHIPELAGO

Flood-legends are common enough in Borneo and the adjacent islands, but it is an open question how far they can be considered as of native origin and not rather as an importation due to contact with higher Malay and Islamic peoples. Certain it is, that among the wilder and more inaccessible tribes the traditions on this head become increasingly rare, though the stories of the swamping of some remote ancestor or the salvation of a few grandees are sufficiently numerous to point at least to a common prehistoric tradition. That the Father in Heaven is an exacting Judge, that He punishes mankind by sending a rice-famine, by withdrawing the fruits of the earth, has already been shown in the preceding pages, and the reconquest of the heavens by some great hero, whether as *Amei* or *Kling*, is a good illustration of the survival of virtue, the reward of the just. These data may now be supplemented by the following fragments:—

A DAYAK STORY OF THE FLOOD AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

"*Trow* was a great man, and when the flood commenced, proved himself to be so, for he procured a large wooden mortar for pounding paddy, and made a boat of it, and taking the fair *Temenjen*, and a dog, a pig, a fowl, and a cat, etc. he launched forth into the deep. After the flood subsided, *Trow* having landed his stock and cargo, thought long and deeply, and after mature consideration seems to have come to the conclusion that to repopulate the earth many wives were necessary. So out of a log of wood he made one, and out of a stone he created another, and, various other articles having been converted to a similar purpose, he married them, so that it was not surprising that ere many years he had a family of some twenty, who learned to till the earth and to lay the foundation of various Dayak tribes including that of the *Tringus*". On this Grant makes the following comment:—

"*Trow*, then, is the reputed ancestor of the *Tringus*-Dayaks. *Tuppa* is their Supreme God, who in His anger sends thunder and lightning, and in His mercy sun and gentle rain".

Here we have a more distant recognition of the moral element, in that the condescending Weather-God is looked upon as the apparent source of weal or woe, which in turn are conditioned by man's behavior. But the accessories of the story, with its carved mortars and organised polygamy, show pretty clearly that it came to the natives from higher Malayan sources. None of the aborigines would speak of themselves as the authors of such a state of society.

⁵ H. Ling-Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, Vol. I. p. 300, Vol. II. p. CCI.

RETRIBUTION

EARLY ASIATIC TRADITION

ANOTHER VERSION OF THE SAME EVENT

On the testimony of Schwaner we have received the following account:— “The Ott-Danums call the supreme Being *Mahadara*. He created the earth and all that therein is. In the beginning there was nothing but water, and all endeavors to draw out the dry land remained fruitless, until the seven Nagas (or jars) were taken for a foundation, on to which basis Mahadara threw the earth down out of heaven. As formerly there was nothing but water, so now the water and light are suppressed and the universe is overwhelmed with earth. *Mahadara* stepped down from his seat, and pressed this together into firm masses, stones, etc. He formed the mountain ranges and heights, the depths of lakes and seas, the beds of rivers and brooks, so that the water now got its bed in the dry ground. Only after that were men made out of the earth, and the rest of creation developed”. Then he continues:—

“According to the belief of the Ott-Danums there was once a big deluge on the island, on which occasion many inhabitants lost their lives. But the crown of the Bukit Arai at Mendai, which may be a side-pocket of the Kapuas-Bohang, remained above water, and was the abode of a small number of people who were able to save themselves in praus until the waters, which had covered the land for three months, had abated, and the ground was dry once more”.

“The Ott-Danums trace their descent from two different ancestors, who came down from heaven in golden ships, followed by their slaves in wooden and less costly vessels”.

Here again the nucleus of the story, with its rising and sinking riverbeds, may well be traced to a vague recollection of the past upheavals and depressions in the island, accompanied by more or less formidable inundations. But, as in the previous instance, the mention of naga-jars, of slaves, and of golden ships, is a sufficient proof of the recent origin of the remainder.

(E) MELANESIA

Similar ideas are associated with Quat-Marawa in the Banks Islands. “He cut himself a large canoe, and took into it his wife and brothers and all living creatures, and shut himself up with them inside the canoe, to which he had made a covering. Then came a deluge of rain, the great hollow of the island became full of water, and the canoe with all its occupants disappeared”. Here the deity has been mixed up with the deluge-hero, but, according to Codrington “it is certain that the story is older than any knowledge of Noah’s ark among the people”,—possibly a correct inference, though it is wanting in solid proof.⁶

⁶ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, pp. 166-167.

EARLY AUSTRALIAN TRADITION

(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

The prehistoric origin of some kind of water-myth is proved by nothing so clearly as the existence of these legends in those portions of the world where any infiltration from higher sources seems to be ruled out. As in the Andaman Islands, so in the primitive Australian area, the far South East, it seems quite impossible to derive these ideas from the white, or any of the yellow races, and our most careful and trusted authorities are now unanimous in repudiating it. It is only where the flood-heroes are associated with a distinctly recent form of civilisation that we are forced to assume either the advent of a later race or a transmission from some higher channels, through which the earlier heroes have been supplied with more modern paraphernalia,—large water-craft, advanced implements.

THE TASMANIAN DELUGE AND THE AURORA AUSTRALIS

Contrary to what might be expected, the Australian region is fairly well supplied with references or hints, at least, of a great visitation by water. The numerous Thunder- and Rainbow-gods of New South Wales and Victoria are partly pointing to such an event, and in the area nearest to Tasmania we are in possession of a fairly realistic flood-legend.

"*Mungan-ngaua*, the tribal 'Our Father', had a son named *Tundun*, who was married, and who is the direct ancestor of the Kurnai, their *Weintwin*, or father's father. *Mungan-ngaua* instituted the Jeraeil (or initiation), which was conducted by Tundun, who made the instruments bearing the names of himself and his wife, (the bull-roarers). When some one impiously revealed the secrets of the Jeraeil to the women and thereby brought the anger of the Father-God on the Kurnai, he sent his fire, the Aurora Australis, which filled the whole space between the earth and the sky. Men went mad with fear and speared each other, fathers killing their children, husbands their wives, and brethren each other. Then the sea rushed over the land, and nearly all mankind was drowned. Those who survived became the Muk-kurnai. Some turned into animals, birds, reptiles, fishes, and Tundun and his wife became porpoises! *Mungan* then left the earth, and ascended to the sky, where he still remains".⁷

Allowing for a few intrusions of totemism, this thrilling anecdote reveals the punitive idea of the deluge with some force, it is sacrilege and wholesale murder that precede the event, though the fate of the survivors is hardly enviable. Moreover the absence of any reference to higher cultures may well be taken to indicate its remote antiquity.

⁷ Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 493.

EARLY AFRICAN AND AMAZONIAN TRADITION

(G) CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

In spite of their sense of sin and the temporal penalties that accompany it, it seems strange that neither the Negrillos of the Congo, nor the Bushmen of the Kalahari should be in possession of any account of so widespread a tradition of the human race. One would suppose that the Being who vindicates his sanctity by destroying them with the lightning, by "banishing them to a mysterious region under the water", would have left some record of his dealings with humanity at large. But no data on this subject are as yet forthcoming, and perhaps, we may add, they are not likely to appear in the future. It is in harmony with the exceedingly primitive state of these peoples that, like their equally primitive brethren in the far East, in Ceylon, Borneo, and Malakka, their recollections of such an event should be of the vaguest, the wildest tribes being invariably without any strongly worded deluge-story. As in previous cases, this silence should make us reconsider its probable cause. Are they an ante-diluvian race?

(K) SOUTH AMERICA AND PATAGONIA

On the other hand the South-American continent is by comparison rich in flood-literature, though even here the less civilised areas have preserved the tradition in fainter form.⁸

For the Botokudos no certain data are as yet available, though the "Great Master" can be "angry" with his children and destroy them with the thunder-bolt. But for the Caingang, Bakairi, and other forest-peoples we possess abundant examples of retribution. Here it is more commonly a "Flood of Fire" that acts as the instrument of the Almighty, and the causes assigned for it are invariably of a moral nature,—it is above all things the violation of the *couvade* that exposes the culprit to the visitations of heaven, to the lacerations of wild beasts, and finally to the great conflagration. This means that adultery, incest, and sexual crimes are the chief cause of the divine anger, but never without some examples of virtue. Among the Tupi, it is *Irin Mage*, who is saved by the Creator Monan, and who then gives birth to a new posterity, who replenish the earth with justice.

The same or similar ideas may be traced to the extreme end of Patagonia. Among the Onas of Tierra del Fuego there is the belief that the paradise-race was succeeded by a generation of decadents, whose crimes of violence increased to such an extent that finally a great Giant came down from heaven and killed them all, the flood cutting them off from the mainland.⁸

⁸ See the sources under p. 54, 57, 58ff. above, esp. Ehrenreich, loc. cit. *ibid.* Cooper, l. c. p. 163-164.

LATER ASIATIC TRADITION

(M, 1) THE MUNDAS OF CENTRAL INDIA

With the ripening ages of humanity the consciousness of a great world cataclysm seems to become more vivid and detailed, which again suggests that it belongs to a comparatively late epoch in the history of the race. Among the Mundari peoples of Central India we find a much more explicit version than any that we have so far considered, and as it abounds in many striking and interesting anecdotes, and throws valuable sidelights on the early history of man, we do not hesitate to reproduce it at considerable length, though we have already given the main points in a preceding chapter.⁹

THE EARLY MIGRATIONS OF MAN

After their expulsion from the Ajam-Garh, or Garden of Adam, (whose location is not defined) the descendants of our first parents "wandered about over the face of the earth, over hills and dales, through forests untrodden by the feet of man and over fields unworn by the plough".

HIS ARRIVAL IN CHOTA-NAGPUR

Finally, on the arrival of the Oraons (in India), the Mundas, always averse to living among strangers, made for the central plateau of Chota-Nagpur. "It was the famous patriarch, *Risa Munda*, who led his tribesmen on this eastward march. And Risa's followers numbered fully twenty-one thousand".

THE BEGINNINGS OF PASTORAL LIFE

"From their encampment at Muruma the Mundas scrutinised the forests all around them. Not a trace of human habitation or pasturage for cattle could they discern". The story then describes how the different patriarchs established themselves in different parts of the country, and gave their names to the chief localities. Evidently the Mundas were then still in the nomadic or hunting stage, as there is no mention of farms.

THE REBELLION OF MAN AND THE FIRE-FLOOD

"The sons of men threw off their allegiance to *Sin-Bonga*, who thereupon sent a warning to men on earth through his servant-birds, the Crow and the Owl(?). But men refused to obey him. Enraged at the impious contumacy of man, the Sun-God showered down on the earth below a terrible *rain of fire* to destroy mankind".

THE CONCEALMENT OF THE SURVIVING PAIR

"And the race of man would have been altogether extinct but for the saving pity of the sister of the Sun-God,—*Sin-Bonga-Misi*. The compassionate goddess carried off a man and a woman, and hid them under a jovi-marsh!

⁹ Materials in S. C. Roy, *The Mundas*, (1912), pp. VII-XIIff. (Appendix).

LATER ASIATIC TRADITION

The Sun-God had his suspicions, and he despatched his bird-messengers to look out for any human being that might have escaped the general conflagration. Long and patiently did the sagacious birds search for some trail of the existence of man. They had well-nigh despaired of success when at length the crow alighted on a leaf-cup such as men use. It lay on the marsh and betokened the presence of man. But no human being could anywhere be seen. Straightway the crow picked up the leaf-cup with its beak and carried it to the Sun-God".

THE MARSH-SPIRIT AND THE DIVINE DECREE

"Thereupon *Sin-Bonga* himself went down to the marsh, where he was met by the presiding marsh-spirit. Of her he demanded to know if she had any human beings in her custody. To this she promptly replied:— "*All men hast thou struck down with fire and brimstone. Where shall I get one now?*" But the Sun-God was not convinced. At length, however, he won the confidence of the marsh-spirit by promising not to destroy mankind again, and added:— "*Henceforth you shall have two parts of the sons of men, and I shall take only a third part to myself*". At this she brought out the surviving human pair from inside the jovi-marsh, and *Sin-Bonga* placed them once more on the green earth".

THE DISPERSION FROM AJAM-GARH

"And this man and this woman were called *Lutkum-Haram* and *Lutkum-Buria* respectively. They lived together as man and wife at Ajam-Garh, and the world was peopled by their progeny. Since then, as a mark of the marsh-spirit's power over them, most men have some wart or other mark on their skin(!)". (Compare the "mark" of Cain and the scarification-rite?).

CONSIDERATIONS

I have already brought to notice the essentially native ring of most of these stories, two of which are here pieced together to form a composite. Their value lies in the fact that from beginning to end we find a paternal Sun-God who directs the destinies of the race by rewards and punishments, who is the immediate cause of the flood, and who not only allows the few to be saved at the bidding of the Marsh-spirit and the queen of heaven, but even promises that in future *two-thirds* of the race shall triumph. In spite of an evident confusion of the first ancestor with the deluge-hero and the absence of any clear reference to the moral nature of the "rebellion" spoken of, it must be admitted that they furnish us with important links in the pre-history of man, they seem to reveal the continuity of some form of divine government.

LATER ASIATIC TRADITION

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THE DISPERSION

The following contributions to the early history of the Mundas are described by Roy as "more ambitious, but obviously less authentic", though he admits that "the genuine portions of the legend can easily be told off from the excrescences put upon it".

THEY CAME FROM CENTRAL ASIA WITH THEIR SUN-GOD

"Lutkum Haram was the first ancestor of the sons of men. Lutkum's son was Hembo. Hembo begat Kus, Kus begat Morih. From Morih descended the Korku, the Marki, the Santal, the Ho, or Larka, the Bhumij, the Konko, the Korwa, the Sinji and many other tribes who composed the Munda race".

"Morih migrated from his native land in Central Asia with his whole family and his fowls. Morih passed through Tibbat-nagar and crossing the north-eastern Ghats entered Jhar-Kand-Hindustan, the forest-covered India, and spread over the whole of the northern country. They worshipped *Sirma-Sing*, the Sun-God of Heaven, and established powerful kingdoms, in which they erected big temples and forts, and small mounds".

THE EGYPTIAN INVASION UNDER SISIRIM

"One Sisirim, king of Missouri (Egypt) led his forces against the Mundas, but the powerful chief Seto, at the head of his terrible troops, repulsed them". This, as Roy says, may refer to the fabulous invasion by the Egyptian Sesostris, and with less probability to the Assyrian Semiramis.

THE HINDOO INVASION

"Hundreds of years later the Hindoos, Gonds, Oraons, Kherwars and other tribes entered the Mundawar country by the north-western ghats, or passes. And in time war broke out between the Hindoos and the Mundas. Some bloody battles were fought in the Punjaub. *The mighty warriors of the ancient Munda race, with their bows and arrows, their stones and slings, their drums and tom-toms, fell upon the newcomers like tigers on a flock of sheep*".

THE HINDOO-MUNDARI FUSION

"But after long years of warfare the Mundaris began to make peace with the Hindoos, Gonds, Oraons, and other races. The Mundas by degrees even went so far as to adopt from the Oraons the worship of the *bhuts* and choose Oraon wives for themselves. And the offspring of such intermarriages formed a new tribe which came to be called Khantias or Kharias".

That such a racial fusion was exceptional and strongly disapproved, is shown by the following episodes preserved in the national folk-lore:—

LATER ASIATIC TRADITION

THE RACE IS PRESERVED FROM EXTINCTION

When a Kherwar chief had become enamoured of a Munda girl, the matter was brought to the notice of the Mundari chiefs who unanimously decided that such marriages could not be permitted. "*For*", said they, "*if once we begin to do so, our race will gradually degenerate and at length die out altogether*".

THE HELPING HAND OF THE SUN-GOD

When the invading peoples threatened to use violence to force inter-marriage with the natives, and went so far as to burn down their houses, the latter simply retreated into the mountains. "They constructed leaf-huts to shelter themselves against the rain and the wind, and had to live solely on the roots and fruits of the jungle".

THE REWARD OF THE JUST

"And now *Sirma-Sing* made Risa Munda the leader of the tribe. One night Risa had a vision of *Sirma-Sing* in a dream. He dreamt he heard *Sirma-Sing* addressing him:—"Your sufferings shall soon be at an end. Awake! Arise! And go to the extensive and elevated country to the south, where the Assurs lived in the days before the deluge. There shall you make for yourselves a permanent home".

THE BURNING OF SWEET INCENSE

"Risa Munda, guided by Heavenly Light, led the Mundas southwards into an immense forest tract. There he raised an altar (*pinda*), and burnt incense in honor of *Sirma-Sing*, and made clearances in the forest, and settled down for good".

THE SERPENT AND THE ORIGIN OF THE KILIS

Not only does *Sirma-Sing* destroy the big cobras at the petition of his hero, but he even makes the reptile useful to man. "Once upon a time *Sutia*, the Patriarch, lay down underneath an overspreading *Bar*-tree not far off from his house. After he had fallen asleep a huge Nag-Serpent (*Cobra*) proceeded to the spot and spread out his hood like an umbrella to protect the sleeping patriarch from the rays of the sun. When he awoke, he was amazed, he thanked *Sirma-Sing*, and got up and went his way". For this reason the Nag-Kili or Serpent-clan is one of the most famous of Munda totem-groups.

Taking all this material together, it cannot but suggest some important reflexions. It is evidently the picture of a diluvial race struggling to maintain its honor and the purity of its stock. Even if some of these items are of later addition, the main features carry us far back into the past.

NORTH-AMERICAN TRADITION

In the contemporary African and Australian region we have little to chronicle beyond what has already been remarked for the earlier period. The absence or rarity of flood-legends except in the Tasmanian area is continued in the succeeding age, the few exceptions being hardly worthy of serious consideration, being for the most part due to foreign contact. Not that flimsy stories of cosmic upheavals, storms, or inundations are entirely wanting, accompanied by the usual saviors or surviving deliverers, but very generally these powers and personalities have been so mixed up with mythical, totemic, and cosmogonic notions, including the ever-appearing world-serpent, the snake, the lizard, or the hyena, that in the majority of cases a connected flood-story can hardly be recognised.

Different is the case with North America. This is pre-eminently the land of deluge-myths, many of which have become fairly popularised. Yet even here it is necessary to distinguish the earlier from the later traditions, and not to treat the entire continent as a mythological unit.

(M, 4) THE TRADITIONS OF THE OMAHAS AND THEIR ALLIES

For it is precisely among the (formerly) nomadic tribes of the prairies that the recollections of such a catastrophe are still in a vague and un-moulded state, not half so elaborate as in the highland region.

THE PLUMED SNAKE AND THE THUNDER-BIRD

Among the subjects which, according to Dixon, belong to the oldest strata of beliefs, is that of the Water-Spirit, also known as the Horned Snake or the Plumed Serpent, who is always regarded as a more or less malign being at war with the Thunder-Bird. This in itself suggests a past conflict between wind and water, between Sky-Father or "Thunder-Man" and the eternal serpent, who here as elsewhere drowns the earth with a volume of brine.

THE RISING WATERS AND THE WISEST MAN

It is certainly a notable fact that even among the wildest of our Prairie Indians the first humans are invariably pictured as either rising out of the ocean or in some way battling with the liquid element. Among the Omahas it is believed that men were originally buffaloes who dwelt under the surface of the water. When they came to the surface, they "jumped about in the water, making it muddy. Having reached the land, they snuffed at the four winds and prayed to them(!). The north and west winds were good, the south and east winds were evil", and so on. This may be called the general cosmogonic basis upon which the story of Wisest Man is founded.¹⁰

¹⁰ R. B. Dixon, *Anthropology of North America*, (New York, 1915), p. 285 (by Paul Radin). Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, B. A. E. 3d. Report, p. 229.

RETRIBUTION

NORTH AMERICAN TRADITION

THE CREE AND THE CHEROKEE RAIN-FLOOD

This idea, still shadowy among the plains-tribes, is by degrees more prominently brought to the front. Among the Cree all are drowned in a great inundation except one woman, a *Kwaptahw*, or "Virgin", who saves herself by gripping the legs of the "War-Eagle", by whom she is carried to a lofty crag, and through whom she gives birth to twins, the parents of the present population. The Cherokee will tell you that all were destroyed except one family, who warned by the barking of their dog, saved themselves in a large boat.

THE CHIPPEWA SNOW-FLOOD

Among the neighboring Chippewa the physical causes are assigned to the melting of the snow or the mountain glaciers,—a more scientific concept. At the beginning of time there was a great Snow-Flood. It was caused by the gnawing of a mouse, which bit through the mantle of the earth, and thus disimprisoned the internal heat. Suddenly the snow melted, so that the tallest pines were submerged and the water rose even above the highest mountain peaks. *Only one old man* had foreseen the calamity and manufactured a great canoe, upon which he floated about and collected the chief animals.

OTHER ACCOUNTS

But these are only a few of the well-nigh endless versions to be found in almost every part of the continent, and they do not of themselves postulate a more than local origin,—they are not sufficiently explicit in the matter of details,—whether as to time, place, or circumstances—, to warrant any connexion with old-world mythology, there is too much variety in the heroes, the boats, and the method of survival, to require more than a rising and falling of rivers, an elevation or depression of lands. In this they are distinguished from higher Algonquin, Pueblo, and Eskimo myths, some of which almost force us to assume an Asiatic transmission, so striking are the harmonies with the biblical record. But of this more below.

COMMENTS

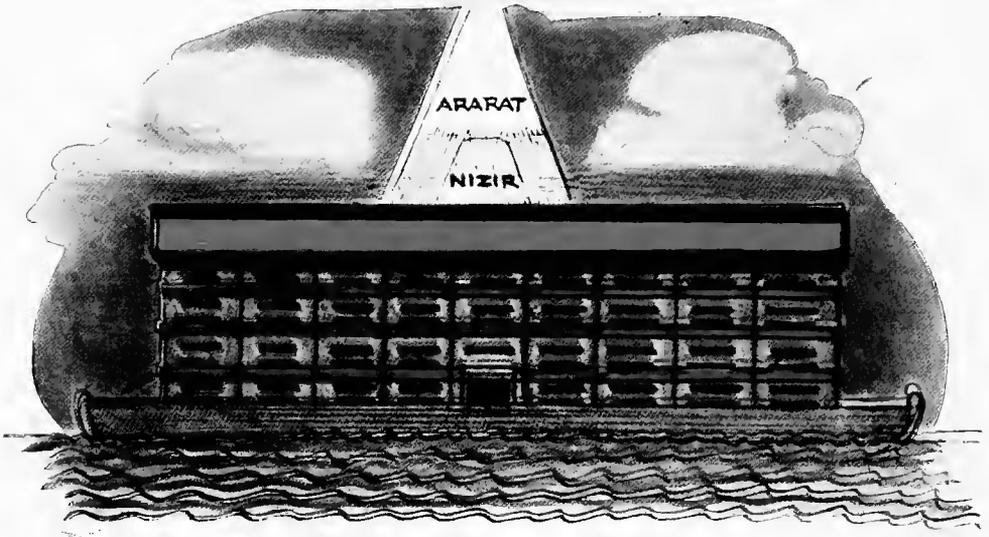
For the present it is sufficient to note that in what we have called the totem-zone of North America we find what seems to be a growing degeneration,—the old punitive notion of an avenging Heaven-God welded on to the Sky-Wakanda, the plumed Snake, and the Buffalo-cult, by which the moral aspect of these water-exploits is considerably diminished. They are more in the line of physical feats than of moral examples, though an ethical content may no doubt here and there be inferred. It pays to be on good terms with "the powers of Heaven".

THE BABYLONIAN ARK IN FORM AND IMAGERY

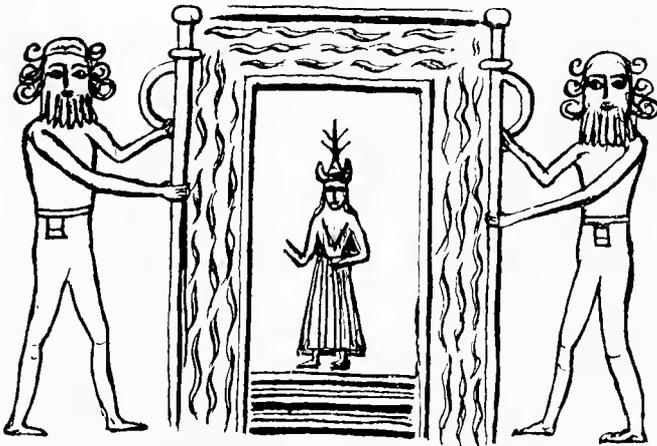
RESTORATION ACCORDING TO THE COMBINED BIBLICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA, SHOWING THE EARLY NEOLITHIC HOUSE-BOAT, WITH SEVEN STORIES AND NINE COMPARTMENTS, THE PLANK-CONSTRICTED HULL, CURVED BOWS, 'CUBIT'-WINDOWS AND SIDE-DOORS.

SYLLAB.  IDEOGR. 

THE E-LIP-PU, OR "FLOATING HOUSE", SUMERIAN: MA
(THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE LAKE-DWELLINGS, 8000 B. C.)



SEAL-CYLINDER REFERRING TO NIMROD - NOAH ?



THE GILGAMESH-HANISATRA MOTIF, OR
THE GREAT LION-HUNTER AND THE DELUGE-HERO.

A PICTURE OF NOAH STANDING IN THE DOOR OF THE ARK (?)

SEE A. JEREMIAS, THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT EAST, (NEW YORK, 1911), P. 261. F. VIGOUROUX, LA BIBLE ET LES DECOUVERTES MODERNES, (PARIS, 1886), VOL. I, P. 211. (HERE GILGAMESH IS ARMED WITH THE SCEPTRE, 'ZUKAT')

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 1) BABYLONIAN VERSION

It is in Western Asia, more especially in Chaldaea, that we meet with the first attempt to arrange the past in a definite system of cultural eras.

PREHISTORIC CHRONOLOGY

As an offset to the incoherent fragments that have heretofore meant to do the duty of history, the entire scheme of human development is now unfolded before us, even if in very general, largely mythical, and semi-cosmic form. It is to Berossus, the Babylonian priest of the fourth century (B. C.) that we owe the first prehistoric culture-table, of which the following is a brief abstract, with its suggested Sumerian-Semitic and Egyptian values.¹¹

THE TEN ANTEDILUVIAN WORLD-KINGS,

with their Egyptian, Palestinian, and Graeco-Armenian Parallels.

Babylonian World-Kings	Egyptian Ennead	Palestinian Patriarchs	Graeco-Armenian Assonances	Culture-Cycles in years
1. <i>Adamu-Apsu</i> Father-Water	<i>Atum-Ra</i> Father-Sun	<i>Adam-Eve</i> Father-Life	<i>Aloros</i> Rising Man	<i>Primitive Age</i> (130) 36000 (Initiation)
2. <i>Adapa-Lakmu</i> First Twilight Man-of-Dawn	<i>Shu</i> Battling Air	<i>Kain-Abel-Seth</i> Dualism Nomadic-Pastoral	<i>Alaparos</i> Culture Hero	Günz Glacial <i>Competitive Age</i> (105) 10800 (Division)
3. <i>Amelu-Lakamu</i> Second Twilight Man-of-Day	<i>Tefnut</i> Heavenly Dew	<i>Enos</i> Pious Man of God	<i>Amelon</i> Founder of Communities	
4. <i>Ummanu-Kisar</i> Workmaster Man-of-Earth	<i>Geb</i> Producing Earth	<i>Kainan</i> Master- Builder	<i>Ammenon</i> Maker of Tenements	Mindel Glacial <i>Constructive Age</i> (70) 43200 (Consolidation)
5. <i>Amelaruru-Ansar</i> Man-of-God Man-of-Heaven	<i>Nut</i> Expanding Heaven	<i>Mahalael</i> Praise of God	<i>Megaloros</i> Institutor of Cults	
6. <i>Davinu-Anu</i> Generating Son of Heaven	<i>Osiris</i> All-seeing Light	<i>Jared</i> Generation Offspring	<i>Daonos</i> Patron of Flocks	Riss Glacial <i>Colonial Age</i> (62) 36000 (Expansion)
7. <i>Enmeduranki-Bel</i> High-Priest of Heaven-and-Earth	<i>Hathor-Isis</i> Revelation of Light	<i>Enoch</i> Holy One Dedication	<i>Euedorachos</i> Father of Mystic Wisdom	<i>Theosophical Age</i> (65) 64800 (Illumination)
8. <i>Amel-Sin-Ea</i> Man of the Ocean-Moon	<i>Typhon-Set</i> Man of the Ocean-Deep	<i>Methuselah</i> Man of God	<i>Amempsinos</i> Father of Divination	Würm Glacial <i>Mystical Age</i> (67) 36000 (Speculation)
9. <i>Ubartutu-Nina</i> Servants of Ishtar-Ninni	<i>Nephtys</i> Servant of Isis	<i>Lamech</i> Servant of Jahwe-Elohim	<i>Otiartes</i> Founder of higher arts	
10. <i>Hasisatra-Marduk</i> Utnapishtim-Ziud The supremely Wise	<i>Horus</i> Savior Egypt	<i>Noah</i> Man of Peace Consolation	<i>Xisuthros</i> Deluge- Hero	Recent Age <i>Heroic Age</i> (500) 64800 (Inspiration)
Total from the Creation to the Flood in bibl. & babyl. "years"—(1656) 432000.				

¹¹ Sources in Berossus, apud Eusebius, Chronicon, Book I. p. 7, 31ff. (Ed. Schoene) Cuneiform Allusions in Haupt, Nimrodepos, 90-92, and below. Compare, H. Lueken, Die Traditionen des Menschengeschlechts, p. 146ff. Lenormant, L'Origine de l'Histoire, I. 224ff. Jeremias, Op. cit. I. 238. Nibel, Genesis, 164ff. Driver, Genesis, 80ff.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

This table is given as a mere curiosity, in order to show how the Babylonian data can be made to extend over the four ice ages of Penck and to be harmonised with the biblical and the Egyptian system. The reign of the Hebrew patriarchs is thus seen to be in demonstrable relation to the Chaldean World-Total, each "soss" of 5 years corresponding to a Hebrew "year" of 1 week, and thus 120 "sars" or 86400 "sosses" are 43200 years (1 sar=72-7/4 sosses), while 86400 weeks are 1656 years, the exact figures of the Massoretic text. But if the Babylonian computation is 260 times as high as the Palestinian, it is more likely to be based on correct time-estimates, leading up to the supposed pliocene man of the late tertiary, though for those who require a shorter period, the same data can be made to apply to the last Ice-Age exclusively. In any case the Hebrew figures are far too small to satisfy the minimum demands of archaeology, and are intelligible only if we suppose that the writer used the word "year" in the sense of indefinite period,—but of this presently.

THE TEN KINGS AS PROGRESSIVE EXAMPLES

(1) THE PARADISE AGE

At the beginning we have the rising Man-of-Earth or Father-Water, who as *Adamu-Aruru-Apsu*, must be taken to have preceded the later culture-hero and to represent the Egyptian *Atum-Ra*, the happy times of Father-Sun. He emerges from the Oceanic *Eridu*, is created out of Earth (Aruru), and equipped with heavenly wisdom by the Ocean-God *Oannes* (Ea-Apsu). He loses the Bread and Water of Life of *Anu*, King of Heaven, and with it the gift of immortality.¹²

(2) THE FIRST DUALISM

The same tradition is now attached to the second King, *Adapa-Lakmu*, but with this difference, that the Father of Dawn or Twilight is forced to battle with the elements, and he cuts the wings of the South-Wind! This implies a conflict between wind and water, *Lakmu-Lakamu*, *Shu-Tafnut*, which, with the *Tammuz-Ishtar* couple, represents the cosmic side of the Kain-Abel story. The two brothers are typical the nomadic and pastoral life, the shifting wind and the life-giving water, or, more directly, Labor and Life, Work and Contemplation.¹³

(3) THE ILLUMINATION

But the greatest figure in the ages is *Enmeduranki*, the seventh King, the "High-Priest of the God of Heaven and Earth", clearly a corruption of the biblical *Enoch*. He received from *Bel-Shamash* the Table of the Gods and the key to the mysteries of the universe. As such he is the father of hidden wisdom, of divination.¹⁴

¹² The essence of the Adapa-myth in Jensen, Keilinschr. Biblioth. IV. 1, 92ff. See above p. 213. For *Adamu-Aruru*=*Adapa*, see Hommel, P. S. B. A. 1893, p. 243ff. ¹³ For *Tammuz*=*Dumu-Zida*=*Kenu-Ablu*,="Everlasting Son". See Pinches, O. T. p. 82ff. For Sumerian parallels to Cain-Abel, see S. Langdon, Sumerian Epic of Paradise, (Phila. 1915), p. 52, and compare Delitzsch, AHB, p. 588-589, *Kanu*, *Kanaku*, *Ka-du*, for cane, seal, impression, work; p. 113, *aplu*, *ablu*, for son, offspring. But *ka* and *ab* are prehistoric. see Index. ¹⁴ Text in Zimmern, Beiträge, p. 116-121, Baru, No. 24 obverse.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(4) THE DEGENERATION

But the divine message is soon distorted and becomes the basis of false wisdom, of occultism, of nature-worship, symbolised by *Amel-Sin*, "the Man of the Moon". Even *Methuselah*, the "Man of God", is possibly sinister, the "Man of Violence" (?). In the ninth king, *Ubartutu-Lamech*, this is carried still further. He is the Servant of God, who institutes farming, music, metallurgy, fine art, but at the expense of polygamy; he glories in his many wives and his bloody conquests,—the dualism has now reached its climax.

(5) THE PUNISHMENT

Finally the anger of heaven is aroused and all are destroyed in the great Flood with the exception of the Hero and his followers, *Hasisatra-Marduk* representing the Wise man of the Bull, the *Horus* of Egypt, the *Noah* of the Hebrews, the *Sisyphus*, or *Xisuthros* of the Greeks and Romans.

THE MESOPOTAMIAN DELUGE

In the eleventh tablet of the *Gilgamesh-Epic* we are told how the "Source of Life" (*Uta-Napishti*) received a revelation from the Ocean-God in a dream, warning him of the impending calamity and commanding him to construct the big ship. *Hasisatra* tells the story to *Gilgamesh*, the post-diluvian Nimrod:—¹⁵

Col. I.

8. *"Father-of-Life, (the Wise), thus spake to him, Gilgamesh:—
I will unfold to thee, Gilgamesh, the mystery of my life,*
10. *The secret of the Gods will I impart to thee:—
Shurippak, the city which thou knowest,*
11. *Which lies upon the banks of the Euphrates,
That city was of old the realm of Gods,
And they determined in their hearts to make a flood.
Among them was their father, Anu, (shining Heaven),*
15. *And their counsellor, mighty hero, Bel,
And their herald Ninib, bearer of the throne,
And their prince En-nu-gi, leader of the host.
The Lord of Wisdom, Ocean, had communed with them,
And he repeated their command unto the earth:—*
20. *O Earth, thou Earth! O Town of sacred fame!
Hearken, thou Earth, and Town, thou understand!
O man of Shurippak, servant of God above,
Destroy thy house and build a mighty ship,
Leave what thou hast, and seek for thine own life!"*

¹⁵ Text collated from Delitzsch Haupt, Jensen, Winckler, etc. See opposite page. Compare also the translations of Pinches, O. T. p. 101-102, and of Jeremias, l. c. p. 247. The above is a free metrical version.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

These opening lines show at least that the flood is of celestial origin, though the moral cause can only be inferred from the end of the story.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ARK

Coming to the details of the narrative, it is quite interesting to see how it follows or anticipates(?) the biblical account, even down to the cubits or "ells", by which it is finished, the "stories" by which it is adorned, and the pitch or asphalt by which it is cemented, though we can hardly expect an agreement in numbers, and the detail of the "door" and "windows" is missing. Thus the biblical $300 \times 50 \times 30$ cubits are represented by 120 ells of height, while the 3 stories of Genesis correspond to 6 or 7 stories of the Epic.

THE INTRODUCTION OF LIVING BEINGS

77. "*With all that I had I filled the ship, with all that I had of silver I filled it, with all that I had of gold I filled it, with all that I had of living creatures I filled it. I brought up into the ship my male and female household, cattle and beasts of the field, artisans, all did I bring in*". There is no mention of the "twos" and "sevens" of Genesis, nor of clean or unclean, nor of Jehovah "shutting him in", for Utna shuts his own door.

THE DURATION OF THE FLOOD AND THE BIRD-FLIGHTS

121. "*Six days and six nights lasted the wind, the storm-flood and the hurricane swept the land. On the seventh day, the hurricane ceased*", etc.

133. "*After twelve double hours the land arose and upon Mt. Nizir the ship rested*". For six days it remained in this position, and on the seventh the hero sends out a *dove*, a *swallow*, and a *raven*, the two first of which return, while the latter flies away. Thus the $7+7=14$ days of duration are paralleled by the Hebrew 40 days of rain and the $7+7+7=21$ days of waiting on Mt. Ararat, during which Noah sends out *one raven* and *three doves* with similar purpose. In both cases the entire period may have lasted *one year*, (Comp. Gen. 8, 14).

THE CAUSE OF THE FLOOD

Finally, there is a distinct intimation of human sin as its moral cause:

168. "*Thou sage of the gods, O Bel!—Why hast thou made this flood? etc. . . . The sinner has committed sin, the evil-doer his misdeed—Be merciful, let him not be cut off! Yield,—let him not perish!*"

Though the nature of this sin is not further specified, these words of the Ocean-God reveal a pleading divinity whose role of mercy cannot but be commended,—they show the pitying side of the deity, and the need of help. Even if the call is now too late, the few may yet escape destruction.

THE DELUGE-TABLETS

THE FILLING OF THE SHIP

177


 MIMMA I - ŠU - U E - ŠI - EN - ŠI MIMMA I - ŠU - U E - ŠI - EN - ŠI KASPU

 MIMMA I - [ŠU - U] E - [ŠI - EN - ŠI] HURASU

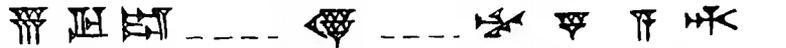
 MIMMA I - ŠU - U E - ŠI - EN - ŠI ZER NAPSATI KA - LA - MA

 UŠ - TE - LI - A - [NA] ELIPPI KA - LA KIM - TI - IA U SA - LAT - IA

 BU - UL - SERI U - MA - AM - SERI MARI LIM - MA - ANI KA - LI - ŠU - NU U - ŠE - LI

THE DURATION OF THE FLOOD

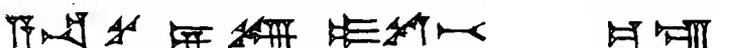
121


 VI UR - RA ----- MU - ŠA - A - TI

 IL - LAK ŠA - A - RU A - BU - BU ME - HU - U I - SAP - PAN MATU

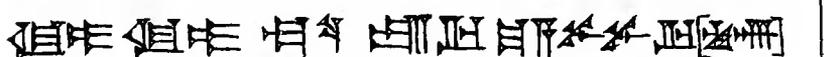
 SIBU - U U - MU I - NA KA - ŠA - A - DI IT ----- ŠU - U A - BU - BU

133


 A - NA XII (TA - A - AN) I - TE - LA - A KA - GU - U

 A - NA ŠABU NI - SIR I - TE - MID ELIPPU

THE MORAL CAUSE OF THE FLOOD.

168

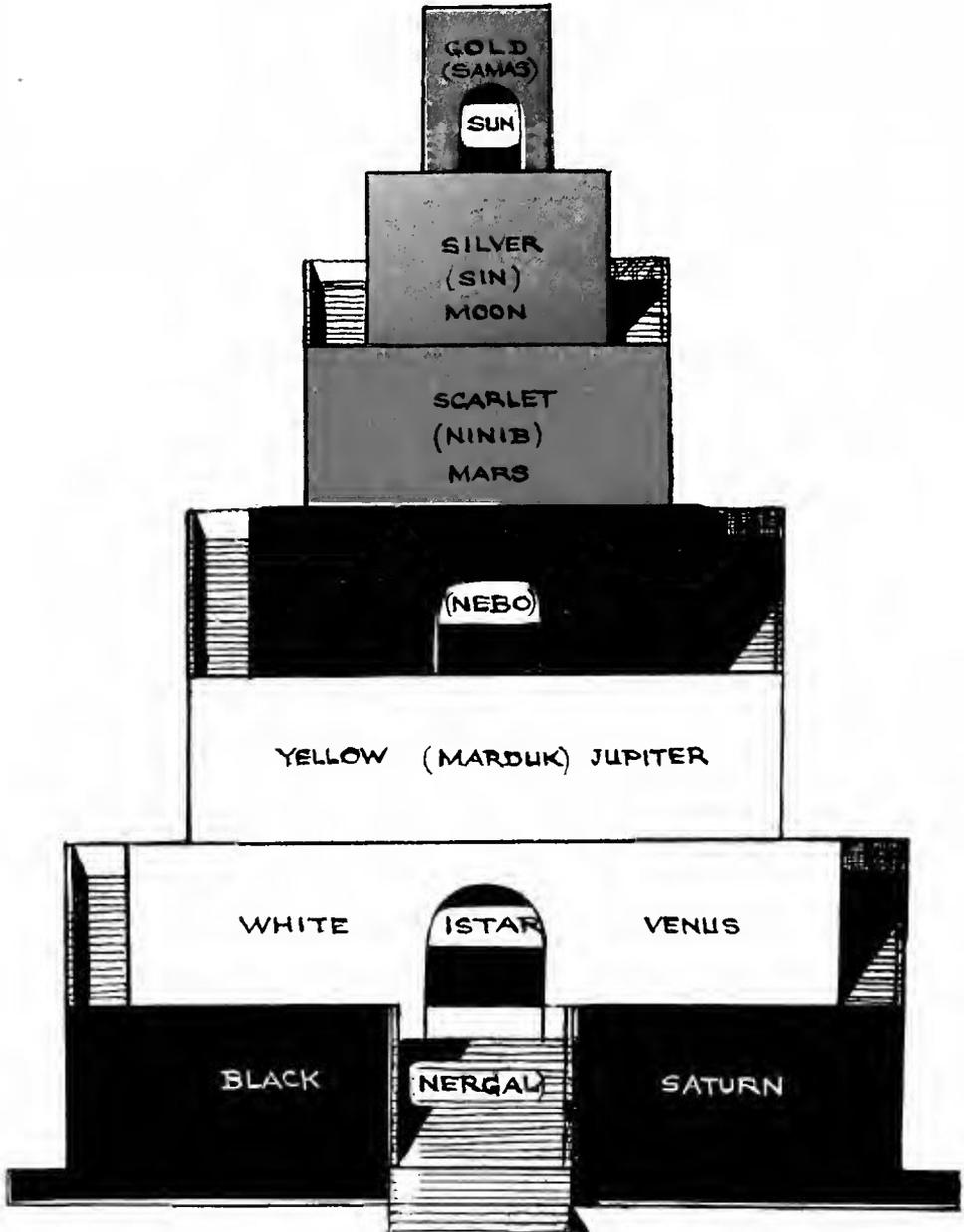

 AT - TA ABKAL ILANI KE - RA - (DU)

 KI - I KI - I LA TAM - TA - LIK - MA A - BU - BU TAŠ - KUN

 BE - EL HI - TI E - MID HI - TA - A - ŠU BE - EL KIL - LA - TI E - MID KIL - LAT - ŠU

 RU - UM - ME A - A IB - BA - TI - IK ŠU - DU - UD A - A

THE HOUSE OF THE SEVEN FOUNDATIONS OF HEAVEN AND EARTH

BEING THE TEMPLE OF BEL-NEBO AT BORSIPPA, SHOWING 7 STAGES, 7 COLORS, 7 GODS,
7 PLANETS, 7 DAYS OF THE WEEK, AND KNOWN AS



THE "HANGING GARDENS" OF BABYLON WERE FOR AGES THE WONDER OF THE WORLD, AND AT BORSIPPA WE HAVE THE RUINS OF WHAT WAS ONCE THE BIBLICAL 'TOWER OF CONFUSION', ACCORDING TO THE COMBINED JEWISH-CHRISTIAN AND MAHOMMEDAN TRADITION.

RESTORATION ACCORDING TO HERODOTUS, KLIO, I. 181. KOLDEWY, DIE TEMPEL VON BABYLON UND BORSIPPA, (LEIPZIG, 1911)

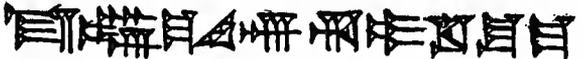
THE BORSIPPA TOWER--INSCRIPTION OF NEBUKADNEZAR II. (B. C. 604-561)

SHOWING THE PROBABLE ANTIQUITY OF THE DESTROYED STRUCTURE OR REFERRING
POSSIBLY TO SOME REMOTE PREHISTORIC EVENT.

K. 1685 + K. 1686, COL. I, 26-32, COL. II, 14-17.

COL. I.
26 I—NU—MI—ŠU E—UR—IMIN—AN—KI NI—KU—RA—AT

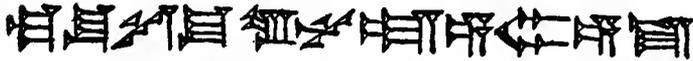

BAR—SAP (KI)


ŠA ŠARRU MA—AH—RI I—PU—ŠU—MA

42 
42 AMMATU U—ZA—AK—KI—RU—MA

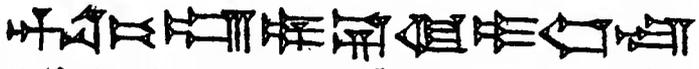

LA U—UL—LA—A RI—E—ŠA—A—ŠA


UL—TU U—UM RI—E—KU—TIM IN—NA—MU—U—MA


LA ŠU—TE—ŠU—RU MU—SI—E MI—E—ŠA

COL. II.
14 A—NA E—BI—ŠI—ŠA


U U—UL—LU—U RI—E—ŠI—ŠA GA—TA AŠ—KU—LIN


(ILU) NA—BI—UM MARU—UŠ KI—I—NIM ŠU—


—UK KA—AL—LAM SI—I—RI

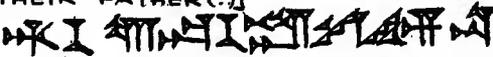
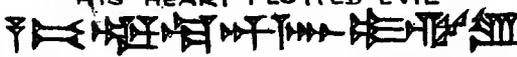

ŠI—IT—LU—TU NA—RA—AM (ILU) MARDUK

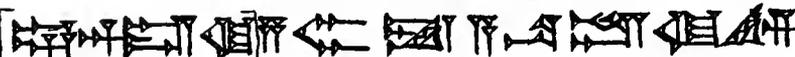
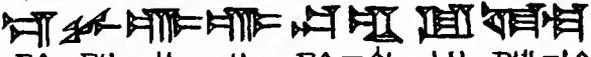
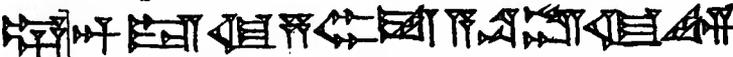
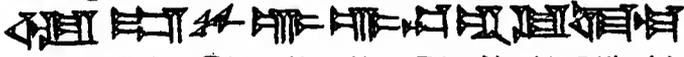
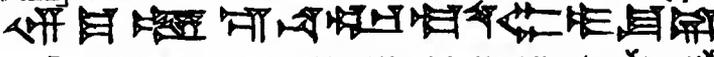
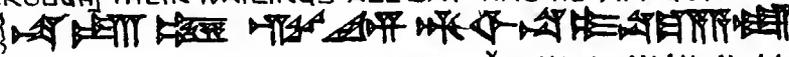
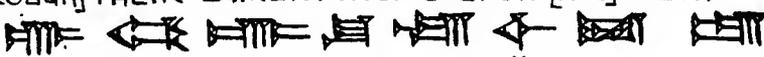
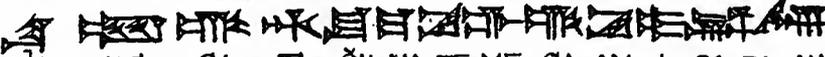
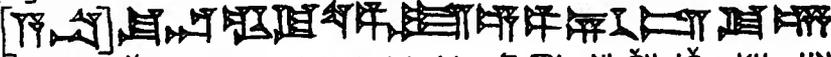
"AT THAT TIME E-UR-IMIN-AN-KI, THE STEP-TOWER OF BORSIPPA, WHICH AN ANCIENT KING HAD BUILT AND RAISED TO A HEIGHT OF 42 ELLS, BUT WHOSE APEX HE HAD NEVER COMPLETED, HAD FROM REMOTE AGES FALLEN INTO DECAY AND HAD LOST ITS DRAIN-PIPES." "TO BUILD IT UP, AND TO RAISE ITS SPIRE INTO THE AIR, I APPLIED MY HAND. O NEBO! THOU RIGHTFUL SON, THOU SUBLIME HERALD, THOU VICTORIOUS FAVORITE OF MARDUK!"

TEXT: DELITZSCH, ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE (1912), P. 142. MEISSNER, DIE KEILSCHRIFT, (1918), P. 82. (TRANSLATIONS IBID.) FOR UL-TU UM REKUTIM—"FROM THE DAYS OF THE DELUGE", SEE DELITZSCH, ASS. HANDW. P. 606. (REKUTU DISTANCE), P. 627 (RUKKU, RAKKATU, MARSH, INUNDATION).

THE SO-CALLED 'ABEL'-TABLET

SUPPOSED TO DESCRIBE THE ANGER OF A DIVINE BEING AT THE PLOTTINGS OF EVIL MEN, FOLLOWED BY A 'CONFUSION OF TONGUES'. K. 3657.


 -ŠU-NU AB-
 [THEIR FATHER (?)]

 TI-ŠU LIB-BA-ŠU IL-TE-IM-NA
 HIS HEART PLOTTED EVIL

 A-BI KA-LA ILANI I-ZI-RU
 THE FATHER OF ALL THE GODS HE HATED

 -TI-ŠU LIB-BA-ŠU IL-TE-IM-NA
 HIS HEART PLOTTED EVIL
 5 
 [BABILU-(KI)] ŠA-MI-ID A-NA IL-KI-IM
 [BABYLON] WAS YOKED TO FORCED LABOR.

 RA-BU-U U-BA-AL-LU DUL-LA
 [SMALL AND] GREAT RENDERED SERVICE (?)

 BAB] LU-(KI) ŠA-MI-ID A-NA IL-KI-IM
 BABYLON WAS YOKED TO FORCED LABOR

 U RA-BU-U U-BA-AL-LU DUL-LA
 [SMALL] AND GREAT RENDERED SERVICE (?)

 -I]M-MA-AS-SI-NA KA-LA U-MI I-ŠU-UŠ
 [THROUGH] THEIR WAILINGS ALL DAY WAS HE AFFLICTED
 10 
 I]-NA TA-AZ-ZI IM-TI-ŠI-NA I-NAMA-AI-LI
 [THROUGH] THEIR LAMENTATIONS UPON [HIS] COUCH

 U-UL U-KAT-TA ŠI-IT-TA
 HE OBTAINED NO SLEEP

 I-NA UQ-GA-TI-ŠU-MA TE-ME-GA-AM I-SA-PA-AH
 [IN] THE ANGER OF HIS HEART HE STOPPED THEIR SUPPLICATION (?)

 [A-NA] ŠU-BA-AL-KU-UT PA-LI-E PA-NI-ŠU IŠ-KU-UN
 [TO] OVERTHROW THE KINGDOM HE SET HIS FACE

 UŠ-TAN-NI TE-MA UT-TAK-KI-RA MI-LIK-ŠU-UN
 [HE CHANGED] [THEIR] UNDERSTANDING, THEIR COUNSEL WAS ALTERED

TEXT AND TRANSCRIPTION ACCORDING TO KING, THE SEVEN TABLETS OF CREATION, VOL. I, P. 220. FOR THE VARIANT: U-BA-AL-LU TIL-LA (IN LINE 6) — "THEY WORKED AT THE MOUND" (THE STEP-TOWER), SEE DELITZSCH, ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE, NO. 268, ASSYR. HANDWORTERBUCH, P. 219 (TILLA-MOUND). FOR EXACT MEANINGS OF TEMA (MIND) AND TAMU (LANGUAGE) SEE IDEM, HANDW. PP. 297, 708.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(6) THE RESTORATION AND THE REWARD OF VIRTUE

The story of the descent upon the mountain is in the main parallel to the biblical version, but not without important differences.

THE SACRIFICE

The words in which the animal sacrifice is described are more realistic than inspiring, though they convey a very similar sentiment:—

"The gods smelled the odor, the gods smelled a sweet fragrance, the gods gathered like flies around the sacrificer".

On the other hand the Rainbow and the divine Covenant are missing, instead of which we have a wrangling of divinities and a translation of the hero:—

THE APOTHEOSIS

"Formerly was Utnapishtim man. For evermore shall Utnapishtim and his wife be praised, like unto us the gods. Far away shall Utnapishtim dwell at river's mouth!" "Then did they bring me far away, and at the river's mouth they let me dwell".

This refers to the distant Eridu or the Isles of the Blest, whither Gilgamesh had wandered to search for the Herb of Life, and where he meets our deluge-hero, who then confides to him the entire story.

(7) The "House of the Seven Foundations of Heaven and Earth."

The same idea of divine punishment may be contained in a fragment, in which the tower-story seems to be hinted at. It tells of certain "tyrants" evil-minded men, who rose in rebellion against the God of Heaven. They tried to construct a step-tower, but the wind destroyed the structure, and "Anu confounded them, great and small, and confused their language".

Even if this refers to the liberation of Babylon from nothing but local usurpers, it is surely an interesting incident, and we know from other sources how widely diffused the tradition on this subject is. At present it seems most probable that the temple of Bel in Borsippa is the structure referred to. It was known as *E-ur-imin-an-ki*, or "House of the seven foundations of Heaven and Earth" and was said to "pierce the skies".¹⁶

AGE AND VALUE OF THE LEGENDS

These are the most important sources we possess for the prehistoric period, the more recently-discovered fragments and the "Sumerian" version adding nothing that is essentially new, and much that is doubtful and unsatisfactory. They show, however, that the main current of the flood-legend is immensely ancient,—how ancient it will be our final endeavor to estimate.¹⁷

¹⁶ See the accompanying tablets, and p. 419. ¹⁷ See the above sources and comp. S. Langdon, *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*, (Philadelphia, 1915). Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Babylonian Section.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 2) EGYPTIAN VERSION

At first sight it would appear that the Nile-region is without any clear tradition of a water-calamity, the inundations of the sacred river being regarded as a blessing rather than a curse, the source of fertility. On closer inspection, however, it will be found that the cosmic Ennead, or Holy Nine, represent a divine struggle, in which *Atum-Ra*, or Father Sun, is continually punishing or purifying his creation, even if that creation be regarded as an emanation of his own substance, as his own "heart".

HORUS AS A MORAL EXAMPLE

Apart from a promise of redemption, implied in the triumph over *Apophis* and the translation of *Shu*, there can be little doubt that the story of the martyred *Osiris*, imprisoned in a chest and floating down the river, followed by the compassionate *Isis* and the avenging or redeeming *Horus*, embodies the main outlines of a flood-tradition, the more so, as it is *Set*, the Ocean, or Typhon-God, that slays the founder of Egypt, and is in turn slain by his victorious brother. This means that *Osiris* stands for pre-diluvial humanity, the original "Light", *Isis* is the mediator or revealer of that Light, *Set* is the rebellious son, the all-consuming Ocean, and *Horus* is the righteous offspring who conquers the waters, and establishes a new dynasty. The legend is thus seen to have obtained a cosmic setting.

ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE

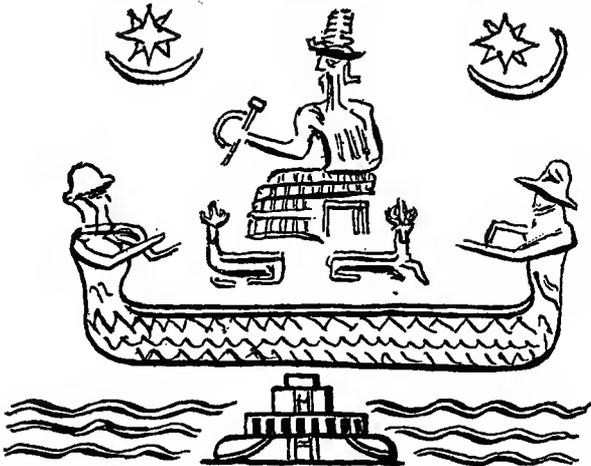
The following fragments may help to shed some light on the subject:—
 "In the beginning the Sun-God was king of the earth. But since he had grown old, men no longer believed in his authority. At his command the goddess Hathor began a slaughter amongst mankind. But he saved a few by cunning. He caused beer to be brewed and to be mixed with the blood. Hathor drank of the mixture, and could no longer recognise mankind to destroy them".

"Thou tookest a seat upon the Cow, thou didst hold her horns, and didst swim here upon the great flood of the sacred Mehur. There were no plants. He began when he united himself with the earth and when the waters rose to the mountain".

The first is an extract from the Book of the Cow, and as *Hathor-Isis* was supplied by *Toth* with a cow's head, the connection is evident. By protecting *Set*-Ocean, the goddess could be said to be the cause of the flood. The second is a hymn to *Amon-Ra*, in which a similar deluge seems to be referred to, though a derivation from Asiatic sources is to be suspected.¹⁸

¹⁸ See Jeremias, op. cit. p. 254, quoting Brugsch and Wiedeman. Compare also Book of the Dead, ch. 175, and p. 265 above.

MIGRATIONS OF THE ARK AND TOWER-MOTIF



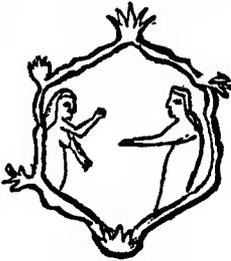
SHIP OF THE GODS AND TOWER - BABYLONIA



OSIRIS - TAMMUZ CHEST - EGYPT



THE STEP-PYRAMID OF SAKKARAH - NILE-DELTA, EGYPT



PHRYGIAN COIN - ASIA MINOR SURVIVING PAIR - MEXICO



PYRAMID OF THE SUN - MEXICO

SEE A. JEREMIAS, THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF THE ANCIENT EAST, (1911), VOL. I P. 246 FF. VOL. II P. 122, 127 (LEPSIUS, DENKMAELER, III, 181).

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 4) PALESTINIAN VERSION

It is not my purpose to treat of the Hebrew ideas of justice and recompense, except in so far as the prehistoric section of Genesis, (chap. 1-12), offers some interesting views of the early development of humanity.

THE TEN ANTEDILUVIAN PATRIARCHS

I have already called attention to the undoubted parallelism between the ten antediluvian patriarchs and the Babylonian and Egyptian World-Kings, a parallelism admitted even by the most conservative critics. There remains to consider a few of these figures in greater detail.

ADAM AND EVE, OR THE PRIMITIVE AGE

It has been shown in a previous chapter, that whatever outward similarity the Adam-Eve picture may possess with other Asiatic images, it cannot be derived from any of its mythological competitors, but rather presupposes a personal illumination of the author, by which the real "primitive" was brought before his eyes. As such it shows us the first human pair as a naked couple which is singularly free from absurd anachronisms, from phantastic ornaments, it is the *only* perfectly true account.

CAIN AND ABEL, OR THE AGE OF DIVISION

In like manner the Cain-Abel episode is the first true portrayal of the rising dualism of humanity, stripped of its nature-myths, with their wind and water-gods. It shows what is directly provable by archaeology, that in the upward evolution of man there is a gradual invasion of violence, the blood-revenge appearing quite early, though not in the very earliest stage. The first-fruits of Cain are not as acceptable as the firstlings of Abel, not on account of doctrinal but of *moral* reasons,—the nomadic and restless Cain is a type of the pragmatic busy-body, the self-seeking tiller of earth, while the pastoral and contemplative Abel is simply the "keeper" of flocks, he uses the animal and vegetable world as a channel to a higher wisdom. Compare the *Martha-Mary* of the gospels and the parable of the Sower (Mt. 13). Hence the double list of Patriarchs, (P. and J.), with corresponding tendencies.¹⁹

ENOCH, OR THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

But if the mark of Cain can be read in the literature of all ages, so can that of the pious Seth, and the two lines meet in Enoch, the man of "dedication",—a builder in the line of Cain, and a mystic in the line of Seth. "*And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him*". This is all that is said of this great "High Priest of Heaven and Earth", the first mortal that was too holy to live, the father of apocalyptic wisdom.²⁰

¹⁹ For Cain as the nomadic, and Seth as the Messianic hero, see Skinner, Genesis, 111, 139. ²⁰ Comp. the apocryphal Book of Enoch of later Judaism.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

LAMECH AND THE AGE OF INVENTION

But if Enoch represents the contemplative age, Lamech embodies the industrial life. He is the father of Jabal, Jubal, and Tubal-Cain,—representing farming, music, and metallurgy, doubtless a popular Hebrew expression for the rise of those higher industrial and esthetic arts which reached their climax in the Magdalenian and Azylian period of the last Ice Age, with its painted bisons, its superfine flints, and its perfected musical instruments. More was accomplished in this short period than in all the previous ages of humanity put together, and the author was evidently conscious of a sudden upward development. His further items on the introduction of polygamy and of increasing physical violence admit of equally powerful corroboration,—the glacial peoples were one and all decadent—, but he does not leave us without giving the other side of the picture,—there was another Lamech, who was the father of “Consolation”, the traditional Noah.

PROGRESSIVE CULTURAL ERAS

It is thus sufficiently clear that the inspired writer wishes his readers to understand that humanity rose into being *fully equipped*, but required many ages to recover its lost inheritance. The “fallen” man is entirely nude, then he makes “aprons”, then “coats of skins”, then he cuts himself with the tribal “scar” (the mark of Cain?), and divides into “tiller” and “keeper”, nomad and pastor, the collector of fruits and the hunter of animals. Still later he founds communities, he makes tenements, he organises public worship, he “calls upon the name of the Lord”. Finally he “walks with God”, he begins to reflect, he invents new arts, he is the “father of those who live in tents and keep cattle”, of “those who handle the harp and organ”, of “every delicate workman in brass and iron”. Throughout there is an intentional scheme cultural progress, which is in striking harmony with the main results of ethnology, and though he speaks in the language of a higher cultural age, this is evidently done to make the narrative more popular, more universally clear.

CHRONOLOGY

For the same reason the chronology of the sacred author is surely suggestive, if we understand him to use the Hebrew “year” as a division of the Babylonian “sar”, and to be speaking of enormous cultural periods, and not simply of the births and deaths of individual heroes. For this the succeeding table of nations offers abundant precedent. But if he uses family patronymics in the sense of “persons”, the whole longevity-problem falls to the ground, and the biblical figures are seen to take on a new and startlingly interesting aspect.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

THE NEPHILIM AND THE GREAT CORRUPTION

Whatever be the etymology of the word translated "Giants", it is certain that the writer understood *Nephilim* in the accepted sense of a race of abnormal stature that was supposed to have inhabited Canaan (Comp. Nu. 13, 33). Nevertheless the context shows that his primary purpose was a moral one. It is the intermarriage between the "sons of God" and the "daughters of men" that produces this race of abnormals, and this is good evidence that the giants are moral rather than physical, the *benei-ha-elohim* are pious men of the line of Seth, while the *benoth-ha-adam* are corrupted daughters of the line of Cain,—a clear reference to the preceding dualism. In this way the "whole earth was filled with violence",—a well-evidenced proposition.

THE BIBLICAL DELUGE

The following points should be noted in the Mosaic account of the deluge:—

- (1) The Flood is a punishment for the sins of men, the growing corruption.
- (2) Its causes are the "windows of heaven" and the "fountains of the deep".
- (3) Its extent is apparently universal, but not certainly so, "the whole land".
- (4) Its duration is altogether 1 year and 11 days, divided into periods.
- (5) The ark rests upon the "mountains of Ararat", not necessarily on the peak.
- (6) Noah and his family are the only human survivors, in all 8 persons.
- (7) Of animals only the land and air-specimens are taken, by twos or sevens.
- (8) Noah sends forth 1 raven, and 3 times a dove.
- (9) Noah descends and offers a sacrifice,—"the sweet savor."
- (10) Animal and vegetable food are allowed to man, but not "blood".
- (11) Jehovah promises never again to "destroy the earth".
- (12) Its sign is the Rainbow, "Behold I do set my arc in the heavens".

A COMPARISON

Coming now to a comparison of this with the Babylonian version, we cannot but be struck, at first sight, with the extraordinary resemblances between the two narratives, even down to many details, (see p. 438). This concerns more especially the construction of the ark, with its stories, cubits, and windows (though the numbers are doubtful) and still more the bird-flights, the dove, the swallow, and the raven being a counterpart of the Mosaic raven, swallow (?), and dove, supposed to be given in reverse order. This and the general setting of the story, with its rains and its hurricanes, its Nizirs and its Ararats, its punishment of the many and its salvation of the few, cannot but suggest that they are two versions of a single original.

RETRIBUTION

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

THE VARIATIONS

For, although the moral element is equally conspicuous in both, and many of the coincidences are indeed striking, the polytheistic coloring of the one is in strong contrast to the monotheistic setting of the other, and the equally pronounced variations,—whether in the matter of time, place, or circumstance—, show, with the omission of the important detail of the rain-bow and the covenant, that the one cannot be directly derived from the other.

THE BLESSING OF SHEM AND JAPHET

Furthermore, the subsequent history of man is missing in the cuneiform records. The translation of the hero to the Isles of the Blest is no doubt inspiring, but it gives no account of the origin of racial and linguistic differences. The short but thrilling story of Noah and his three sons is evidently meant to teach a moral lesson, the triumph of the Aryan and Semitic, over the Hamitic races,—a prophecy only too truly fulfilled,—*“Blessed be Shem, and Canaan shall be his servant”*, an indirect statement.

THE TOWER OF BABEL AND THE DISPERSION

As to the cause of the subsequent dispersion of man, we have nothing but fragments in the Babylonian story of the tyrant, though a moral rebellion against the God of Heaven seems to be hinted at, followed by a confusion of tongues. The biblical writer seems to imply, however, that the reason *why* Elohim destroyed the tower and confounded their speech was because it was against His express command to multiply and “replenish the earth”, men were not to concentrate in one city, they were to colonise the entire world. In this way the story obtains a definite social and moral content, though the “bricks for stone” and “slime for mortar” reveal its Babylonian atmosphere.

THE TABLE OF NATIONS

The great scientific importance of the table of nations is now generally recognised. It is true that the list is summary, fragmentary, and decidedly “popular”. It confines itself entirely to the post-diluvial dispersion of the Caucasian race, being apparently unmindful of the Mongolian or the Negritic peoples. Perhaps there is a purpose in this. But the threefold expansion of the early Caucasians, to Europe, Northern Africa and Arabia,—corresponding to Japhet, Ham, and Shem—, is singularly true to the facts as is the derivation of Babylonian and Assyrian civilisation from Nimrod, the “son of Cush”, a non-Semitic or Sumerian “hunter” (Gilgamesh). Moreover it is certain that “father” and “son” are here used patronymically, for entire nations.

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

(N, 5) PERSIAN, HINDOO, AND CHINESE VERSIONS

It will be interesting to see how the substance, or at least the outline of a retribution-system may be recognised in the folk-lore of other Asiatic peoples, but always in faded, fragmentary, and largely mythical form.

YIMA AND THE IRANIAN SNOW-FLOOD

According to the Pablavi Bundahesh, which, though late, is founded upon ancient Avestic traditions, the world has gone through four great cycles, each of 3000 years and accompanied by one sign of the zodiac,—to wit:—

(1) *The Age of the Heavenly Prototypes*, or Exemplary Ideas (Fravashis).

(2) *The Age of the Seven Spirits*, or the Age of Creation, (Ameshas), during which heaven, water, earth, plants, animals, and man, make their appearance.

(3) *The Age of the Seven Demons*, or the Age of Conflict, (Daevas), during which Ahriman destroys everything, man and beast, from the face of the earth. This, however, is followed by two periods, one of light, and one of darkness:—

(a) The Period of *Light*, or the Golden Age, in which the demons are conquered.

(b) The Period of *Darkness*, or the Silver Age, in which the demons triumph.

In this period is placed the deluge. It is *Yima* who is told by *Ahuramazda* to save himself from the *flood of snow*, which he is about to send as a punishment for the sins of mankind. He rescues all he can in a walled-up place, (not in a ship), and thus escapes the catastrophe.

(4) *The Age of Restitution*, or the Triumph of Justice. This is the time in which Zoroaster appears with a promise of future redemption (Messianic cycle).²³

MANU AND THE INDIAN DELUGE

In Aryan India we find that "as far back as the Vedic age the legend was established in all its essential features" (Usener).

The Brahmana "of the hundred paths" relates how a fish came into the hands of *Manu*, the first man, while he was washing, and said to him: "Take care of me and I will save you". "From what wilt thou save me?" "A flood will carry away all this creation, and I will save you from that". *Manu* nursed the fish until it had become a great big fish, and then the fish spoke to him again: "In a short time the flood will come, so prepare yourself a ship, and turn to me. When the flood rises, enter into the ship and I will save you". *Manu* did as he was told, and the fish hauled the ship to the mountain of the North, where it afterwards rested. The flood had carried away every creature; only *Manu* remained, and by his marriage with *Ida*, the offspring of his own sacrifice, the present population arose,—the "generation of *Manu*".²⁴

²³ Bundahesh (S, B. E. XXXVII) p. 26ff. ²⁴ Compare also the Mahabharata, where the same story is fixed on a later hero. Jeremias, op. cit. p. 256ff.

RETRIBUTION

RECENT ASIATIC TRADITION

THE CHINESE FLOOD

It seems to be well ascertained that the so-called Chinese flood is a cosmic amplification of an old river-story, which may have had a remote foundation in fact. The inundations caused by the draining and damming of the Hoang-Ho river-basin, are believed to have furnished the basis for a popular flood-legend which grew by degrees into a national epic preserved in various collections. These are all comparatively recent, though undoubtedly pre-Christian, and the story itself mounts up to the times of *Yu*, about 2300 B. C.²⁵

WESTERN-ARYAN VERSIONS

Turning once more to the West, it is not surprising to find the same fundamental notions of divine recompense as in the previous ages of humanity.

DEUCALION AND THE GRAECO-ROMAN FLOOD

In his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid pictures the human race as passing through four ages of successive deterioration, beginning with the usual golden age, and relating the sad story of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha* in beautiful hexameter verse. This came to the Romans from Greek, and this again from Jewish-Babylonian sources. According to Apollodorus, Zeus wished to destroy the human race by a great inundation, but by the counsel of *Prometheus*, Deucalion manufactured a wooden chest, filled it with eatables, and entered it with his wife *Pyrrha*. Only a few saved themselves by flight to the mountains. After nine days and nine nights Deucalion landed upon Parnassus, left the stranded vessel and offered a sacrifice to Zeus. He then prayed to the Father of gods on behalf of humanity, and human beings again arose by his throwing the "bones of his mother" over his head, that is, the stones of the mountain, changed into men!²⁶

THE SCANDINAVIAN BLOOD-DELUGE

In the Old Norse Edda it is said that "the sons of Bur killed Ymir, whereupon so much blood flowed from his body, that the whole generation of Frostgiants was drowned. Only one escaped with his dependents. He entered into his boat and saved himself in it".²⁷

OTHER ACCOUNTS

These are but a few specimens of what is evidently a widely diffused legend. The Syrian version is among the clearest, and in Phrygia coins have been discovered, bearing the inscription "Noe" in Greek letters, doubtless of Jewish or Christian origin. This and the Tower-story has travelled, in fact, to the farthest lands, which argues for a very early distribution of their main subject-matter.²⁸

²⁵ Shu-King, 1, 10, 11. II. 4, 1. 26 (Apollodorus, I. 712ff. 27) Snorre's Edda, *Gylfaginning*, 7. 28. Compare Jeremias, *op. cit.* I. pp. 254-259, to whom I am indebted for these references. Also, *ibid.* p. 310-313, for the Greek fable of the titans tower-myths, etc.

RECENT AMERICAN TRADITION

Passing over the Polynesian area,—which is well supplied with similar accounts—, let us consider the remaining facts as they present themselves nearer home. For it is in the Rocky Mountain and the Alaskan regions, including the prehistoric Mexican, that we meet with a more graphic account of the great world-calamity than we would be inclined to suspect from an area which is so far removed from its supposed center of propagation.

(N, 7) (a) COLORADO-CALIFORNIA REGION

We have already seen that the mythology of the Pueblos traces all things to a divine Fatherhood, from which the twin-theme of wind and water, and the triple theme of heaven, earth, and ocean, are then developed.

POSHAIYANKYA AND THE RISING WATERS

But in the story of the creation of the wisest man it is implied that human beings already exist on the earth, and that through some moral fatality they were in imminent danger of being engulfed in the world-ocean. Then *Poshaiyankya* emerges from the ocean as the "foremost man" and calls to the Sun-father for help. For "he came among men and the living things, and he pitied them" (!). "*For alone then did Poshaiyankya come from one cave to another into this world, then,—island-like—, lying in the midst of the world-waters, vast, wet, and unstable. He sought and found the Sun-Father, and besought Him to deliver the men and the creatures from that nethermost world.*" This is an evident proof of the "divine" origin of the waters.

THE RAVEN AND THE MACAW

Although the hero saves himself and his race by flying "from cave to cave and alighting on some mountain peak", it was apparently a fearful ordeal, and had it not been for the help afforded by the raven and the macaw, the divine messengers he would have missed his footing and humanity would have perished.²⁹

THE PAWNEE GIANTS AND THE DELUGE

Still more explicit, but perhaps more modern, is the Pawnee version of the beginnings and the destiny of man. They aver that the first man and woman were good, and to them was given the sacred corn. But "there were giants in those days", very large Indians, who did not believe in the Sky-Father, and refused to serve him. By degrees they became more virulent, and finally *Tirawa* destroys them by a deluge of water and creates a new posterity. This race was by comparison small, but He still watches over them, and to those who obey His laws He promises a blessed life. It cannot be said with certainty to what extent this legend is native, though it might well have been so.³⁰

²⁹ F. H. Cushing, *Zuni Creation-Myths*, B. A. E. (Washington), 13th. Report. p. 378ff.
³⁰ Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, (N. Y. 1889), pp. 354-356.

RECENT AMERICAN TRADITION

THE MAIDU STORY OF A' NOSMA AND THE RAFT

On the Pacific slope of the Rockies the idea of a definite pair who saved themselves on a kind of float, reveals a more vivid picture.

"In the beginning", say the Maidu, "there was no sun, no moon, no stars. All was dark, and everywhere there was only water. A raft came floating on the water. It came from the North (sic), and in it were two persons,—*A'nosma*, or Turtle, and *Pehe-ipe*, or Father-of-the-Secret-Society. The stream flowed rapidly. Then from the sky a rope was let down, and on it came—

Earth-Initiate as the Renovator of Creation

His face was covered, but his body shone like the sun. "Where do you come from?" says Turtle. "I come from above!" Later Earth-Initiate makes dry land, trees, birds, and animals. He makes man and woman out of red earth and water, but *Coyote* and his dog Rattlesnake spring out of the ground. Coyote recognises the Creator; for "Coyote could see Earth-Initiate's face!"³¹

(b) ALASKAN REGION

We may save ourselves the trouble of enumerating all the Eskimo versions of the same event, as well as those of their Northern-Pacific neighbors. They are all either very similar to the above, or abound in such startling details of the "ark" and the fate of its survivors, that a contact with Asiatic legends is almost certain. They form the connecting bridge.

(c) MEXICO AND THE SOUTH-AMERICAN REGION

For the same reason it is no reflection on the power and interest of the Mexican versions, if we frankly admit that they are a very late, though pre-Columbian, importation. Only one example need be given.

TEZPI AND THE AZTEC STORY OF FLOOD, TOWER, AND CONFUSION

The Michoacan story of *Tescipactli* and *Yochiquetzal*, and how they saved themselves in a boat shaped like a box, reveals a distinctly Oriental coloring, even down to the bird-flights and the prominence of the fish-theme, (Bab. Ocean-god). The same of the pyramid, built by the giants, and which threatened to touch the sky, but was destroyed by the fires of heaven. A more native touch is suggested by the dumb children of the survivors, who learned from a dove how to speak, and this caused a linguistic confusion! This may serve as a good specimen of most of the remaining South-American traditions in their more recent form, and extending at least as far as Peru. Want of space forbids a further discussion of these interesting legends.³²

³¹ R. B. Dixon, *Maidu Myths*, Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. (New York, 1902), p. 39ff.

³² Sources in Bancroft, Bowditch, Häbler, etc. pp. 302, 386 above.

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Such then are the chief mythological and biblical data with which we must now deal,—a list of prehistoric phenomena which is by no means exhaustive, but which covers a sufficiently wide area to furnish us with a basis at least for forming a comparative estimate of their meaning. And as it is very evident that a physical catastrophe in the shape of a “deluge” forms as it were the climax of most of the legends, it will be our first duty to see how far such an event can be proved to have occurred from the folklore as such, and apart from the biblical and geological data. Let us make a brief review of the matter so far collected.

Among the most primitive peoples the tradition is wanting

It cannot fail to be noticed, in the first place, that the further we ascend into remote antiquity, the more dim grows the recollection of such an event, at least in the classic form in which we now have it. It is wanting among the aborigines of Malakka, among the Veddas, among the Philippine negritos, among the Bakatans of Borneo and the Toalas of Celebes, among many of the Australian and most if not all the Central African peoples. In South America it is strong only in the highland or Cordilleran belt (Peru).

But it appears very early as the “Origin of the Sea”

At the same time, the frequent accounts of a rising of waters, of an enveloping of the earth by the ocean, of the floating of a few ancestors on logs or rafts, are primarily of *cosmogonic* nature,—they are intended to explain the origin of the sea, and are founded no doubt on vivid recollection of past upheavals and depressions of land, of the rise and disappearance of continents. That many of these stories should wear a punitive aspect, is indeed quite natural, and so in the Andamanese and Tasmanian versions, as in some of the Brazilian legends, it is the divine anger that is the cause of a flood in extremely remote times, they have no connexion with a single world event proceeding from a recent center of action.

And this is accompanied by a “Deluge of Fire”

It is also no less remarkable that in the very earliest layer of tradition, it is fire rather than water that is the instrument of the divine justice, it is thunder and lightning that destroys or purges mankind, whether in Australasia, Africa, or South America. (Compare the accounts).

ARE THEY A PRE-DILUVIAL RACE?

Now these facts should be our first object of careful consideration. As we are dealing with an age which is immensely remote, does it not seem quite probable that these are pre-glacial traditions, that they antedate the Mosaic account by very long periods?

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

In later ages Fire and Water hold their own

These impressions can be traced with equal force in the succeeding age, where it is especially among the Kolarian aborigines of Central India,—precisely the least advanced section—, that the Fire-Flood is so prominent. How could this legend,—with its sun-gods and marsh-spirits, its serpents and its kilis—, be derived from any Babylonian, let alone Jewish or Christian sources? The absence of ships and of water is alone sufficient to condemn it. Only in North-America does the liquid element reappear, but it is connected with plumed snake and buffalo, with thunder-bird and war-eagle, with barking dog and gnawing rat,—items which have little in common with Oriental tradition.

The diluvial peoples have passed through Fire- and Water-floods

It is thus equally clear that among the more advanced totem-peoples, the ideas connected with this event are so palpably colored with mythical and the local as to make a recent Asiatic importation highly improbable.

In the latest period there is evidence of a universal Flood

But when we come to the most recent cycle of development, the matter assumes a different aspect. We have seen that wherever this subject is referred to at all, it generally appears in such a distinctively Mesopotamian dress, that a direct derivation from Western Asia is in most cases forced upon us. It is true that here also the earlier versions are still somewhat vague, national, and incoherent, whether in Egypt, Persia, or China, but in every case the later recessions show an approximation to the Chaldean account and have evidently been influenced, in part at least, by a common tradition. This is still more striking in Aryan India, Europe, and Polynesia, and reaches its climax in Alaska, Mexico, and Peru,—a plain proof the Mosaic deluge belongs to the last cycle of human expansion—, the early neolithic or bronze age. Though exact time measurements are of course out of the question, we have reasonable grounds for making the following statement:—

The post-diluvial races, whether Aryan, Semitic, Polynesian, or Neo-American have preserved a tradition which points to a single universal event in a Western-Asiatic region, in other words to the historical Mesopotamian Deluge.

It is not so much the exact wording or setting of the story as the extraordinary combination of certain details,—the world-fish, the ark, the animals, the flight of the dove, the descent upon the mountain, the tower of giants, the confusion of tongues—, which, though not universally present, are still common enough to suggest a single source of dissemination.

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

Having obtained a chronological setting for the biblical deluge, it will be our next endeavor to ascertain how far the biblical data warrant us in affirming that the preceding scheme is correct, that in the mind of the author the deluge of Noah is but the culmination of many previous visitations from heaven, of separate punishments of the sins of man, and,—more especially—, whether he conceives that calamity to have been universal, either as regards the earth or the human race.

The biblical author speaks of a "universality"

Whatever technical distinctions we may choose to make between "land" and "earth" as covered by a single expression, the very elastic *eretz*, there can be no doubt from the general description and the frequent use of superlatives that the writer is doing his best to convey the impression that, *as far as he knows*, "all flesh died that moves upon the face of the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beast, and every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man", that "Noah alone remained, and they that were with him in the ark" (Gen. 7, 21, 23). All this sounds like a universality.

But he seems to exclude the earthly paradise

On the other hand there are several indications that he conceived of human beings as still living in other parts of the earth. The manner in which the terrestrial paradise is described in Gen. 2, 11.—with its flowing rivers and geographical names—, seems to show that he looked upon the Garden of God as still in existence, as still capable of identification. Again the rapidity with which the earth "dries up" and returns to the normal is inconsistent with a simultaneous destruction of all life in all places. Furthermore, in referring to the destruction of man by the waters, no account is given of the line of Cain, or of what became of them. And it is especially the biblical figures that incline us to believe that the writer is speaking of racial branches. The fact that Methuselah-Lamech both die in the year of the deluge and that the Kanite branch of the Lamechs had a numerous offspring, of which nothing is said beyond the fact that they were the "fathers" of modern industry,—all this suggests a partial survival.

And yet there are implications of universal punishment

Nevertheless it must be frankly admitted that, taking the biblical record in its obvious and generally accepted sense, it surely implies that "the end of all flesh is come", that all must be punished. If then a part of humanity has survived the deluge of Noah, as seems to be implied in the context, it will stand to reason that they must have been punished *in the past* to fulfil the demands of divine justice.

RETRIBUTION

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE TESTIMONY OF BIBLICAL EXPERTS ON THE
EXTENT OF THE DELUGE

"The universality of the flood in regard to man is taught by the text in several places,—6, 5, 7, 21, 8, 17, etc. From this it follows that the family of Noah is in this respect the representative of the first human pair— But *the bible does not teach in any place that the flood extended over the whole earth*,—nowhere is it said in the text that God wanted the waters to break over the entire earth. We decide for a limitation of the flood geographically, because this alone can be extracted from the text without violence"¹

"The flood of the bible could not with its short duration have effected any essential or universal changes in the earth's surface, nor did it do so. According to the biblical story, the mountains were covered by the waters and then reappeared, the earth required only to dry in order to resume her form, and the dove returned with a fresh olive-leaf. It is assumed as self-evident that the entire plant-world appeared as it did before, and the description of the site of the garden of God clearly supposes that features of the earth's surface were not essentially changed".—"Furthermore, *the biblical deluge did not embrace the entire earth*. It was supposed indeed to be universal, in so far as all living things were destroyed. But that this "earth" of the writer was a much smaller space than what we understand by the term is evident from the narrow geographical horizon of the ancient Hebrews, which embraced only fractions of Asia, Africa, and Europe".²

"*The geographical universality of the flood may be safely abandoned*.—The question whether all men perished in the deluge must be decided by the teachings of the bible and of its authoritative interpreter. As to the teachings of the bible, the passage which deals exprofesso with the flood (Gen. VI-IX), if taken by itself, *may be interpreted of a partial destruction of man*. It insists on the fact that all inhabitants of the "land", not of the "earth" died in the waters of the deluge. It does not explicitly tell us whether all men lived in the land", etc.³

Although each of these writers holds an ethnographic universality, either from text or tradition, it is plain that *a limitation with regard to man is regarded as textually admissible, while a geographic universality is rejected by all*. When we consider that such noted Catholic apologists as Schanz, Zahm, and de Harlez have boldly come out for a survival of diluvial races not mentioned in the biblical text, we feel increasingly confident. It is clear, however, that a considerable variety of opinion still prevails on this subject, and until it is positively determined that every vestige of human life disappeared in the flood, we can rightfully admit a partial survival. For the present, this question must be left open to further investigation, to be finally submitted to the revealed mind of the Church.

¹ Hoberg, *Die Genesis nach dem Literalsinn erklärt*, (1908), pp. 79-80. (Cath.) ² Dillmann, *Die Genesis* (1892), p. 131. ³ Maas, *Art. Deluge*, (Cath. Encycl. 1910).

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

There remains to consider what physical or geological event could have furnished the basis for so widespread a tradition of the human race. As this is a subject which is beyond my powers to estimate, I will give a few examples of the explanations attempted in order to bring out their essential inadequacy.

THE DEFECTIVE THEORIES OF VARIOUS WRITERS ON THE ULTIMATE CAUSE OF THE FLOOD

"It would not be impossible, however, to regard the flood as a *natural* occurrence which has for its purpose a supernatural end.—The characteristic marks of the diluvial period were the *glaciation* of a large part of the earth's surface with *formidable local inundations*. The contributive causes of these phenomena are not yet satisfactorily explained, but they furnish a precedent for the actual occurrence of the biblical flood".⁴

"The foundation of the flood-story is without doubt the obscure recollection of a *great land-devastation by water*. This flood falls namely into the period of human history, and has therefore nothing to do with the geological diluvia. The long diluvial period of the geologists, to which the surface of the earth owes her present configuration, lies beyond all human remembrance, though its imprisoned fossils tell of *previous inundations*".⁵

"It still seems more natural to suppose that a *single physical event* lies at the bottom of all flood-myths. Only in this manner can the similarities between the ethnic and biblical traditions be explained".⁶

"The most reasonable line of explanation is that the great majority of the legends preserve the recollection of *local catastrophes*, such as inundations, tidal waves, seismic floods, accompanied by cyclones, etc. of which many historic examples are on record, while in a considerable number of cases these local legends have been combined with features due either to the diffusion of Babylonian culture or to the direct influence of the Bible through Christian missionaries". (According to Andree, 40 are indigenous while 20 are more or less colored with Babylonian additions or imagery).⁷

"Connected with the *last ice-age* or its immediate aftermath are no doubt those *destructive physical occurrences*, which in their partly catastrophic invasion decimated the land of Chaldea, and buried forests, animals, and human beings in their floods, their slime, and their mineral deposits, and of which the hoary traditions of the East are so eloquent".⁸ Coming from an acknowledged expert, these words are certainly significant, though they do not bring us any nearer to the proximate or ultimate causes of the biblical flood. They simply show that certain extraordinary natural phenomena have taken place, and to this extent they remove the very common objection that such things are incredible, that they never occurred.

⁴ Hoberg, Genesis, 82. ⁵ Dillmann, Genesis, 131. ⁶ Nikel, Genesis, 183. ⁷ Skinner, Genesis, 175, following Andree, Die Flutsagen ethnographisch betrachtet, (Braunschweig, 1891) p. 143ff. ⁸ Obermaier, Der Mensch der Vorzeit, (1912), p. 525.

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

EVEN RADICAL AUTHORS REQUIRE A PARTIAL SUBMERGENCE

"Delitzsch, Dillman, Huxley, Haupt, and Jastrow, following the geologist Süss, of Vienna, consider that it is based upon dim recollections of an *actual extraordinary inundation of the lower Euphrates over the plain of Babylonia*. Both the Tigris and Euphrates, when the snows in the upper basins of the two rivers melt in spring, regularly overflow their banks, and transform a large part of the alluvial plain into an inland sea" etc.⁹

AND ONE CONNECTED WITH THE LAST ICE-AGE

"It was maintained by the late Prof. Prestwitch on the ground of certain geologic indications, chiefly the 'Rubble-Drift', that long after the appearance of palaeolithic man, there was a submergence of the crust of the earth, chiefly in W. Europe, but also in N. W. Africa, and extending perhaps as far east as Palestine, causing a *great inundation of the sea*, which, though of short duration, destroyed a vast amount of animal and some human life, so that some species of animals became extinct, as for instance the Hippopotamus in Sicily" etc. Prof. Dawson also speaks of a great "diluvial catastrophe", which took place shortly *after the close of the glacial period*, and destroyed palaeolithic man", etc, for him the biblical deluge.¹⁰

AND ACCOMPANIED BY A CULTURAL "BREAK"

"But even where they come into close contact, as in Liguria and Gaul, the men of the palaeolithic age always present the sharpest contrast to their neolithic successors. *The physical types are absolutely distinct*, except where intermediate forms already point at interminglings. All the elements of their respective *cultures also differ so profoundly* as almost to suggest some violent dislocation or *sudden cataclysm*, such as those of the early geologists, rather than an orderly sequence in accordance with the accepted principles of organic evolution". "Assuming the survival of primitive man into the New Stone Age, it is obvious that in any case his *culture was interrupted* and prevented from continuing its natural evolution by the irruption of neolithic man into Europe. One hesitates to speak positively on such a difficult question, but it may be said that all the known facts point to *extinction* in Britain and *absorption* on the mainland".¹¹

"The arrival of neolithic culture and industries in Western Europe marks one of the most *profound changes in all prehistory* and introduces us to a new period which must be treated in an entirely different historic spirit".¹²

"Between this palaeolithic culture and that of the early neolithic age there is *historically no connection*, even if a few technical achievements, such as the working in flint, may have survived the catastrophe".¹³

⁹ Driver, Genesis, p. 107. ¹⁰ Idem. p. 102-103. Prestwitch, on certain phenomena belonging to the close of the last geological period, (N. Y. 1895). Sir J. W. Dawson, Meeting-Place of Geology and History, (1894), two important works. ¹¹ Keane, Ethnology, pp. 110, 115. ¹² Osborn, Men of the Old Stone Age, p. 493. ¹³ Ed. Meyer, Geschichte des Altertums (1910), I. 1 p. 247.

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

A UNIVERSAL CATAclysm SEEMS TO BE POSTULATED

Now taking all this evidence together, and looking aside from minor questions on the nature, time, and extent of individual floods, it seems to be abundantly clear that some form of divine visitation, whether by fire or water, is too universal a tradition among the peoples of the earth not to have some remote foundation in physical fact. Geology and comparative mythology are unanimous in declaring that since the rise of the human species, whether in glacial or pre-glacial times, there have been elevations and depressions of land, accompanied by floods and atmospheric disturbances, of which we can hardly form a picture, but which must have destroyed vast portions of vegetable and animal life, including the human, in nearly all parts of the earth's surface. Hence the almost universal tradition of some violent destruction of man in the remote past.

BUT NOT SIMULTANEOUSLY IN ALL PLACES

And this leads us to the necessary conclusion that the visitations spoken of were successive rather than simultaneous. The purely local coloring of the early accounts and their separation from the later traditions by enormous intervals of space and time requires us to assume that they belong to entirely different ages, that each is speaking of a local event which for them was the instrument of the divine justice.

THE MOSAIC DELUGE IS A SUPERNATURAL PHENOMENON

But it is different with the classic account that comes to us from the land of the Chaldaea-Palestine. Here we are undoubtedly dealing with positive history, and on its own showing it traces its "rains" to supernatural causes, its "doves" and its "rainbows" to a direct interference of the Creator. Ordinary floods and earthquakes cannot explain it.

ITS PHYSICAL EXTENT WAS CONSIDERABLE

Whatever be the value of the findings of geological experts,—and upon this I am not able to speak,—it is evident that some of the most distinguished moderns, including the celebrated Obermaier, have borne testimony to a convulsion of nature at the end of the last Ice Age which must have extended at least from the British Isles to the Perso-Arabian highlands.

IT DESTROYED A LARGE PART OF THE PLEISTOCENE FAUNA

This is one of the few explanations of the disappearance of certain species that were peculiar to the last glacial epoch. The final extinction of the Cave-Bear, the Mammoth, the woolly Rhinoceros, and the Irish Elk, not to speak of the prehistoric Lion, Tiger, Bison, Hyaena, and Hippopotamus, can hardly be accounted for except by some great physical, and probably supernatural, catastrophe.¹⁴

¹⁴ John Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, (N. Y. 1910), p. 268. Even if successive rather than sudden, the disappearance of most is still a mystery. Compare Osborn, *op. cit.* pp. 21 (extinction of great mammals), 498 (neolithic mammalian life).

ANALYSIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

IT ALSO DESTROYED DILUVIAL MAN OVER VERY WIDE AREAS

Furthermore, if the most powerful animals were unable to battle with the invading floods, it is hardly probable that man himself could survive. There is a strange hiatus between palaeolithic and neolithic man, both in physique and culture, which points at least to a partial extinction of the diluvial type. Although this gap is not as wide as was once supposed, being partly bridged by the Azylian industry and a few hybrid forms, it is still wide enough to justify the assertion of Keane, Osborn, Obermaier, and others, that there is such a profound dissimilarity between the two epochs, especially in their artistic aspect, that some breach of physical continuity is, in view of the accompanying physical disasters, an almost necessary inference of reason.

THIS MAY HAVE OCCURRED BETWEEN 8 AND 10000 B. C.

As we have an approximate knowledge of the beginnings of the New Stone Age, we can fix the calamity for the 8th. or 9th. millenium before Christ, though this can lay no claim to historical exactitude.

THE NEOLITHIC CULTURE SPREAD FROM THE EAST

In the subsequent repopulation of Eurasia everything points to a near-eastern center. Neolithic man certainly entered Europe from the East or South, and the distribution of the early Flenusian industry shows that it followed in the wake of the proto-Caucasian peoples,—Aryan, Semitic, Hamitic, or Egyptian, as the case may be. This is good evidence that Western Asia is the cradle of the New Stone culture, and it is from this region precisely that the story of the surviving few comes to us in its most vivid and authentic form. We have but to picture some early Semitic or Sumerian settlers constructing a huge craft and replenishing it with a few only of the more recently domesticated animals, and the miracle is accomplished,—the higher life of the world, whether faunal or human, has been handed down. Is this story so incredible because it is reasonable, because in the midst of a drowning world it represents one of the few possible means of escape?

THE TRADITION LEAVES WIDE ROOM FOR OTHER SURVIVALS

If then the story be taken at its face value, it will be seen that it embodies more than a solar myth, as some have supposed, but that it is founded on definite geological and ethnical facts which admit of fairly precise statement. Indeed it fits the cultural and physical data better than any other. And when it is remembered that it gives no *ex professo* account of all or even the principal visitations of heaven in other quarters, the most important objection to its historical truth will have been removed.¹⁵

¹⁵ A successive destruction and restoration of life appears to be universally demanded. Geology is full of cataclysms.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This completes the constructive side of our argument. It has been worth while to enter into this subject in somewhat weary detail, because it forms such a prominent feature in nearly every mythology of man, that any account of his religious beliefs would be incomplete without it. It is almost like a second creation of the race, and as it is not without important dogmatic and moral bearings,—the “ark” being the symbol of a unique salvation—, it is, to say the least, interesting to search for its historical and physical basis. With this great central event now well focussed, we may finally group the remaining data in such a way that a definite scheme of ascending development may be revealed in the general frame-work.

OUTLINES FOR A PRE-HISTORY OF MAN

In the very earliest period of man there is a comparative quiet, there is little in the way of startling events, whether physical or moral, to disturb his peace. Except for the recollection of a paradise lost, accompanied by the thunder and lightning of the Almighty, he speaks of an age of comparative innocence and is still living in part on the primitive level. Rising in the “Isles of the Blessed” in the distant ocean, we can see him leading the simple life of our first parents, gathering the first-fruits of the earth, and drifting from isle to isle, from continent to continent. On his rafts or tree-floats he takes the leading oceanic currents and is carried to India and Tasmania, to Madagascar and Patagonia, then part of the sinking continent, the lost Lemuria. As yet he has not advanced beyond the family unit and he simply uses nature for what she is worth,—he is living in the Primitive or Patriarchal stage of existence.

But this romantic life is soon replaced by a more strenuous one. It is not enough to sit under shady palm-trees and enjoy the breath of heaven, there must be progress, competition, adventure. And so a clan-division for the exploitation of nature appears very early and is based upon conflicting interests,—the one occupied with the vegetable, the other with the animal world,—“Wild Yam” and “Buffalo”. In this a collision of rights is unavoidable and soon rushes into a blood-revenge which covers the aggressor with scars, the possible origin of the practice of scarification. The punishment for the crime is perhaps that “mark” of Cain, which has ever distinguished the nomadic from the pastoral life, the scarified outlaw from the painted or tattooed hunting-chief. At the same time, the sign is also a protection, the divine fugitive is forgiven, the wandering life shall continue for many centuries, to come; it will be the “Competitive Age” till the end of time. If there is one thing that speaks to us most eloquently in the inspired biblical record, it is the truly beautiful and genuinely realistic portrayal of the origin and dispersion of man under the aegis of a never-failing Providence.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

With the foundation of tribal communities and village-life the preceding nomadism is somewhat modified, (Communal and Constructive Age). Definite groups of peoples begin to assert themselves and to form leaf-hut settlements presided over by a graduated system of ruling chiefs. On this social level humanity remains for indefinite periods, but in the mean time there is a growing expansion of the tribal into the national life with a corresponding differentiation of offices and organisation of cults, (Colonial Age).

Still later we note the rise of philosophy and the higher arts. These, at first modest, develop into the gigantic totem-system and the highly evolved Magdalenian industry. (Theosophical and Industrial Age). Man now advances by leaps and bounds, he controls sun, moon, and stars by his magic, and the primitive clan-groups have developed into the enormous class-phratries,—“Eagle-Hawk” and “Crow”. Concomitantly his center of gravity has shifted more and more to the West, it is India and finally Mesopotamia that becomes his rallying-point. But the first breezes of the impending storm are beginning to be felt. The divine anger, already experienced in many previous “rains of fire and water”, now again bursts upon the world and drowns a sin-laden humanity in its purgatorial waves,—the end of the world has surely come!

But not yet. The wise man of peace and providence has saved his race from the impending doom and reseeded the earth with a new humanity. He descends into the plain, builds his tower, and would now once more approach the heaven of heavens by a flight of steps. But the divine purpose is different, his plan is again frustrated, his language confused. He is to carry the message of faith to the ends of the earth, not to shut himself up in a fortress. And so he follows the divine summons and gives birth to the great classic nations of antiquity, the future rulers of the world. This is the last or the “Heroic Age”, which is to continue for 64000 Babylonian years!

Now in reviewing this material, we cannot but be impressed by its moral lessons and its pedagogic value. It shows that from the very dawn of human history man has never been without the consciousness of a higher destiny, of a “divinity that shapes his ends”. He has been trained from infancy to youth and manhood by a series of providential visitations, in which virtue is rewarded and vice punished by notorious individual and national examples. The pre-history of man is still to be written, but the preceding may serve as a first attempt to interpret the more recent scientific data in the light of their more promising evidence.

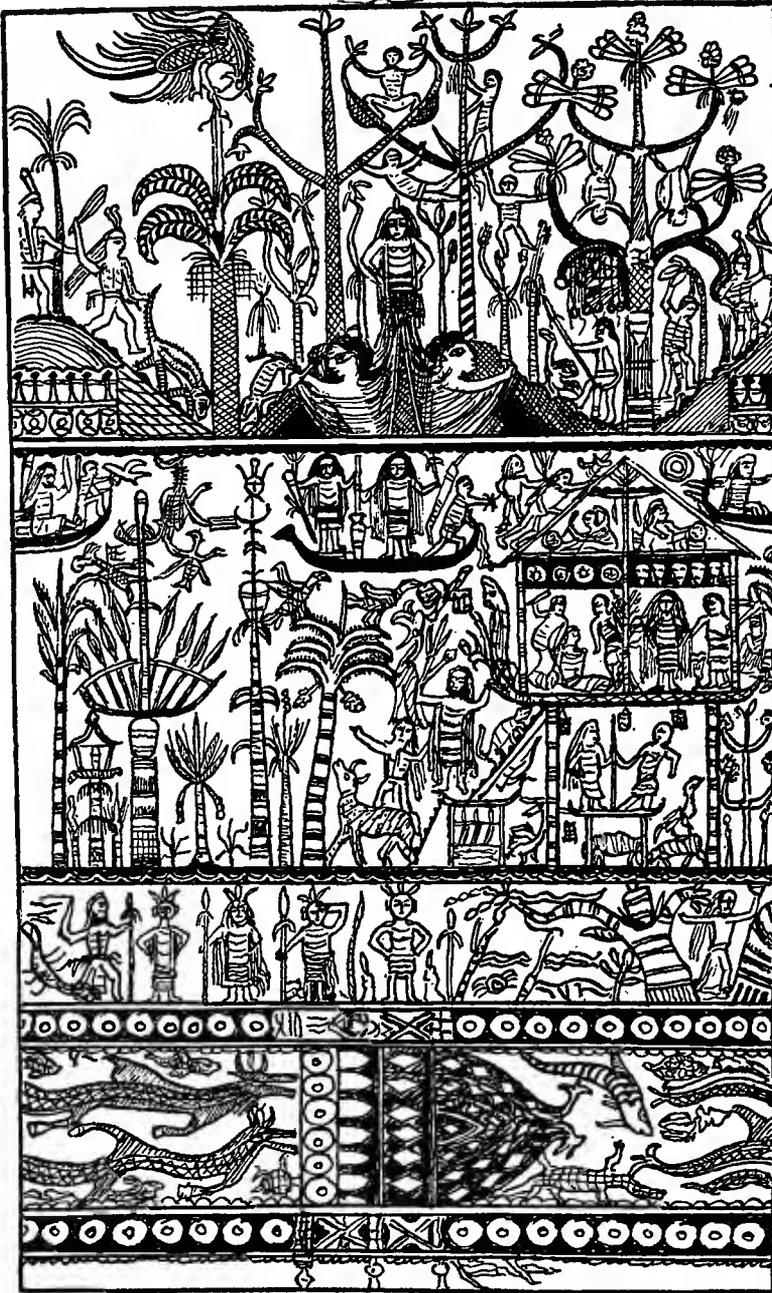
CHAPTER THE SEVENTH
DE DEO CONSUMMATORE
IN TERMINO

The Doctrine of Eternal Retribution and the Future Life

THE SAVAGE PICTURE OF THE FUTURE LIFE

BEING A DAYAK BURIAL-BAMBOO, REPRESENTING MYTHOLOGICAL SCENES IN THE SPIRIT-WORLD, BORNEO

LOWER PANEL: THE UNDERWORLD, WITH SERPENTS, FISHES AND CROCODILES
MIDDLE PANEL: THE PRESENT WORLD, SOUL-BOATS DESPATCHING THE DEAD
UPPER PANEL: THE FUTURE WORLD, SOUL-TREES GIVING BIRTH TO A NEW CREATION



ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF THE IMPERIAL ETHNOLOGICAL MUSEUM OF LEYDEN, NETHERLANDS. FACSIMILE REPRODUCTION MADE FROM THE COPY FURNISHED BY ROLAND B. DIXON, OCEANIC MYTHOLOGY, (BOSTON, 1917), PL. XVIII

We are nearing the end of our present treatise. We have seen that life and death, survival and destruction, are the normal means by which humanity is spurred to virtue and deterred from vice. Even the daring hero and the man of exploits will suffer many pains, if it leads to final triumph, the assurance of a lasting happiness. But if success and failure are largely conditioned by the moral struggle or the psychic force that is put into human action, it is no less evident that the converse of this proposition is not always true, that some of the most far-seeing reforms and greatest blessings that have ever accrued to humanity have been instituted by physical and social failures, men that have died, that humanity might live. In other words, it is the martyr,—whether as priest, soldier, or saint—, that gives the saving-clause to the Darwinian system, which forces us to conclude that the survival of the physically fit is no test of intrinsic moral value unless accompanied by fidelity to a higher supernatural norm of conduct. It is only among the few, the sainted kings, emperors, and pontiffs, that a poverty of spirit can be combined with a world-conquest, and this is sufficient to show that the case is exceptional, beyond the reach of the average.

Moreover, it is essential to the demands of divine justice as such that the complete sanctions to the moral law should be placed in another existence, one in which the individual shall be assessed at his true value, and be rewarded or punished according to intrinsic merit. This is the doctrine of Eternal Retribution, and it forms as it were the complement, or rather the corrective, to the temporal dispensation, it is the means by which the good and the evil are finally sorted out.

The four last things are commonly described as Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. These are so closely related that they can be treated under one head, though the subject of death admits of an external aspect in the shape of the funeral,—for which see "Sacrifice". But our present purpose is a more specific one. It concerns the primitive aspect of the Hereafter with special reference to three very important considerations:—

(1) The question of Purgatory as an intermediate state of chastisement.

(2) The doctrine of Physical Resurrection, and its relation to transmigration, reincarnation, and other forms of bodily survival.

(3) The relation of pre-Christian beatitude to the doctrine of the Beatific Vision of God in Heaven.

As to the first subject, that of a moral cleansing in a world "between", it can surely be no matter of indifference to feel that for the vast majority of the human race moral aberrations are not always sufficiently wilful to merit a castigation by unending fire, an eternal hell. The child of defective upbringing, the family of unhealthy surroundings, the unfortunate of misguided ancestry, the victim of mental debility, of constitutional abnormality,—all these are types of mankind, whose failings, though materially great, are "formally" small, it is a question how far they are culpable. Even the man of normal habits may be under the influence of a physical stimulus over which he has for the time no control. But if science herself points to a semi-imputability in many cases that are apparently grave, it will stand to reason that heaven and hell are too far apart to receive them,—they must be saved,—"yet so as by fire".

As to the second question, it is a subject over which mankind at large cannot fail to be curious. The appearance of the risen body at the last day, with its mysterious praeternatural qualities, this is enough to keep any psychologist busy for the rest of his life, and it will be correspondingly important to know how far this is a part of the prehistoric traditions of man, how far it is supported by the common persuasions of humanity. Even if vague or adumbrative, it will tend to support the universal hope.

But apart from these technical considerations, the whole subject of the future life abounds with absorbing interest. What will be my fate after death? What shall I see? What shall I do? Wherewith all shall I be occupied? These questions are sometimes more pedantic than edifying, we are apt to forget that the principal object of beatitude is after all the Divine Being Himself. But the revealed matter on this subject being by comparison small and confined to the barest essentials, it can do no harm to discover how the universal pulse of humanity has felt on this matter from time immemorial, how it has pictured the paradise of the blest. If it can be shown that primitive man has thought on this subject in all its essentials as we do,—minus of course the full supernatural beatitude—, it will be one more proof that the initial deposit of faith has not been entirely lost, that there has been some continuity in the revelation of God to man. How far this has been the case, it will be the object of the following pages to investigate.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

The literature on this subject being rather copious, it will be impossible to more than outline the chief characteristics of each period of belief with a view of bringing out the principal points of controversy. Let us collect as much matter as conveniently possible, and see to what conclusions the data will seem to lead us.

(A) THE ABORIGINES OF MALAKKA

As we have direct testimony that the Semang-Sakai traditions form in all essentials a unit, we may take the following as representative of the earliest layer of beliefs in this part of the continent.¹

All souls, whether of man or beast, go straight to the Thunder-God, (Kari-Peng), to receive their sentence. Good souls proceed to the region of sunset, but the entrance both to Paradise and Purgatory are close together.

Purgatory itself is a vast cavern, shut in by rocks, in the mountain-chain which forms the world's end. Good souls pass these ramparts of rock and reach the other side of the world, where they dwell with the wind-spirits, the servants of *Kari*. The ruler of Purgatory is a huge black being, called *Kamoj*, who beats wicked souls as they wander, cold, hungry, and thirsty, with a heavy club.

The doorkeeper of Paradise is a gigantic being like themselves. His duty is to prevent the souls of other races from entering their own heaven. By his side there is a beast of immense strength, which keeps out the souls of tigers, another which keeps out the souls of wicked men, and a third which keeps out of the souls of snakes and scorpions. There are also two other giants, armed with bamboo spears, and these keep watch over the lightning-conducting flowers that belong to the Thunder-God.

A SAVAGE PICTURE OF THE FUTURE LIFE

"In Paradise the souls eat fruits alone, and the children's souls are able to move about unmolested. *All souls are visible to each other, though invisible to mortal eyes. They do not change, nor do they marry, but remain for ever in Paradise, and never return to earth again. The bodies of the dead do not rise again.* The souls of innocuous beasts go after death to a place near Paradise, but the souls of tigers, snakes, and scorpions go to Purgatory, where they torture and feed upon the souls of the damned. Some say, however, that they join the other animals in a harmless life, where they feed upon fruits and plants and do no injury to man. Only the scorpions and serpents frighten the souls of man, but cannot hurt them."

¹ In the main the report of H. Vaughan-Stevens, to be found in Skeat, *Pagan Races*, Vol. II, pp. 209, 218. Note:—The terms "heaven," "hell" and "purgatory" must of course be understood in their prehistoric and qualified sense throughout this portion of our work.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

PURGATORY AND THE PARADISE-BRIDGE

According to Skeat, "all three races have versions of the widely-spread tradition of the Paradise-Bridge, which leads across a boiling lake into which the souls of the wicked are precipitated. There are separate hells for various races of mankind, and yet others for animals and snakes". This agrees in the main with the preceding account.

AN ORDEAL BY FIRE AND WATER

After death, the Sakai say that Granny Lanyut, or the "Queen of Hell", washes their sin-blackened souls in hot water. All men's souls must be purified, and after death they proceed to the infernal regions, where they are washed by the queen-mother. She then makes them walk along the horizontal edge of a monstrous chopper, which stretches over a big vessel where water is kept at boiling-point. Bad souls fall in, good ones escape and proceed to the Island of Fruit-trees. Here they wait till *Peng* sends them a friend of the same sex to show them the way to the "Husks of the Clouds".²

PLACES OF PUNISHMENT DIFFER IN DURATION BUT NOT IN NATURE

From this it is evident that the same boiling waters serve the purpose of purification as well as of permanent punishment. The "bad souls that fall in" are contrasted with the "good ones that escape", and as all have to be purified, it follows that some are punished perpetually.

A PRELIMINARY ESTIMATE

Now the value of these interesting data is already apparent. So far from finding a vague and nebulous idea of the life to come, it is on the contrary a well-rounded and clear-cut picture of a swift and decisive judgment, followed by an equally swift retribution. The passing of the soul through the boiling waters is a clear hint at purgation, while its arrival before the judgment-seat of the Almighty presupposes a purification from sin. This and the doctrine of future recognition in an unchanging, non-marrying, fruit-eating Paradise, shared even by the infant and the animal world, is in fact inspiring, though there is absolutely no hint at seeing the Sky-Father "face to face",—it is a purely naturalistic recompense.

NO DOCTRINE OF METEMPSYCHOSIS

Again, though "the bodies of the dead do not rise again", the soul is luminous, red, and praeternaturally visible, something like "astral body", the Malayan *semangat*, "shaped like themselves". Moreover, if the penglima has the power of jumping into the tiger after death, the metempsychosis is only temporary, as it is a firm persuasion that, once in the garden of fruits, they "never return to the earth".³

² Skeat, II. 239. ³ Comp. Skeat, II. 191, 194, where the instances are given.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

(B, 1) THE ANDAMANESE

But if the preceding account be suspected of an infiltration from Malayan sources,—which, as we have seen, is now very difficult to maintain—, a comparison with the Andamanese traditions, which are so strikingly similar, will make it increasingly probable that the ideas are native.

THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE END OF THE WORLD

On the testimony of Mr. Man we have received the following vivid account of what the natives profess to believe on this subject:—⁴

“The future life will be but a repetition of the present, but all will then remain in the prime of life, sickness and death will be unknown, and there will be no more marrying and giving in marriage. The animals, birds and fish will also reappear in the new world in their present form”.

“This blissful state will be inaugurated by the great earth-quake, which according to *Puluga’s* command will break the paradise-bridge and cause the earth to turn over. All alive at the time will perish, exchanging places with their deceased ancestors”.

ANOTHER PURGATORY WITH A PARADISE-BRIDGE

“Between the earth and the eastern sky there stretches an invisible cane-bridge, which steadies the former and connects it with paradise. Over this bridge the souls of the departed pass into paradise or to a place which is situated below it, which might be described as a purgatory, for it is a *place of punishment for those who have been guilty of heinous sins, such as murder*. Like Dante they depict it as very cold(!) and therefore a most undesirable region for mortals to inhabit”.

HADES AND THE RESURRECTION

“Hades is a gloomy jungle under the earth, and it is hither that the spirits of the departed are sent by *Puluga to await the resurrection*”(1)

ANDAMANESE THEORY OF THE SOUL

Man is made up of body, soul, and spirit. The color of the soul is said to be red, and that of a spirit black, and though invisible to human eyes it partakes of the form of the person to whom it belongs.

It will be seen that this is in the main the Malakkan system over again, there is a direct judgment by a personal Thunder-God, and his ultimate enjoyment in the Garden of Fruits. The only differences concern the uncertain nature of hell and purgatory as distinct punishments, the three-fold constitution of man, and the more explicit teaching on the supposed “resurrection” of the body(?).

⁴ Man, Andaman Islands, pp. 93-95.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

(B, 2) THE VEDDAS OF CEYLON

With all the doubts that were formerly expressed on the nature of the Vedda religion and its supposed ancestor-cult, the plain and obvious meaning of the reports that have been handed in require us to assume that a system of judgment and divine recompense is a part of their content.

KANDE-YAKA AS THE LORD OF THE DEAD

The following extract from Dr. Seligman should make this clear:—⁵

“Many of our informants, especially the less-sophisticated, (sic! referring to the Hennebeddas, and other wilder tribes), pointed out that *soon after death the spirit of the deceased resorted to Kande Yaka in order to obtain his permission to accept offerings from their living relatives, and to obtain power from him to assist them in return for their offerings or to injure them in the event of their bad behavior*”. This certainly seems to imply some power of judgment, of dealing with humanity on the principle of moral conduct. We have also some idea of their picture of heaven:—

THE PARADISE OF A HAPPY HUNTING-GROUND

“Thus *Kande Yaka*, who is of especial assistance in hunting, becomes Lord of the Dead. In fact *Kande Yaka*, the Spirit, scarcely differs from *Kande Wanniya*, the mighty hunter, still living and showing kindness and helpfulness towards the people among whom he lived”. If “spirit” and “hunter” are therefore identical terms, it is plain that the Vedda paradise is a happy hunting-ground, where physical and moral evil are apparently unknown.

THE “COMMUNION OF SPIRITS”

In few regions is there such a strong feeling of intercommunion between living and dead: “*Salutation! Salutation! Part of our relatives having called on you, we give you white rice. You eat and drink. Do not think evil of us. We also eat and drink the same food!*” “*Our father who went to that world, come to this world, come very quickly!*” This and the absence of ghost-worship, of what is called “spiritism”, makes the Vedda faith in the hereafter a simple but dignified concept, the fate of the wicked being simply a deprivation of heavenly delights, while their purgatory consists in the soul’s “delay” before it reaches the Great Spirit.

(C) PHILIPPINE NEGRITOS

All we know of the Aeta belief is that “the spirits of all who die enter this one spirit, or Anito, who has his abiding place in the rock”. This and the “punishment of the wrong-doer” suggests at least an immediate judge. But we cannot make any positive statements in default of exact data.⁶

⁵ Seligman, *Veddas*, 131-132, 275-276. ⁶ Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 65.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

(D) THE DAYAKS OF BORNEO

From what can be known of the Ukits, Punans, or Bakatans, it appears that they "reverence the supreme Being as the Kenyas do, and have similar ideas with regard to the soul of man and its behavior and destination after death". As we are fairly well acquainted with the beliefs of the surrounding tribesmen, the following will represent the picture for the Dayaks in general.

THE ARRIVAL IN BORDERLAND

"In the borderland, says the Dayak, between this world and the next, is situated the house of the bird, *bubut*, a bird here and a spirit there, covering his identity in human form. (Compare the omen-bird of the Kayans). Every human spirit in the extremity of sickness comes to this place. If it goes up into the house, by the influence of the bird, it returns to the body which thereupon recovers, but if it avoids the house, then it is well on its way to the other world".

THE BRIDGE OF FEAR AND THE HILL OF FIRE

"There is, however, another chance for it at the 'Bridge of Fear', a see-saw bridge stretching across the Styx, and difficult to pass over. If the soul makes the passage successfully, it is gone past recovery, if it falls into the water, the cold bath wakes it up to a sense of its real position" (!).

"After this the soul has to pass the 'Hill of Fire'. Evil souls are compelled to go straight over the hill with scorching fire on every side, which nearly consumes them, but good ones are led by an easy path round the foot and so escape the pain and the danger".

THE PALACE OF ETERNAL DELIGHTS

The Kayans know of at least five different stages in the world to come, corresponding to underworld, earth, souls, spirits, and supreme spirit, the latter described as "Our High Father", *Amei Tingei*, an intensitive of *Ama*, *Amaka*, etc. This being is an all-knowing and severe judge, who punishes the violations of the moral law, known as *Adat*, by consigning the culprit to one or other of the lower regions. On the other hand, to those who are good and obey his laws, he promises a "great abundance of rice and delicious fruits". This is the *Apu Lagan*, or spirit-heaven above the clouds, where there is no sickness or death, and where he rules with the *antus*, his spirit-messengers, over the whole creation. This is the last and highest stage of beatitude, in which the awakened soul or *bruwa* rises to the splendors of an apparently timeless existence,—it is *Amaka's* Palace of Eternal Delights, the place where he feeds his children with his enchanted fruits.

⁷ Materials in Hose, J. A. I. XXXI. p. 195. Perham, in Ling-Roth, Borneo, I. 210ff. Nieuwenhuis, Quer durch Borneo, I. pp. 96-103.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

THE SEMANGAT IS EVIDENTLY AN "ASTRAL BODY"

From the description of the life to come and the nature of the *bruwa*, or disembodied soul, it is evident that the latter assumes an external shape, it is a rarified or diaphanous body, not a pure spirit or *antu*. The eating and drinking in the enchanted forest reveals its physical character.

THE ABOVE DATA GIVE THE LIE TO METEMPSYCHOSIS

Moreover it is certain from the above authentic accounts that a conversion into lower animals cannot be considered the primitive belief. At most there is a short residence in the "soul-bird" or the popular "hawk", but no permanent migration into worms or caterpillars. On the contrary, the passage of the bridge of fear or the hill of fire, is clearly of the nature of a purgatory, which leads either to a consuming hell of torment, or an unending heaven of happiness. The analogy with the preceding beliefs is again apparent.

(E) THE PAPUANS AND MELANESIANS

We have abundant illustrations of the same fundamental notions among the Papuan populations of the eastern archipelago. Both the Aru-Islanders and the inhabitants of New Guinea have a vivid belief in a judgment to come, followed by a swift reward or punishment, sometimes in strikingly biblical terms. Even the Mafulu have "no idea of reincarnation, or of the ghost passing into any animal or plant", which confirms our previous findings.⁹

As to the Melanesian peoples of the Banks Islands, it is not surprising that the worship of the *vui*, or ghost-double, should have transformed what was once the heaven above into a dismal and disagreeable cavern under the earth.

PANOI, OR THE MELANESIAN HADES

"The ghost, when it leaves its former dwelling-place, makes its way to Panoi, to which there are many entrances in various islands, some underground and unknown, some well known, as the volcanic vents on the burning hills".

"The true Panoi is a good place, and there is a bad place besides which is sometimes meant when the word Panoi is used. This division is very important, namely, that there are some ghosts who enter Panoi, and some who are not allowed to enter, these last being of bad character", etc.

Dr. Codrington emphasises this point as "showing the native notions of right and wrong so often denied to them", for the bad are those who steal, lie, murder, or commit adultery. These wander back to the earth, homeless, malignant, pitiable. But although a moral judgment is here implied, it is clear that the intrusions of spiritism have destroyed its personal and permanent character.⁹

⁹ Williamson, *The Mafulu*, p. 266. ⁹ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 273ff.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

(F) THE EARLY AUSTRALIANS

More vivid again are the reports that reach us from the Australian region. These are extremely numerous, but the following may serve as a typical example of a belief which is fairly widespread.¹⁰

THE MOUNTAIN OF JUDGMENT

"On emerging from the grave the spirit finds the spirits of his dead relations waiting to go with him to *Ub-Ubi*, that is, the sacred mountain whose top towers into the sky, nearly touching *Bullimah*. The new spirit recognises his relations at once",—that is, those who had gone before.

ONCE MORE A PARADISE-BRIDGE

"At the top of *Ubi-Ubi* he finds certain spirits whose business it is to bridge over the distance a spirit has to traverse between the top of the mountain and *Bullimah*, the great *Baiame's* sky-camp. One of these spirits seizes him and hoists him on to his shoulders, then comes another and hoists the first, and so on, until the one holding the spirit can lift him into *Bullimah*". The natives then say, "a spirit has entered *Bullimah!*"

HELL AS REINCARNATION

"*Baiame* is entreated to let the dead enter *Bullimah*, as he had kept the tribal laws, (*Boorah*), that is, of course, if he had been initiated. *The spirits of the uninitiated wander until they are reincarnated and never enter Bullimah*". But this can hardly apply to women and infants, whom we know from other sources to be capable of a better fate.

BAIAME'S THRONE OF TRANSPARENT CRYSTAL

"*Baiame* dwells in the north-east in a heaven of beautiful appearance. He is represented as seated on a throne of transparent crystal, with beautiful pillars of crystal on each side. *Gregorally* is his son, who watches over the actions of mankind, and leads the souls of the dead to *Baiame*".

PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD IMPLY INTER-COMMUNION

"*Baiame* still exists", says Mrs. Parker. "I have been told by an old native that prayers for the souls of the dead used to be addressed to *Baiame* at funerals,—certainly not a practice derived from Protestant missionaries" (sic).

This is about as vivid a picture as we could desire of a realistic retribution in the world to come. The souls passage of the "great gulf" is evidently a kind of purgatory, while the fate of the damned shows that reincarnation is a punishment, not a normal destiny. On the contrary, the blessed see or live with *Baiame* for ever, they do not return.

¹⁰ Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, pp. 8, 89, 90. Howitt, *South-East Australia*, pp. 501-502ff. where further examples are given.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

(G) CENTRAL AFRICAN NEGRILLOS

A wholesome fear of divine judgment and of the moral consequences of human action is nowhere more pronounced than in the heart of "darkest Africa". A few illustrations will show the negrillo feeling on this subject.¹¹

WAKA AS AN EXACTING JUDGE

"Seen *Waka?*" "Who could ever see *Waka?*" "But He sees us without difficulty. Sometimes He descends into our camps, and makes one of us die. Then we place him deep into the earth, him whom He has deprived of life, and the rest of us go away at some distance. *For it is dangerous to rest under the eye of God!*" But more than this, a threefold destiny seems to be implied.

THREE DISTINCT STATES?

"Listen, when one of us comes to die, his shadow descends into the earth and plunges deeper and deeper—(purgatory). Then it lifts itself by degrees, and rises higher and higher, up to God. If the man has been good, God says to him: 'Stay here, you will have grand forests and lack nothing'—(heaven)—But if the man has been bad, if he has stolen the wives of others, if he has committed murder, or poisoned his fellow man, God throws this pest into the fire—(hell)—But where is this fire?—It is above(!)". Though the location of these places is somewhat confused, this ignorance is redeemed by the remark: "You whites ought to know more about this".

PERHAPS THE FUTURE LIFE MAY BE SHARED BY THE BODY

Although there is no explicit statement to that effect, the description of the heavenly "forests" recalls the old hunting-theme of the east, and suggests that the heavenly and earthly life are duplicates. Moreover the power of invisibility, agility, and so on, that they claim to derive from certain herbs, may well be applied to the "risen body" as a glorified substance; they believe that some day they will "pass through doors."

(H) THE BUSHMAN BELIEFS

"*Death is but a sleep!*"—so runs the Bushman proverb, and indeed their wretched existence in the Kalahari desert is enough to make most of them dream of a better state. This ideal of happiness is again to be found in the enchanted "bush", where *Kaang*, the "Lord", gives them both hands full. Nor can it be obtained without a moral probation or judgment. For *Kaang* "causes to live, and causes to die", and to those who disobey his laws, he banishes to a "mysterious region under the water". All this sounds like a severe judgment, as does the banishment of the wicked to live off scorpions! But the growing degeneracy of these people requires a more terrible sanction.¹²

¹¹ LeRoy, *Les Pygmées*, pp. 176, 180, 188ff. ¹² Stow, *South Africa*, p. 117, 133ff.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

(K, L) THE AMAZONIAN AND FUEGIAN PRIMITIVES

Passing over to the South-American continent, it is again necessary to distinguish the earlier from the later strata of beliefs, and not to confuse the simple impressions of the wild forest-folk with the elaborate astronomical ideas of the highland races.¹³

It is still too early to speak with any confidence on the higher Botokudo beliefs, though a personal survival after death seems to be a very general conviction. Nay more there are indications of impending judgment.

AN ORDEAL IS EXPECTED

Whatever be the significance of the arrow-shooting into the air, accompanied by occasional laceration and prayers to the "angry Master" for protection, it points to a fear of future retribution, of falling into the hands of a scrutinising soul-searcher. This and the custom of religious interment favor the view that they regard the future life as realistic.

THE PARADISE OF THE ANCESTORS

A more definite concept is found among the Bakairi and other Shingutribes. Here we have the explicit statement that "the good go to the paradise of the ancestors", over which Kamushini rules as the "grandfather" of the human race. This is evidently a glorious place, resplendent with light and happiness, and here the Sun-Father feeds them with all manner of fruits, and produces life by cutting human beings out of trees and arrows!

A SUDDEN CHANGE OF CLIMATE

This might have been the fate of mankind in general; but in the transformation-scene which follows, heaven and earth were separated by a rebellion of the inhabitants, and from that time on the gates of heaven have been closed to all but the heroic few, while the great majority are doomed to roam the earth or the underworld as a penance for their sins.

THE FATE OF THE OBDURATE

For those, however, who wilfully outrage the laws of heaven by flagrant crimes,—murder, adultery, contemptuous blasphemy, etc.—there is a special place of punishment, where they are gnawed upon by ferocious animals and torn to pieces by wild beasts,—a sufficient deterrent from a life of sin.

Among the Yivaros of the Andean slopes we find very similar impressions, there are strong warnings. The good go to *Tungura*, the abode of *Iguanchi-Pillan*, the thunder-god, while the wicked are destroyed by fire and water, or devoured by scorpions. Here, however, the moral element is not so pronounced.

¹³ Ehrenreich, *Über die Botokudos*, in *Zeit. Ethn.* 1887, p. 34-35. Von den Steinen, op. cit. p. 348ff. Rivet, *Les Indiens Yivaros*, *Anthropologie*, XIX. pp. 235-256.

THE PRIMITIVE NOTIONS

RELIGIOUS IMPRESSIONS AMONG THE FUEGIAN PEOPLES

From what we have seen in the former chapters it will be admitted that anything like a decisive verdict on the subject of Fuegian religious convictions is beyond our reach. All we can expect is a greater or less evidence in favor of this or that tendency of belief, with an occasional assurance that some important point may be regarded as well established. This concerns the subject of immortality as much as any other.¹⁴

A YAHGAN THEORY OF THE BREATH OF LIFE

The following represents one of the Yahgan convictions in this matter:—"He thinks, when a man dies, his breath goes up to heaven, but for what, he has no notion. He denies the upward ascent of breath to other animals. He supposes the sun and moon, male and female, to be very old indeed, and that some old man, who knew their maker, had died without leaving information on this subject. Hence the ignorance of the present generation".

This apparently trifling story reveals at least that a higher or "heavenly" destiny is within the reach of man, and that if he does not know the nature of this destiny, some remote ancestor was perhaps in possession of the secret.

THE DELIGHTFUL FOREST OF THE ALACALUFS

But if an essential connexion between ethics and immortality is difficult to prove, there is no lack of inducements to work for a happy future. Among the Alacalufs at least "the good go to a delightful forest", and this is sufficient evidence that a life of virtue does not go unrewarded.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF THE WICKED

On the other hand judgment is just as severe in the other direction:—"The wicked go to a deep well, where they cannot escape." We see, therefore, that the main outlines of this picture are after all common to all primitive peoples. There is a strong hell corresponding to a no less realistic heaven, while the vagueness of the frontiers leaves room for an intermediate state, though of this we have in the present case no direct evidence.

NO RETURN TO THE ANIMALS

Only among one section of the islanders, those that go by the name of Onas, has the doctrine of metempsychosis been reported to exist. This is rather surprising in view of its general absence among the allied groups; but the higher state of the Ona culture points perhaps to remote Patagonian influences.

¹ Rev. J. M. Cooper, D.D., *Analytical Bibliography of the Tribes of Tierra del Fuego and adjacent islands*. Bulletin 63 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. (Washington, 1917), p. 148ff. The first of these reports, on the Yahgans, comes to us on excellent authority, as does that on the Onas. For the Alacalufs the material is not so firmly substantiated and there appears to be some doubt about their views of the hereafter.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

(M, 1) THE KOLARIAN ABORIGINES OF CENTRAL INDIA

So far we have met with conceptions of a future state which all exhibit a marked similarity of structure. Whatever minor differences they may reveal in the external symbolism by which the future life is described, they are unanimous in picturing that life as a *permanent deliverance* from nature,—it may be similar to our present existence, but it is either very much better or incalculably worse, even the hypothetical “limbo” presupposing a place of punishment far removed from earthly conditions.

THE BEGINNINGS OF A DOCTRINE OF TRANSMIGRATION

By degrees, however, the idea of distinct and permanent states begins to grow dim, and there is a feeling that nature herself contains the secret of reward and punishment, that she is the supreme mistress of the fate of mankind. This idea does not rush upon the stage of human thought in its full maturity, but gradually insinuates itself into the old theology and transforms the preceding “heavens and hells” into reappearances in nature under higher or lower forms, the essence of the doctrine of transmigration.

THE MUNDA CONCEPT OF THE FUTURE LIFE

To judge from the explicit statements of a very trusted authority on the Mundari beliefs in this matter, Dr. Roy, the following represents the genuine conviction of the tribes of Chota Nagpur, India:—¹⁵

“According to the good or bad life led by a man during his present life, *he will be sent back to the world by Sin-Bonga, (the Sun-god), either as a man or as a beast, as a bird or as an insect.* On death, the *roa*, or soul, is carried away by the *Jom Raja*, (or devouring king), the god of death, to his abode in the south, (sic). Such is the Munda’s idea of rebirth, which is yet in a rudimentary stage, and not half so elaborately worked out as by his Hindoo neighbors”. This testimony is of considerable value, not only because it bears witness to the actual existence of the belief, but because it implies its independence from Hindoo sources.

IS THERE A GENETIC RELATION BETWEEN MAN AND TOTEM?

And this leads us to the important question as to how far the soul is identical with the totem-ancestor and shares the fate of its natural vicissitudes. If “man” and “earth” are identical terms, it will follow that the human species is no better than the grass that withereth, it is indeed a “variable” term. And this, as we shall presently see, is a very general conviction among all those peoples who have confused the God of Heaven with their phantastic “guardians.”

¹⁵ Materials in S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their country.* (Calcutta, 1912), p. 417ff. Compare also Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II. pp. 284-318, for the Munda and Oraon totem-groups and their relation to the Santals, Khonds, and other Dravidian organisations, especially on the question of totemic affinities.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

In a recent article from the pen of Father Schmidt, the Rev. author apparently makes out that the Mundas do not believe in the identity of a man with his totem, but rather in a close or parallel relation which is founded on some common ancestor in the remote past.¹⁶ This is no doubt very possible and may indeed have been the original idea. But taking the above report as it stands and the additional findings of Roy and Frazer, it appears difficult to hold that this is actually and universally the case.¹⁷

A MAN DESCENDS FROM HIS TOTEM INTO WHICH HE RETURNS

According to Roy, "all the members of the same *kili*, or sept, are descended from one common ancestor", and "so great is the Munda's respect for his totem that he will not, if he can, allow his totem to be eaten even by men of other castes, in his presence". This and the tribal nomenclature suggests at least that totem and ancestor were originally one and the same thing. Again, speaking of the Oraons, their neighbors, Frazer makes the following characteristic remark:—"In regard to the totems generally, Mr. Hahn tells us that they are held sacred in some way or other, and that the respect shown to them is regarded as homage paid to ancestors. Hence it would seem that the Oraons, like many other totemic peoples, conceive themselves to be descended from their totems". If then a genetic relation is insinuated by these beliefs and practices, it is rendered increasingly certain by the fact that the dead return to the totem or are so closely connected with them as to reappear on earth under the vegetable or animal form.

THE SURVIVAL OF PERSONALITY?

Now, it is a fact that, in spite of a possible transmigration, the dead are addressed, treated, and fed, as if they were disembodied spirits, they are still in existence as persons. This is simple enough when the dead return eventually as human beings, and are simply hovering around to await the hour of reincarnation, of resurrection to a higher and better life. In this case the totem is "torch-bearer", or a similar title indicative of hope, bright prospects. But when the deceased are forced to reappear as tigers, crocodiles, snakes, wild cats, or sweet potatoes, we are confronting a difficult problem in psychology. As these are all punitive states, they are indeed appropriate enough; but we must assume, either that conscious personality is entirely lost in the process, or, if it survives, that the unnatural union of the rational and animal soul is so painful as to constitute a real torment. For the present we must leave this question undecided.

¹⁶ See *Anthropos*, VIII. (1913), p. 273. ¹⁷ Roy, 1. c. 400, 406. Frazer, II. 290.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

(M, 2) BANTU OR EAST-AFRICAN PHASE

The preceding beliefs might appear at first sight incredible; it seems impossible that man as a rational being could have harbored such thoughts. But that they are neither legendary nor in any sense exceptional is shown by the very wide distribution which they have enjoyed and still enjoy over a large part of the earth's surface. The proof that the natives really mean what they say when they talk of "grandfather hippopotamus" is furnished by an abundance of data from four continents, which makes a poetical or symbolical interpretation very difficult to maintain.

To take an illustration from the more advanced African peoples, it will be seen that this idea of assuming an entirely alien species is realistic in the extreme, it represents in fact the normal destiny of humanity. Let us allow a few of the East-African tribes to speak for themselves.¹⁸

MIGRATION INTO THE HYAENA

"The Nandi expose the bodies of their dead near their huts, in order that they may be eaten by the hyaenas. Hence, naturally enough, the Nandi imagine that hyaenas hold communication with the spirits of the dead and can talk like human beings." To imitate the cry of the hyaena means banishment from the tribe or disgrace for life, followed by propitiations.

"The same association with the dead probably explains the widespread veneration in which the hyaena is held by the Wanyika of East Africa. We are told that the greatest funeral ceremonies held by the Wanyika are those which they get up on the death of the hyaenas. They regard the animal with the most singular superstition. *They look upon it as one of their ancestors, or in some way associated with their origin and destiny.* The death of the hyaena is the occasion of universal mourning".

From this it is sufficiently clear that as most of these peoples come from the hyaena, they normally go back to the same. They allow themselves to be eaten by the animal in order to share its mysterious powers.

REINCARNATION IN OTHER FORMS

"The great majority of the tribes of the interior have now lost the ancient belief, but they still hold in veneration the animal that their ancestors regarded as a possible embodied spirit. Thus the Bakwena are crocodiles, the Bataung lions, the Baphuti little blue antelopes". "The Bantus believed that the spirits of the dead visited their friends and descendants in the form of animals",—there are numerous examples in which this extraordinary belief is directly attested.

¹⁸ Examples from Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. II. pp. 441-443, 389ff.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

"The Zulus and other Kaffir tribes believe the dead to be reincarnated in serpents—the Banyai on the lower Zambesi think that the souls of their chiefs enter into lions and hyaenas, and therefore never kill these creatures, so that the country swarms with them. When they meet a lion or hyaena they salute it in their customary fashion by clapping their hands. (!)—The Barotse, a people akin to the Zulus, imagine that the souls of chiefs transmigrate into hippopotamuses", and so on.

A SUGGESTED THEORY OF BANTU TOTEMISM

Frazer propounds a theory which he thinks will account for most of these strange phenomena, especially for the choice of the totems:—

"Some tribes on the upper Zambesi suppose that every man transmigrates at death into an animal, and that *he can choose in his lifetime the particular creature into which his soul shall pass when it has shuffled off the human frame*. In order to partake of the animal's nature, he swallows maggots bred in its putrid carcass and imitates the voice and movements of the living brute, whether it be a lion, a panther, a jackal, a crocodile, a hippopotamus, a boa-constrictor, or what not".

TRANSMIGRATION INTO ANIMALS WHICH THEY RESEMBLE

"Of certain Kaffirs we are told that they judge of the sort of animal into which a man will transmigrate at death by the *likeness which he bore to it in his life*. Thus the soul of a big burly man with prominent teeth will pass into the elephant, a strong man with a big head and a long beard will be a lion, an ugly fellow with thick lips and a large mouth will be a hyaena, a long lanky man with bright eyes will be a serpent, etc. All these animals accordingly they deem sacred and inviolable".

A REASONABLE INFERENCE

With this large array of facts it is strange that the collector of them should hesitate to attribute their evident message to the all-absorbing influence of totemism. The fact that the tribal is not always the individual totem is only to be expected, and Dr. Theal's theory of the essential connexion of totemism and metempsychosis remains, in view of the numerous cases elsewhere, an unshakeable proposition. The above data are certainly interesting, in that they reveal the intense absorption of man with the lower creation at the expense of a higher ideal, which ideal, though still to be found in parts, is to all intents and purposes obliterated. It is only the favored few that turn to *Mulungu*, the Sun-Father, for help; the great majority are too engrossed with the material world to look to the skies.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

(M, 3) ARUNTA OR CENTRAL-AUSTRALIAN PHASE

Further illustrations of the same fundamental beliefs may be found on the Australian continent. We have seen that in the most primitive part of this region, that facing Tasmania, the ideas of the life beyond are still marked by a vigorous separation of good and wicked, of the heavenly sky-camp from the place of wandering and punishment. If a metempsychosis is here and there to be found, it always wears a punitive character, it is only the wicked that are condemned to enter the bodies of brutes. Among the tribes of Central and Northern Australia, who stand socially and culturally higher, we find the same levelling-down of humanity to a uniform standard of material recompense that we have certified for Indo-Africa.¹⁹

REINCARNATION THE UNIVERSAL BELIEF

"In every tribe without exception there exists a firm belief in the reincarnation of ancestors. Emphasis must be laid on the fact that this belief is not confined to tribes such as the Arunta, Warramunga, Binbinga, Anula, and others, amongst whom descent is counted in the male line, but is found just as strongly developed in the Urabunna tribe, in which descent, both of class and totem is strictly maternal".

"DREAM-TIME" THE ORIGIN AND END OF ALL

"The origin of the first-formed human beings is ascribed to two individuals who lived in the western sky, and seeing far away to the east a mob of *inapertwa* creatures, who were the *incomplete transformations of animals and plants*, came down to earth, and with their knives released their half-formed arms and legs, cut open their mouths, bored holes for nostrils, slit the eyelids apart, and thus out the half-forms made men and women. After having circumcised the men, these individuals changed themselves into little lizards, called *amunga-quinia-quinia*". This is the Alcheringa, or Dream-time paradise of the ancestors, and these half-formed creatures are "dotted all over the Arunta country at the present day", some being associated with the kangaroo, others with the emu, others with the kakea-plant, and so on.

HOW ARE THE ANCESTORS REBORN?

"When a woman conceives, it simply means that one of these spirits has gone inside of her, and, knowing where she first became aware that she was pregnant, the child, when born, is regarded as the reincarnation of one of the ancestors associated with that spot, and therefore it belongs to that particular totemic group". Though the groups or classes may vary, the totem is unchangeable in the Arunta tribe.

¹⁹ Sources in Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 150ff.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

AN OCCASIONAL CHANGE FROM LIZARD TO GRASS-SEED

"At Alice springs, after the performance of a ceremony of the lizard totem, one of the leading men in this group told us that *he was in reality a lizard*, but was, as he said, 'close up' to a grass seed man". This was caused by the proximity of two camps belonging respectively to the two totems.

AND FROM HAKEA-FLOWER TO BANDICOOT

"Occasionally an individual was thus in the Alcheringa actually transformed from one totem to another, as in the case of an hakea-flower woman, who, by means of the performance of sacred ceremonies belonging to the bandicoot was changed into a woman of that totem". This shows that the totems are not always fixed and stable, but admit of some interchange.

A CHILD MAY CHANGE ITS SEX AT EACH REINCARNATION

The following striking paragraph is quoted by Frazer in substance:—²⁰

"A curious feature of the reincarnation theory of the Urabunna is this: They think that at each successive reincarnation the new-born child changes its sex, its class or phratry, and its totem. Thus if a Kirawa-man of the emu-totem dies, his spirit goes back to the place where it was left by the emu ancestor in the olden days. There it remains for some time, but sooner or later it is born again as a girl from the body of a Mathurie-woman, (the name of the other phratry), who of necessity belongs to another totem. They think that if a Kirawa man were reincarnated in a Kirawa woman, it would either be born prematurely and die, or would cause the death of the mother. *In the course of ages any single individual can thus by a series of rebirths run through the whole gamut of the totems, alternating from side to side (or from sex to sex) of the tribe, but always returning at death to its original home*".

A POSSIBLE RETURN TO THE EMU-SUN,—ALTJIRA

It cannot be denied that these data are in the main beyond controversy, they have been abundantly verified. At the same time, they have to be qualified to some extent by the findings of Strehlow and others on the subject of a supreme divinity. For even if *Altjira* is pictured as the sun with emu-feet, there is a tradition that the souls of the good go back to him in his heaven, while those of the wicked are devoured by evil spirits. If this report can be trusted, it shows that we must be careful not to make our conclusions too wide. Although rebirth and metempsychosis seem to be the general lot of mankind, there are occasional visions of a brighter future for the elect.²¹

²⁰ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I. 183. Spencer, 148. ²¹ See Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 126.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

(M, 4) OMAHA OR NORTH-AMERICAN PHASE

In the North-American region the general feeling on the subject of immortality is somewhat more hopeful. It is true that for the vast majority of the race heaven is too far off to be obtainable, they must still roam the earth under animal forms; but the prominence of the morning-star and the sky-wakanda is the first sign of a break in the clouds, of a consciousness that a more direct road to the "sun" is about to be opened.

A DESCENT TO THE BUFFALOS THE NORMAL DESTINY

The death-ceremonies of the Omahas abound in interesting allocutions. "The dying person, whether man or woman, was wrapped in a buffalo-robe with the hair out, and his or her face was painted with the privileged decoration, which consists of two parallel lines painted across the forehead, two on each cheek, and two under the nose, one being above the upper lip and chin. Thus arrayed and decorated the dying man or woman was addressed as follows:—"You are going to the animals, the buffalos, you are going to rejoin your ancestors. Your souls are going to the four winds. Be strong!" Another clan will address the expiring member in similar tones: "You came hither from the animals, and you are going back thither. Do not face this way again. When you go, continue walking!" (sic). "Taken in connection with the legend that these two buffalo-clans are descended from buffalos", says Frazer, "these death-ceremonies plainly point to a belief that dead members of the clans were transformed back into the ancestral animals, the buffalos",—which is indeed very evident

THE BUFFALO-DANCE ANTICIPATES THE FUTURE LIFE

Among other Dakotan tribes great importance is given to the buffalo-dance. "From ten to fifteen men, each wearing the head and horns of a buffalo, and armed with a bow or spear, would sally out into the public square, and there stamp, grunt, and bellow in imitation of buffalos till they could stamp, grunt and bellow no more. As each grew tired, he signified it by bending forward and sinking toward the ground, whereupon one of his fellows would draw his bow and hit him with a blunt arrow. The man so struck dropped down like a dead buffalo, but his place was at once supplied by another and kept up day and night until the real buffalos appeared".

Frazer calls this a case of imitative or homoeopathic magic, and inasmuch as it brings to the performer the picture of his future state, it is quite well expressed, however deplorable such a future must seem to the mind of any reasonable and normal being.

²² J. O. Dorsey, *Omaha Sociology*, 3d. Rep. B. A. E. p. 229ff. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, III. 104. ²³ Frazer, 1. c. III. 138, 140ff. giving other illustrations.

THE LATER DEVELOPMENTS

TRANSMIGRATION INTO OTHER FORMS RARE

The buffalo being the staple animal of the prairies and the chief source of sustenance, it is not remarkable that it should be the principal object of veneration, a transformation into other species being comparatively rare. This is one of the features which makes the system, as I say, more hopeful; there is not the necessity of making the whole cycle of life over again, of recommencing with the red earth, and to this extent it is more optimistic, more closely connected with human life.

AN ESTIMATE OF NORTH-AMERICAN TOTEMISM

Generally speaking, however, we are still on the same material and naturalistic level. "On the whole", says Frazer, "the Omaha traditions of descent from some of their totemic animals, the ceremonies performed at the birth and death of members of certain totemic clans, the adoption of personal names referring to the appearance or habits of the totemic animals, the wearing of the hair in imitation of the creatures, and the magical ceremonies performed for their control by the clansmen,—all point clearly to that identification of the clanspeople with their totems, which, as I have repeatedly indicated, appears to be the essence of totemism". Here the author comes very near identifying the system with metempsychosis, or at least to tracing a very close, almost essential, relation between the two.

BUT REINCARNATION IS NOT UNIVERSAL

It is also significant that the identification of man with plant or animal is not universal, but seems to be confined to this region:—
"It is all the more remarkable to discover this fundamental principle of totemism carried into practice by a single tribe of American Indians, while among the tribes which surround it on all sides, little or no trace of such identification of a man with his totem has been reported".

A POSSIBLE ASCENT TO THE SKY-WAKANDA

With this limitation in territorial extent, the parallel suggestion arises that perhaps the dwelling with the buffalos is but a prelude to a better life to come. Hints at such a belief are contained in the numerous prayers and petitions that are sent up to the "man above" and seem to postulate a desire for permanent union. "*Hail, mysterious Power! Thou art the sun. I wish to follow thy course!*" "*O Wakanda, pity me! You regulate everything that moves, you decide when my last hour shall come!*" Even if indefinable, such an aspiration cannot but forshadow better things; there is an invincible yearning to look beyond the clouds, to strive, however feebly, to gain a vision of the ever-blessed source of light.

ISHTAR'S DESCENT INTO HELL

BEING THE BABYLONIAN PICTURE OF THE UNDERWORLD
 "TO THE LAND FROM WHICH THERE IS NO RETURN"

1 A-NA IRSIT LA TARI KAK-KA-RI
 (ILU) IŠTAR MĀRAT ILU SIN U—ZU—UN—ŠA
 IŠ—KUN—MA MĀRAT (ILU) SIN U—ZU—UN—[ŠA]
 A-NA BIT(I) E—TI—E ŠU—BAT (ILU) IR—KAL—LA
 5 A-NA BITI ŠA E—RI—BU—ŠU LA A—ŠU—[U]
 A-NA HAR—RA—NI ŠA A—LAK—TA—ŠA LA TA—A—A—[RAT]
 A-NA BITI ŠA E—RI—BU—ŠU ZU—UM—MU—U NU—[U—RA]
 A—ŠAR IPRU BU—BU—US—SU—NU A—KAL—ŠU—NU TI—IT—TU
 NU—U—RU UL IM—MA—RU INA E—TU—TI AŠ—[BA]
 10 LAB—ŠU—MA KIMA IŠ—ŠU—RI ŠU—BAT KAP—[PI]
 ELI IŠU DALTI U IŠU SIKKURI ŠA—PU—UY IP—RU

TEXT: DELITZSCH, ASSYRISCHE LESESTÜCKE, (1885), P. 110. COMPARE C. T. XV. PL. 45, 1-11. IV R. 31. TRANSCRIPTIONS BY JENSEN, KB (1900), P. 80 AND DHORME, CHOIX DE TEXTES, (1907), P. 326. (TRANSLATIONS IBID.)

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

(N, 1) THE BABYLONIAN CONCEPT OF THE WORLD BEYOND

"The view that life continues in some form after death is so common among people on the level of primitive culture, or who have just risen above this level, that its presence in advanced religions may be regarded as a legacy bequeathed from the earliest period in the history of mankind".²⁴ These characteristic words of Prof. Jastrow find their fulfilment in those forms of belief which we are now about to consider, and which, though essentially the same on the question of personal survival, differ *toto caelo* from those that we have just been treating in the *manner* in which that survival is pictured, they inaugurate a new view of the life beyond the grave. Reincarnation is now consigned to the forgotten past, and in its stead we have, with few exceptions, a permanent escape from nature, in which the soul is waiting or preparing for its final transfer to a life of glory.

ARALU AND THE LAND OF SHADES

Gloomy indeed are the terms in which this place of waiting is described in the earlier Babylonian literature, as witness:—

*"To the land from which there is no return, the home of darkness,
Ishtar, the daughter of Nannar, turned her mind to go,
Yea, the daughter of Nannar turned her mind to go.
To the house of gloom, the dwelling of Irkalla,
To the house from which those who enter depart not,
the road from whose path there is no return,
to the house where they who enter are deprived of light,
a place where dust is their nourishment and clay their food.
The light of heaven they behold not, in thick darkness they dwell,
they are clad like bats in a garb of wings,
on the door and the post the dust is laid".*

This is the famous "descent into hell" in which Ishtar, the "mother" of humanity, searches the underworld in quest of her dying son, the expiring Tammuz.²⁵

A PAINLESS STATE OF EXPECTATION

But although all are condemned, good and bad alike, to enter this "mountain-house of the dead", *E-kur-bad*, there is no evidence that it was associated with any positive pains other than the deprivation of light and of the joys of earthly existence. *Nergal* and his demons pursue the living rather than the dead, they are prisoners, not exactly tormentors. The divinities take no pleasure in human suffering for its own sake,—which is indeed rather consoling.

²⁴ M. J. Jastrow, *Aspects of religious belief and practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, (New York, 1911), p. 351. ²⁵ For text and translation see *oppos. page*. Comp. also S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, (Oxford, 1914), pp. 1-113.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

THE WANDERING OF THE SOUL IN SEARCH OF FOOD

The idea of "disembodied spirit", always vague to the mind of the primitive, is as unattainable to the native of Mesopotamia as it is to the wild men of India or the Malakkan straits. But here on the Euphrates the *lilu* of the departed is a semi-carnal nature, essentially a ghost. Though normally confined to the world below, it occasionally slips out and haunts the living with its dreaded form, seeking for food, for bodily sustenance. Hence the tomb of the departed is carefully cherished, and supplied with enormous quantities of provender, in order that the beloved ancestor may not go hungry or be in physical want. While this reveals a praiseworthy love and "communion" with the departed, it shows no less forcibly that the life in hades is not essentially different from the life on earth.

THE FIRST HINT AT RESURRECTION

But in the mean time there are other thoughts which are vaguely groping out for a more perfect recompense. In one of the Tammuz-hymns the Mother-goddess is pictured as bringing her sleeping son to life:—

*"Then unto the shepherd, unto the plain of Aralu, she went.
As for me, unto Tammuz in the house of resting will I go!
His sister, queen of the tablets, in heaven and earth she wandered,
Even in the sacred sheepfolds where the sheep are fallen,
For the shepherd the sister went into the earth where he suffered,
To bring him back to life,—for the shepherd, to bring him back to life!
"O brother, fruit of my eyes! Lift up my eyes! Who is thy sister?
I am thy sister. Who is thy mother? I am thy mother!
In the sunrise when thou risest, rise!
At the dawn when thou appearest, appear!
The queen of Enna who cries:—Alas, my husband, alas my son!"*

As Tammuz is the representative of mankind in general, that is of living and dying nature, his restoration to life, in which the whole of the creation shares, cannot but be portentous of final deliverance, of a resurrection of mankind from the gloom of Aralu. It is true that this is only temporary, for he dies again with the approach of winter, but such as it is, it fills the heart with a momentary prospect of eternal reunion. It is *dumu-zi ab-zu*, the "faithful son of the fresh waters", who renews the face of the earth, and who as the *abu* or "father" of vegetation represents the murdered shepherd (Abel), slain by the ruthless *kanaku*, or storm-demon (Kain).²⁶

²⁶ Langdon, 1. c. p. 6, 52ff. Delitzsch, Assyr. Wörterb. p. 589, *kanaku-ka-du*, and compare p. 436 above.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

SHAMASH AND THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

In like manner the position of Shamash as the "judge of heaven and earth" is difficult to reconcile with a uniform fate for the whole of mankind.

*"Thou shalt not slander,—speak what is pure!
Thou shalt not speak evil,—speak what is kind!
He who slanders and speaks what is bad,
Him will Shamash smite on his head!"*²⁷

The failure of human justice in this world and the triumph of the evil liver would naturally raise their thoughts to a recompense beyond:—

*"O Lord! Light in the darkness, Opener of the portals of heaven!
Merciful God, who raisest the lowly, who protectest the weak,
Upon thy light all the great gods are waiting,
The whole of the heavenly host looks upon thy face,
The whole of humanity thou leadest as one single name.
Full of expectancy, with raised heads, they look up to thy sunlight,
When thou appearest, they are filled with joy and jubilation.
Thou art the light for the uttermost bounds of the heavens,
The armour for the whole wide earth art thou,
Numberless peoples look up to thee with joy!"*-----
"Shamash, thou Lord of judgment, release the ban!"---²⁸

These prayers and implorations would have little meaning unless it was believed that the all-seeing Sun would bring a final deliverance.

THE PURGING WATERS OF DEATH

But apart from these suggestive anticipations we have direct proof that *some* at least shall evade the shades of Aralu and be transplanted to a better world. It is Gilgamesh and Hasisatra that furnish the first brilliant examples of a conquest of the empire of gloom. In his journey to the "garden in the sea" to search for the secret of life, the great Nimrod opens out new pathway for mankind, a world of enchantments is in store for those who faithfully follow the inspirations of heaven. But this cannot be attained without numerous trials. The hero passes through the "land of darkness" to the distant ocean, and is here faced by a dire calamity. Mountains of water separate him from the world beyond, but with the courage of a Columbus battling with the unknown seas, he steers his frail bark through the "waters of death", and after suffering unheard-of hardships, is finally rewarded with a vision of the promised land.²⁹

²⁷ Cuneiform Texts, Part XII. pl. 29, 30. Jastrow, Aspects, p. 389. ²⁸ Rawlinson, IV. 19, No. 22. Jastrow R. B. A. I. p. 429. ²⁹ Gilgamesh, Tabl. IX.

LIFE ETERNAL

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

ERIDU AND THE ISLES OF THE BLESSED

This "throne of the sea" rises out of the ocean and welcomes the weary wanderer with its golden trees and its precious stones,—it is *E-ri-du*, the city of happiness. Here the "waters of life" receive the newcomer and prepare him for his final destiny,—the enjoyment of this blessed land.

THE WATERS OF LIFE AND THE VISION OF HEAVEN

*"Ninzadim, Anu's minister, has made thee ready with his clean hands,
House-of-Ocean took thee to the place of cleansing,
To the place of cleansing he took thee, with his clean hands he took thee,
In milk and honey he took thee, with water of exorcism he opened thy
mouth,
He opened thy mouth by enchantment, and spake these words:—
"Be clean as heaven, be clean as earth, shine like the innermost
heaven!"³⁰*

Though this is an incantation-text belonging to the shiptu-ritual, it fits in perfectly with the hero's cleansing in the Holy Isle, and is evidently expressive of the soul's likeness to *Anu* himself, the shining Father in Heaven. Gilgamesh is now in possession of the secret of immortality, he has discovered the sacred palm and the herb of life, which grew in the earthly paradise, and which is guarded by the mystic cedar-grove and the cherubim:—

*"They gaze at the cedar-mountain, the dwelling-place of the gods,
the holy of holies of Irnini. Pleasant is its shade, resplendent with joy.
"Samtu stones it bears as fruit, its hanging branches lovely to behold!
Crowned by the lapis-lazuli, it bears fruit precious to the sight!"³¹*

THE EARTHLY IMAGE OF THE HEAVENLY WORLD

But this is only a foretaste of the paradise that is in the skies, it is but an earthly image of the real heaven beyond the clouds. In a higher cosmic sense the four rivers are the four branches of the Milky Way, and Eridu is the heart of the heavenly ocean, for which see under Creation, p. 183ff. As the center of the universe it obtains an astronomical setting.

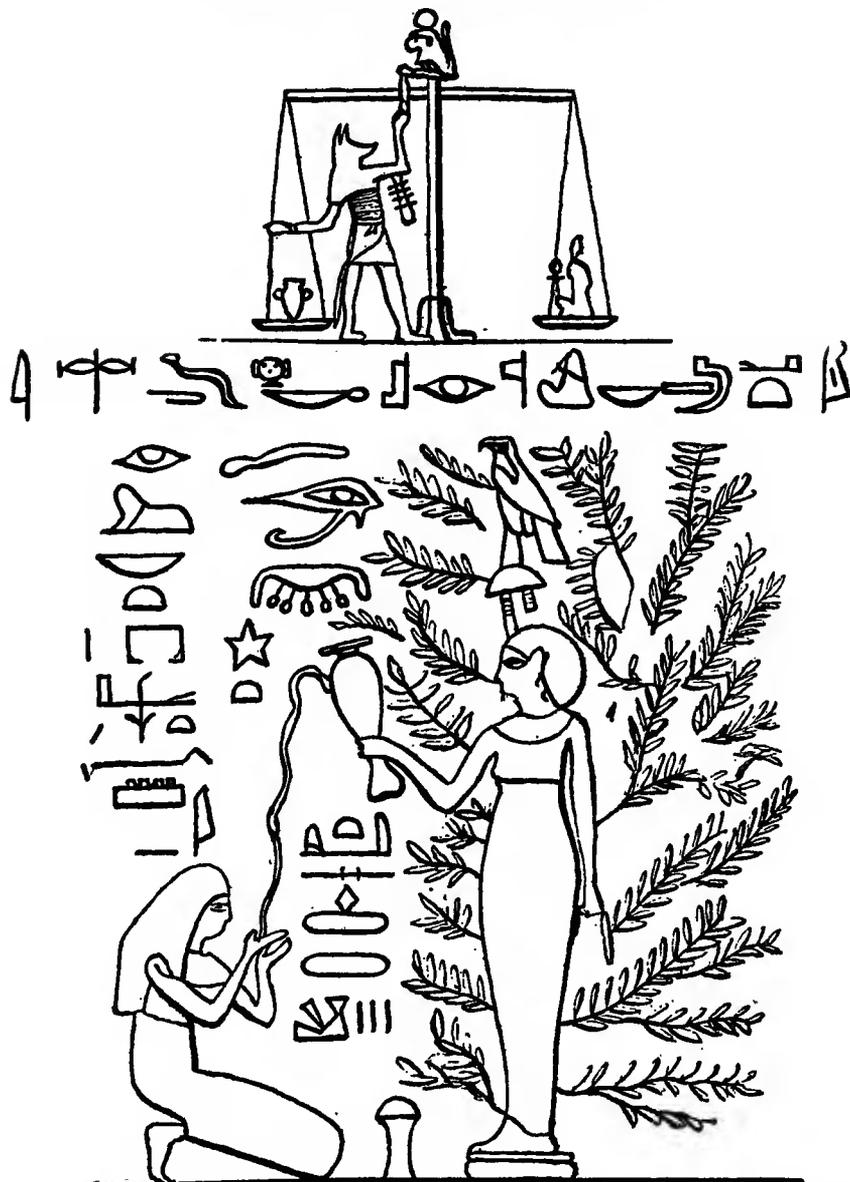
PLEIADES AND THE RELIGION OF THE STARS

It is the seven stars in the constellation of Taurus, the "mighty bull of Anu", that may have figured as the heavenly resting-place, the final abode of the blessed. For if the Pleiades bring refreshing rains, the greatest blessing to Mesopotamia, it is Alcyone, the head of the group, that twinkles with a future promise, albeit through sorrow and affliction, emphasising the sad lesson of Gilgamesh. We are thus brought face to face with a truly beautiful, however natural, eschatology.—a migration ever onward, from star to star!³²

³⁰ Rawlinson, IV. 25. col. 4. ³¹ Gilgamesh, V. col. 1. IX. col. ³² Comp. Jeremias, O. T. I. p. 211-219. Jastrow, RBA. II. 672, 683, 685, 688, for Pleiades and Alcyone, *Shu-Gi* and *Mul-Mul*, generally favorable.

THE BALANCE OF TRUTH AND THE EGYPTIAN HESPERIDES

THE SOUL IS WEIGHED IN THE SCALES OF JUSTICE, JUDGED BY OSIRIS, AND FINALLY
CONDUCTED TO THE "GARDENS OF LIFE"



DIAGRAMS TAKEN FROM P. VIRET, LA RELIGION DE L'ANCIENNE EGYPT, (PARIS, 1910),
PP. 187, 241, AND FOUND IN SIMILAR FORM IN THE BOOK OF THE DEAD, C. 125FF.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

(N, 2) THE PARALLEL DEVELOPMENT IN EGYPT

"In no people, ancient or modern, has the idea of a life beyond the grave held so prominent a place as among the ancient Egyptians".³³ This statement of a recent author is probably not exaggerated. For if the fate of the soul in some region remote from the present is as strongly recognised on the Euphrates as it is on the Nile, it is only in the land of the Pharaohs that have direct testimony to an immediate and universal judgment, followed by a certain and infallible reward, in which the body shares the fate of the higher principle to the end of the story. Moreover it is here only that we note the beginnings of a higher psychology, the first attempt to distinguish between spiritism and spirituality, the hungry ghost and the divine image.³⁴

THE *Ka* WANDERS ABOUT THE TOMB

The doctrine of a threefold constitution of man on the basis of *ka-ba-khu*,—body, soul and spirit,—though it cannot be called absolutely new, is nevertheless brought out with such sharp distinctions, that it may be regarded as characteristic of the new era. Of these the *ka* is the lowest and most material form, it is nothing but a "double" of the body and is subject to all the wants and physical limitations of the latter. At death the *ka* of the dead man still hovers about the tomb, and is so vitally identified with the corpse which it has just left, that the one interacts upon the other, it is almost the "forma cadaverica" of the scholastics. Hence the elaborate care with which the remains are constantly treated and supplied with all the necessities of the earthly life, food, shelter, clothing, ornaments, etc. In a later age the body is even embalmed, the double is painted on the lid of the sarcophagus, and the *ka* enters the tomb by the spirit-door to receive the banquet,—a sufficient proof of its material and earthly nature.

THE *Ba* IS JUDGED IN THE HALL OF TRUTH

In the mean time, however, the *ba* or soul of the man meets with a far different fate. It is called to the Hall of Truth to be judged by *Osiris* and his forty-two assessors, it must give an account of the deeds done in the body.

"Praise unto thee, *Osiris*, Lord of the twofold Truth! I come unto thee, O my God, I draw near to see thine excellences! I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of the forty-two who are with thee in the Hall of Truth! I am pure, I am pure, I am pure!"—these were a few of its exclamations.³⁵

³³ J. H. Breasted, *Development of religious thought in ancient Egypt*, (1912), p. 49.
³⁴ See the *Book of the Dead* passim, and compare A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, (Edinburgh, 1903), p. 46, 153ff. ³⁵ *Book of the Dead*, chapt. 125. Comp. Erman, *Aegyptische Religion*, p. 117. Virey, l. c. p. 157ff.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

TYPHON-SET AND THE PUNISHMENT OF THE WICKED

If his soul is found wanting in the balance of divine justice, it is passed over to the typhon-god, and either purged or destroyed in a hell of fire and brimstone. This doctrine of a "second death" is well in evidence.

OSIRIS AND THE "VISION OF GOD",—*Khu*

On the other hand, the good soul passes on to its just reward. "Guided by the intelligence (or the *khu*) it traverses space, learning the secrets of the universe, and coming to understand the things that are dark and mysterious to us here. At length its education in the other world is completed and it is permitted to see God face to face and to lose itself in His ineffable glory" (Sayce). This is strong language to use in connection with a largely animistic cult, and it is hardly implied in the wording,—

"I come unto thee, O my God! I draw near to see thine excellences!"

Nevertheless, the all-seeing *Oriris* imparts to his creatures the "spark" of the divine life, it is a noble though semi-pantheistic feeling of oneness.

Ka-Khu AND THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION

But the *ka* and the *khu*, though initially separated, are destined to be reunited. It is *Osiris* the mummy that sounds the first note of a future harmony, of a reunion of body and spirit upon a higher plane. In the 105th chapter of the Book of the Dead the soul is described as addressing its own *ka* on the day of resurrection in somewhat striking terms:—

"Hail unto thee, thou who wast my ka during life! Behold I come unto thee, I arise resplendent, I labor, I am strong, I am hale, I bring grains of incense, I am purified thereby, and I hereby purify that which goeth forth from thee.--- The scale of balance rises, Truth rises high unto the face of the divine Ra on the day on which my ka is where I am. My head and my arm are restored where I am. I am he whose eye seeth, whose ear heareth, I am not a beast of sacrifice. The sacrificial formulæ for the higher ones in heaven are recited where I am!"

THE FIELD OF ALU IN THE SKIES

Finally there is a heavenly duplicate of the earthly paradise, as in Mesopotamia. The kingdom of *Osiris*, known as the Field of Alu, is in the constellation of the Great Bear, while *Isis* shines as *Sirius*, and *Horus* is the Morning Star. The Milky Way becomes the heavenly Nile, and here the blessed live in perpetual happiness under the rule of *Osiris*, working, feasting, praying, and even contending, as they do below, but without pain and without end in time. This forms a fitting climax to the Egyptian hope, though it betrays its earthly origin in a manner that seems quite unmistakable,—it can never get beyond a semi-animistic and cosmogonic mysticism,—the real vision of God is as far off as ever.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

(N, 4) THE HEBREW-PALESTINIAN CONCEPT

The same analogies, though with a strong monotheistic setting, may be traced in the fundamental framework of the Jewish concept of the here-after. It can no longer be maintained that, because this picture is not particularly bright, it exhibits no deviation whatever from the common consciousness of the times. From beginning to end the hand of a single and almighty Judge looms up in terrifying yet ever merciful form, and although the topography of the "heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters that are under the earth" reveals the common persuasion of mankind in all ages on the threefold location of a place of recompense, these places are peopled with angelic or demoniacal beings very different from the planetary or the stellar deities of the surrounding nations.

JEHOVAH AND THE LAND OF SHEOL

That the Hebrew *sheol* is a place of banishment rather than universal punishment may be inferred from the fact that the good as well as the bad were said to descend to it, the holy patriarchs no less than the wicked blasphemers. (Comp. Gen. 37, 35 with Num. 16, 30). In this it is similar to the Aralu of Babylonia and the Hades of Greece and Rome, in that all with few exceptions go to a "hollow" or a dark cave in the earth, where, though deprived of light and happiness, they are not necessarily tortured. More often they "sleep", or "go down to the pit in silence". But in this case the judgment is directly in the hands of Jehovah, there are no phantastic adventures in a land of shades, no bargainings with tartaric pilots, it is the Lord God who is the supreme "Judge of all the earth", (Gen. 18, 25. Ps. 94, 2). Whatever external resemblances the "bosom of Abraham" may be said to possess with the "land from which there is no return", it is presided over by the God of Heaven,—*"If I descend into hell, thou art there also"* (Ps. 138, 8).

LUCIFER AND THE PUNISHMENT OF GEHENNA

Moreover, there is considerable evidence to show that with the positively damned, those to be eternally punished, the Hebrews soon associated a special place, which as the *ge-hinnon*, or Valley of Hinnon, became identified with what we call "hell", (Targ. Jonath. to Gen. 3, 24. Enoch, 26). Though the term Lucifer as the day-star is applied by Isaiah (14, 12) to the king of Babylon, it is generally conceded to have an ulterior meaning. The falling prince may be traced in substance to the "satan" of 1 Chron. 21, 1, and the serpent-tempter of Gen. 3, 1ff. In this way the tradition of an evil personality, or an "enemy" of man, is seen to have its roots in the remote past. Nor is there any reason to question that this Hebrew demonology is entirely independent of any of the gods and demons of the surrounding lands.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

EDEN AND THE PARADISE OF THE BLESSED

But if *sheol* exists for humanity at large, *gan-eden* is the distant hope of the more perfect. Founded on Gen. 2, 8, it is promised in Isaiah, 51, 3:—

"For the Lord shall comfort Zion: He will comfort all her waste places. And He will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord. Joy and gladness shall be found therein, thanksgiving and the voice of melody".

These and the well-known passages in Ezekiel, (28, 13), not to speak of the celestial visions of Isaiah (6, 1) and of Daniel (7, 1), describing the four beasts, with the throne and the sea of glass, clearly point to a heavenly beyond.

THE RESURRECTION AND THE BEATIFIC VISION

Again, the assumption of Enoch and Elias (Gen. 5, 24. 4 Kings, 2, 12), belonging as it does to the earliest period, forestalls the physical resurrection:—

"My father, my father! The chariot of Israel and the driver thereof!" These vivid examples gradually pave the way for a more universal hope:—

"I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see God. Whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another. This my hope is laid up in my bosom". (Job. 19, 25).

"Thy dead men shall live, my slain shall rise again. Awake and give praise, ye that dwell in the dust!" (Is. 26, 19).

Together with the 16th. psalm and the visions of Ezekeil (1, 3) and Daniel (12, 2) these passages furnish sufficient evidence of a *future* vision of God in both natures, though they also imply its prophetic and mysterious delay.

ITS CONSUMMATION IN THE NEW LAW

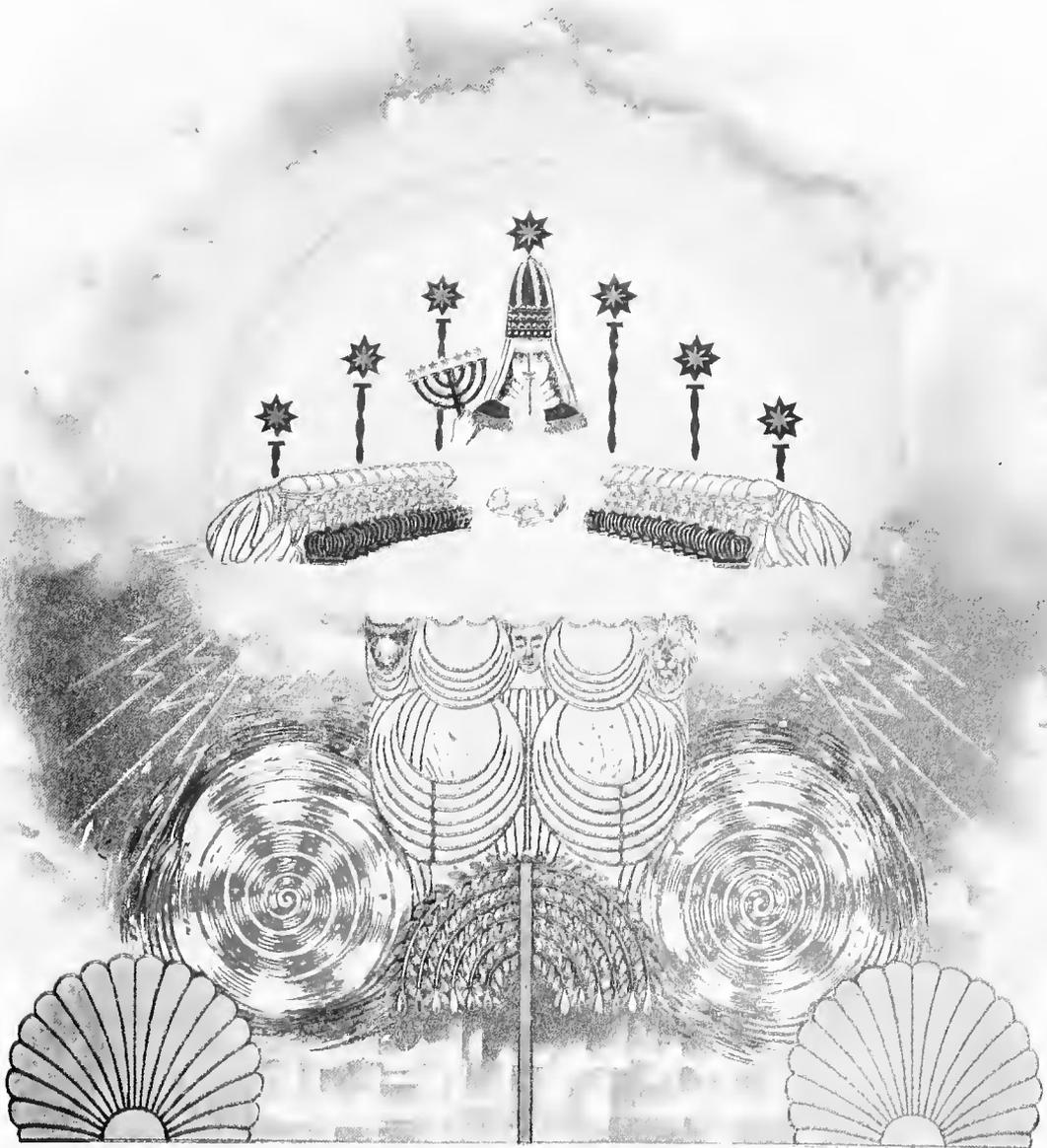
These delays and uncertainties are finally swept away by the teaching of the Messiah and His triumph over death. The empty tomb and the ascension have opened up the holy of holies to all mankind, and the descent into hell has for ever broken the chains of the "spirits in prison". In other respects the Jewish paradise remains as it was before, but is amplified with all the treasures of heavenly lore with which "the Orient from on high hath visited us". In the revelation of St. John the divine the whole of the visible universe is mapped out as the mansion of the blessed, and in the "mystery of the seven stars which thou sawest in my right hand" we have the consummation of the seven stars of the ancients, the seven planets of "Pleiâdes" to which the faithful few would hope to ascend. The hope is now dissolved in the reality,—humanity has at last discovered her one Redeemer.

THE SUPERNATURAL CONSUMMATION
THE HEAVENS ARE OPENED BY THE MESSIAH

וַאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי גַּאֲלִי חַי וְאַחֲרוֹן עַל-עַפְרַיִם יְקוּם

"I KNOW THAT MY REDEEMER LIVETH" (JOB, 19, 25)

"THE MYSTERY OF THE SEVEN STARS WHICH THOU SAWEST IN MY RIGHT HAND, AND THE SEVEN GOLDEN CANDLESTICKS" (APOC. 1,20)



"WORTHY IS THE LAMB THAT WAS SLAIN TO RECEIVE POWER AND DIVINITY AND WISDOM AND STRENGTH AND HONOR AND GLORY AND BENEDICTION" (APOC. 5, 12).
THE SUCCESSIVE VISIONS OF ISAIAH, EZEKIEL AND DANIEL; AND THE CORRECTED VISION OF ST. JOHN THE DIVINE ON THE THRONE OF GOD AND THE LAMB

COLOR WORK BY R. C. BOSWEL

THE PERSIAN AFTERMATH OR THE LAST JUDGMENT

AS FAINTLY PORTRAYED IN THE GATHA USTAVAITI, DESCRIBING THE ESOTERIC RECOM-
PENSE, BUT FALLING SHORT OF THE INTEGRAL IDEA OF BEATITUDE.

ZOROASTER'S VISION OF THE LIFE BEYOND

AS AN ETHICAL THOUGH INCOMPLETE PICTURE FOCUSSING THE NATURAL ASPIRATIONS
OF MAN IN ALL AGES—"THE DIVINE WISDOM" (YASNA, XLIII, 5)

.ալըսա . Ես սրբ . աջնա 6 . աւրճ . իս . Երբ որ Ես
 AHURĀ MĒNHĪ MAZDĀ THVĀ AT SPĒNTEM
 . Երբ որ Ես . Երբ որ Ես . Երբ որ Ես . աւրճ . իս
 PAOURVĪM DARESEM ZĀTHŌI ANHĒUŠ THVĀ HYAT
 . ալըսա . ալըսա . իս . ալըսա . ալըսա . իս . ալըսա
 UKHDHĀ YĀ-CĀ MĪZHDAVĀN ŠYAOTHNĀ DĀO HYAT
 . Երբ որ Ես . Երբ որ Ես . Երբ որ Ես . ալըսա . իս
 VANĀHĀVĒ ASHĪM VANUHĪM AKĀI AKĒM
 . Երբ որ Ես . Երբ որ Ես . Երբ որ Ես . ալըսա . իս
 APĒMĒ URVĀĒSĒ DĀMŌIŠ HUNARĀ THVĀ

"YEA, I CONCEIVED OF THEE AS BOUNTIFULS, O AHURA MAZDA, WHEN IN CREATION'S
BIRTH I SAW THEE FIRST, WHEN, DEEDS AND WORDS MOST JUST REWARDING, THOU
GIVEST, ILL TO THE EVIL, PURE BLESSING TO THE GOOD, BY THY JUST WISDOM IN THE
CREATION'S FINAL CHANGE".

TEXT AND TRANSCRIPTION IN "THE FIVE ZOROASTRIAN GATHAS". BY LAWRENCE HEY-
WORTH MILLS, D. D. (LEIPZIG, 1893-94), P. 43. TRANSLATIONS IBID, AND IN "GATHAS"
(POPULAR EDITION, 1900), P. 4. THE ABOVE IS A FAIRLY LITERAL THOUGH METRICALLY
ROUNDED VERSION.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

(N, 5) THE PERSIAN DOCTRINE OF THE FUTURE LIFE

It cannot be denied that the early Persian eschatology is decidedly abstract and immaterial, though not to such an extent as to exclude all participation of the body in the fate of the soul. Here are a few examples:—³⁶

JUDGMENT ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORAL CONDUCT

*"Then those spirits created, as first when they came together,
Life and our death decreeing, how all at the last shall be ordered,
For evil men the worst life, for the faithful the best inspiration".*

That these are more than mental states, though undoubtedly conditioned by a life "in thought, word, and deed", is suggested by the following pictures:—

A HELL OF APPARENT DESTRUCTION

*"But he who deceives the saint, for him shall at last be destruction,
Long life in the darkness his lot, foul food with revilings loathsome,
This is your world, ye faithless, by your deeds your own souls will
bring it".*

A HEAVEN OF UNENDING WEAL

*"But Ahura Mazda will give both weal and a life immortal,
With the fulness of grace from Himself as the head of dominion,
And the Good Mind's Power will He send to His friend in deed and in
truth".*

A PHYSICAL RESURRECTION SEEMS TO BE PROMISED

*"Let Angra-Mainyu, the evil spirit, be hid beneath the earth, let the demons
disappear, let the dead arise, and let the bodily life be sustained in
these now lifeless bodies".*

THE MILLENNIUM WILL BE SHARED BY THE ENTIRE CREATION

*"We sacrifice unto the kingly Glory which shall cleave unto the vic-
torious Saoshyant and his companions, when he shall make the world
progress unto perfection, and when it shall be never dying, not decaying,
never rotting, ever living, ever useful, having power to fulfil all wishes,
when the dead shall arise and immortal life shall come, when the settle-
ments shall all be deathless".*

There is no reason to question the antiquity of these ideas, many of which might well have been evolved on Persian soil. Even the Vendidad, with its vivid judgment-scenes and its golden thrones, is too closely knit up with the Gathic spirit, to be looked upon as an exotic, though much of the Pahlavi literature was no doubt tinged with Jewish concepts of the hereafter.

*"O righteousness, when shall I see thee? And thee, thou Holy Spirit of
Truth"?*

In these words is summed up the Persian hope of a future vision of God.

³⁶ Texts from Yasna, 30, 4. 31, 20, 21. Fragm. 4. Yasht, 19, 83, in Mills, Zendavesta S. B. E. XXXI. and Idem, Our own Religion in ancient Persia, pp. 132, 24ff.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

THE CONTEMPORARY BRAHMINISTIC DEVELOPMENT

In striking contrast to this exalted, almost biblical, view of the destiny and the dignity of man, comes the sad story of pessimism and ultimate self-extinction which reaches us from the banks of the Ganges,—the only civilised part of the world in which a change into lower forms is still consistently believed in, though the few have always a chance to escape.

Where do I come from? Whither am I going? In the earlier Rig-Veda this is clear enough. I came from Varuna-Mitra and I shall return to him, it is the Avestic faith. But in the later Brahmanas and Upanishads the picture of the supreme Being is thinned down to a mere abstraction, He is the indefinable basis of existence into which all things are absorbed. With this negative view of the divine the fate of the soul is an equally cheerless one, it must either reappear in the body or lose all self-consciousness.

THE NIRWANA OF BUDDHISM

This reaches its logical consequence in the doctrine of Nirwana, which, in spite of the volumes that have been written about it, still remains an incomprehensible mystery to the Western mind. To be and not to be at one and the same time, this seems to challenge the laws of logic. According to the most approved authorities, it is *not* annihilation, and yet it is no known or imaginable form of existence. It seems to be a quiescence of the faculties, in which the soul loses itself in the Infinite. Now it is important to note that this is precisely the *negative* side of our own doctrine of beatitude, it emphasises an all-important truth, that in order to see God, we must die to self, die to our lower nature,—“He that seeketh his life shall lose it, and he that loseth his life for my sake shall find it”. The Christian ascetic no less than the Buddhist monk is thus *losing* his life for God, but with this fundamental difference, that while the former is seeking a *positive communion with a supreme Personality*, the latter has nothing but *deliverance* to look forward to; he is living in a dreamland, in a world of unknown possibilities.³⁷ But of this more presently.

WESTERN-ARYAN DEVELOPMENT

In the mean time the Western branch of the Aryan stock is spinning out the old theme of heaven, earth and underworld, with renewed zest. Here the classic Hades of middle Europe is but another Aralu, while the heavenly Elysium is another Isle of the blessed. In spite of its many corruptions, this faith has preserved our ancestors from the fate of the Hindoo avatars.

³⁷ Estimates on this subject in Poussin, Hull, etc. *Lectures on the History of Religions.* (Herder, 1910), Vol. I. under Buddhism and Hindooism.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

(N, 6) INDO-MELANESIAN AND POLYNESIAN DEVELOPMENT

With the spread of the more recent Aryan culture to the East, followed by the still later Islamic invasion, the beliefs on the subject of immortality exhibit a corresponding variety of detail. We find a strong consciousness of a super-human life beyond the grave, side by side with the lingering vestiges of reincarnation and reappearance under lower forms.

This conflict of ideas is no where more apparent than in the Indian archipelago. In spite of their strong eschatology, the Kayans of Borneo "believe in the reincarnation of the soul, although this belief is not clearly harmonised with the belief in another world" (sic). The passing of the soul of a grandfather into that of his grandchild is for the most part temporary, as the parent reclaims his soul when he enters paradise. For the rest we know, that the concept of the hereafter is in other respects extremely vivid, the Kayans having no less than five different places of recompense, while the doctrine of seven heavens is found among the Sea-Dayaks and other advanced tribes. This may be partly due to Mussulman influence.

A growing indifference to death is characteristic of the eastern Melanesian zone. "Death is easy, of what use is life, to die is rest",—by these sayings the Fiji islanders look forward to death with happiness, they even bury one another alive to hasten the moment. As to their ultimate fate, we find the same doctrine of a descent to the grandchild combined with a universal animism, in which it is believed that every created thing has its soul and will share with mankind a blissful immortality. In northern Melanesia there is a Hades, or land "far away", where the good are rewarded and the evil punished, but is otherwise very similar to the present state. Future felicity is in proportion to the amount of shell-money the man left behind him,—if he left much money, he will proceed to the realm of bliss, if little or no money, he will be banished to the earth and sent home to roam like a wild beast in the forest, battenning on leaves and filth(!).

This commercial aspect of the life to come reaches its climax in the Polynesian doctrine of limited immortality. The native of Samoa or Tonga has developed a feudal system, in which only the souls of kings, princes, or chiefs are regarded as undying, the great mass of humanity, including the brutes, dissolving into nothingness. This is the logical opposite of the Fiji-belief, and is perhaps the only example on record, in which the rich and the poor are looked upon as belonging to essentially different orders of being.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Examples taken from Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, pp. 393, 419ff. See also the sources under p. 111ff. *supra*.

THE MORE RECENT BELIEF

(N, 7) NORTH AND SOUTH-AMERICAN REGION

The essential similarity of thought in the two hemispheres is brought out once more by the common bond of hope that unites the more advanced peoples of the North and South American continent with their brethren in the Old World. Here again the vast majority have emancipated themselves from the doctrine of rebirth, and are looking to the skies for deliverance.³⁹

SIPAPU AND THE GRAND CANON

Whatever be the traditional idea connected with the word *sipapu*, it is certain that for the majority of the mountain tribes it represents not only the place of emergence at birth, but also the place of migration at death. With the Hopi it is associated with the Grand Canon, and among the Zuni and other tribes it is connected with a sacred lake where the souls of the dead are judged. For upon reaching the lake, say the Zunis, "the soul descends the mystic ladder to meet the council of the gods, and thence passes on to the undermost world, the place of Zuni nativity". Possibly *sipapu* and lake are identical terms. In any case, the dead are human ancestors of spirit-form, who as rain or weather-doctors are still helpful to man; they are invoked and even worshipped as living personalities. For this reason the Zuni bury their dead; they never incinerate them.⁴⁰

APOYAN TACHU AND THE VISION OF THE ALL-SUN

But is there no brighter prospect than the usual underworld? The close connexion between Sky and Sun-Father, the dwelling of the "rain-makers" in the clouds, not to speak of the worship of Sun, Moon, and Venus as the abode of the blessed, would seem to suggest it. But apart from this the desire for union with the "Father of all" is vaguely implied in the Pueblo hymns, and among the Pawnee of Nebraska we find the very ambiguous phrase:—"We see ourselves living with Tirawa!" This and the so-called "beatific vision" of the Chippewa, in which they see the Great Manitoo in a dream, coming to them in the form of a "beautiful man", furnishes sufficient material for inferring that, however much identified with the sun, it is a Supreme Person that is the final object of beatitude. Here also the Pleiades have mystical associations.

CONTINUITY WITH THE FAR SOUTH

Finally, an examination of the ancient Mexican and Peruvian archives will reveal the fact that these astrotheological ideas extend far into the southern continent. In every case there are clearly marked heavens and hells, which have no immediate connexion with a return to nature.

³⁹ Sources in Cushing, Fewkes, Grinnell, etc. l. c. supra, p. 115ff. ⁴⁰ Comp. H. K. Haeberlin in *Memoirs of the Am. Anthr. Assoc.* (1916), Vol. III. No. I. p. 15ff.

THE COMBINED PICTURE

With this general survey of the more typical beliefs on this subject for the different ages of man, we can now proceed to a discussion of their fuller meaning in the light of the evidence furnished by the combined folk-lore for each successive era. Let us first consider the message *as such*, and then apply the results to a consideration of the philosophical problems that they seem to be opening out,—the question as to how far these different forms of belief can be said to have any *objective value*, any bearing on the vital problem of immortality as it presents itself to us in our own day. For without such an application the preceding facts are little more than an antiquarian curiosity.

(1) THE PRIMITIVE PICTURE OF THE LIFE BEYOND FORCES US TO ASSUME, NOT ONLY THAT THE SOUL IS IMMORTAL, BUT THAT IT MEETS WITH AN IMMEDIATE RECOMPENSE IN ONE OF THREE PHYSICALLY DISTINCT WORLDS.

This is the first proposition that admits of fairly convincing establishment from the earlier mythologies. Take up any of the traditions of the earlier races, whether in the East Indies, Australia, Africa, or South-America, and you will be struck by the intense realism, the almost child-like simplicity, with which they describe the passage of the soul to the paradise-bridge, over oceans of air and water, and either to a far-off fruit-island, or to a boiling lake situated under the bridge. This is especially conspicuous in the far East, but begins to pale off in the more distant regions, where however an ascent to the sky or a descent to the underworld is fairly general, supplemented by a mysterious third place which is closely connected with the land beneath. It is therefore sufficiently evident that the idea of "heaven-earth-and-underworld" is one of the earliest convictions of the human race and is associated by primitive man with a direct and immediate recompense in one or other of their departments.

THESE MAY BE CALLED HEAVEN, HELL, AND PURGATORY, INASMUCH AS THEY TRANSCEND THE NORMAL STATE OF HUMAN EXISTENCE.

It is no less evident that as each of these places is associated with a state of life which is more or less permanent, continuous, and impassable—not depending upon marriage or the common physical means of subsistence—, they point to a condition of life which is in this respect essentially different from the present one. They transcend the ordinary physical laws of birth, death and decay, they are supramundane and apparently timeless localities, and as such may be compared to the Christian places of reward and punishment.

THE COMBINED PICTURE

THE VISION OF GOD IS DESIRED, BUT HARDLY POSSESSED

Furthermore, the way in which the beatific life is described shows that the enjoyment of the divine presence is its primary object, it is to "see" or to "live" with the Father in Heaven that a man goes to the island of fruits. At the same time, the crude, anthropomorphic, and occasionally frivolous manner in which these visions are brought home to us can hardly be reconciled with what *we* understand by the term, but must be taken to indicate a vivid feeling after God, not His direct apprehension.

IN OTHER RESPECTS THE BEATIFIC LIFE IS SIMILAR TO THE PRESENT

If, however, the element of physical and moral evil be excluded, the future life is externally similar to the present one. There is no absorption or loss of identity, but rather an intensely real, physical existence in a world which is but a duplicate or a higher edition of the world below; the blessed continue their life of earth *on a higher plane*. This is revealed by the eating and drinking in the garden of fruits, by the accompaniment of bow or blowpipe to the grave, and by the general picture of paradise as a mysterious hunting-ground, where there is plenty of game and no end of coconut-trees. These weapons, however, are used chiefly to ward off demons in the shape of rapacious animals, they are not employed in paradise as such, for we are distinctly told that in the land of promise men, and animals live on terms of friendship, there is no shedding of blood, but rather a heavenly banquet obtained from the enchanted fruits. This and the "burial-bamboo", which is sometimes the only trinket that accompanies them to the grave, reveals the essentially harmless state of future existence. Moreover it is eternal or never-ending,—they "never return to the earth".

THERE IS A HOPE OF RESURRECTION, BUT NO POSITIVE PROOF

Now inasmuch as the primitive psychology of man makes no hard and fast distinction between soul and body, the former being for the most part a soft material substance "shaped like themselves", (comp. the Egyptian *ka*), the life beyond is already pictured as in some sense a bodily one, there is no need of a further union of soul and body of earth. But this is not always the case. Among the Andamanese, for instance, body and soul are apparently distinguished and their final union is heralded as the day of resurrection! This and the frequent hints at a life of physical agility and invulnerability, coupled with the extreme care that is given to the corpse and its painting or anointing in preparation for a life to come, cannot but suggest that in the mind of primitive man body and soul will some day rise to a life of glory. While this may be called a very natural longing, it cannot rise to the dignity of a clearly revealed belief in a spiritual and corporal beatitude.

THE COMBINED PICTURE

(2) IN THE AGE WHICH IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWS THESE BELIEFS ARE GRADUALLY MERGED IN A PANTHEISTIC THEORY OF TRANSMIGRATION.

The preceding system strikes too deeply into the heart of man to be ever entirely obliterated. And so among the peoples of later culture we find fractions at least of the old ideas embedded in the framework of the mythology. There are always vestiges of a belief in a permanent recompense, the good migrating to the Sun-Father, the wicked descending to the world-serpent or to the land of snakes. Side by side, however, we note the advent of an entirely novel theory of destiny, which now becomes all-absorbing.

CYCLES OF REINCARNATION TAKE THE PLACE OF PERMANENT STATES

With the gradual identification of a man with his totem-ancestor, the *essential difference* between higher and lower forms of life and existence begins to disappear. Man is but a cogwheel in the gigantic machinery of evolution, and there is, normally-speaking, no way of evading the cycle of life, of escaping the horror of rebirth. No sooner does he die, than he is forced to reappear, and, strange to say, almost always in some *lower* state, it is with the lizards and the grass-seed that he must recommence the entire struggle of existence over again, there is no royal road to paradise. Even the Indian *manita-bongas*, like the American *wakans*, reside for the most part in buffalos, if they do not actually descend to the level of the Australian *inapertwas* or the African *mulungus*,—mere mystery-forces.

THE IDEA OF PERSONALITY GROWS MORE AND MORE DIM

And yet with all the cumulative proof that we have from four continents that the dead are actually converted into essentially different forms, there seems to be a general persuasion that they do not thereby lose their identity. They are still addressed as father, brother, sister, and so on, indeed they are very wide awake and helpful to man, they can even talk like human beings, (Comp. the African hyaena). Now with this extensive body of evidence, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that the idea of "person" is distinct from that of "psychic manifestation", that, as it is possible for the divine to take on a lower nature, so these phenomena can only be explained on the principle of an "assimilation" of the totemic object.

YET THE SYSTEM IS NOT WITHOUT ITS ETHICAL VALUE

But however degraded and deplorable such a destiny would seem to be for what was made in the image of God, it fulfills to some extent the office of a purgatorial state. For if the common herd reappear as crocodiles, it is the man of prayer and penance who sees in a dream "the Great Wakanda", and thus merits by his own initiative the foretaste of a better world to come.

THE COMBINED PICTURE

(3) IN MORE RECENT TIMES THE OLD ESCHATOLOGY IS REVIVED, BUT IN MORE AMPLIFIED AND ASTRONOMICAL FORM.

One of the most remarkable facts in the history of religion is the very wide gulf which separates all these strange speculations from that phase of belief which immediately follows them. One would hardly suppose that they belonged to the same humanity. With the exception of a few lands where a contact with the totem-peoples can easily explain it, the whole of the transmigration-system is thrown overboard, and the soul is once more free to roam the skies and search for the heavens. It has redeemed its birthright. The old heavens and hells are once more re-established, and the intervening space is occupied with a land of shades, which is now particularly prominent.

DEFINITE PLACES OF REWARD AND PUNISHMENT ARE AGAIN RECOGNISED

Though the majority of mankind are consigned to the land beneath, there are intimations of a difference of treatment proportioned to the good or evil life led in the body. The just have a foretaste of better things, while the wicked are tantalised by a recollection of their past misdeeds. Nay more, for the incorrigibly rebellious a tartarus or gehenna is the appropriate punishment, while for the heroic few there is an elysium or isle of the blest that opens out its enchanting vistas. Though there is a general tone of gloom, the silver lining is beginning to appear in the clouds.

BUT THE VISION OF THE DIVINE IS STILL IN THE FUTURE

Notwithstanding the strong expressions that reach us from the Nile and the land of Persia, it would be impossible to say that the vision of divinity in the hall of truth or the temple of heaven can be constructed as a literal participation in the divine essence. The surroundings are still too earthly, the feeding of the disembodied spirit all too human. Yet the desire for union with the divine is unquestionably present, the soul has reached the last step in the ladder of expectation.

RESURRECTION AND STELLAR MIGRATION ARE IN THE AIR

Concomitantly the hope of a future reunion of soul and body is becoming increasingly prominent, and finds its proof in the elaborate funeral rites and in the mapping out of the stars as the future abodes of man.

THE HEAVENS ARE FINALLY OPENED BY THE MESSIAH

But all this finds its supernatural complement in the person of the Redeemer, who thus forms the apex of the inspired prophecies of old. In His altogether unique opening of the inner sanctuary, the soul has at last found its inevitable term,—nothing less than the vision of God—, and the hopes of the gentiles are now supplemented by the direct gift of the Creator Himself.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

Such then is an impartial estimate of the message as we actually read it in the pages of mankind. It reveals at a glance what we had hardly expected, namely, that the traditional orthodox view on this subject is after all the original view of the human race, and that the much talked of reincarnation system, so far from being primitive, belongs to the middle ages of its development. This is an interesting find, but cannot help us much in the solution of the problem unless it can be shown by ulterior arguments that both are grounded upon reason, but that the one is immensely superior to the other as an ultimate norm of moral conduct. While it is beyond the scope of the present study to treat this subject philosophically, a few concluding remarks in this direction seem to be called for, if only to show how important is the bearing of the entire question on the problems of modern life. With such a great variety of viewpoint on a matter so vitally connected with the welfare of the human race, it cannot be surprising that not a few souls are somewhat uneasy about their own hereafter; they begin to feel that there is too much disagreement on the subject to lead to any certainties of any kind, that perhaps we had better confess our ignorance and leave the problem unsolved,—we simply “do not know”.

THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL IS A PHILOSOPHICAL CERTAINTY, INDEPENDENT OF TRADITION OR EXPERIMENTAL VERIFICATION

The first point to be considered in this connexion is that the certainty of immortality is not derived from any tradition, however unanimous, nor yet from the testimony of supposed mediums, good, bad, or indifferent, but that it is founded upon an *invincible persuasion* of our inner consciousness that the thinking ego or mind-substance cannot of its nature be destroyed.

“THAT WHICH HATH NO PARTS CANNOT BE DISSOLVED INTO PARTS”

It is the unity and continuity of the soul with its marvellous powers of appropriating the external world by actions which transcend the categories of space and time, known as the “universal reflex”, that furnishes the metaphysical certainty of its own persistence as a physical unit. While all else changes, personal identity does not change, but is on the contrary soaring out to a world beyond the senses, manipulating that world as if it were its slave, almost re-creating the world by its own inventive genius. Can such a power be the result of atomic forces when it controls those forces? Can personality be divided into physical parts when its mental functions transcend those parts and repudiate them in their own working? You might as well say that copper and zinc are identical with electricity simply because the former set the ether flowing. The fact is, these metals *release* the electric fluid, they do not produce it; *it is already there*.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It is not altogether flattering to our modern "superior knowledge" to realise that this common-sense philosophy requires no elaborate training of the intellect to bring home to ourselves. It is the first thought that suggests itself to the mind of the savage, in however fanciful a form. "My soul immortal? Why, how could it die? It is like the air we breathe", etc. It is really humiliating to think that these backwoodsmen have a clearer knowledge of human psychology than many of our contemporary savants with their elaborate soul-measuring instruments and their "thought-photography". Granting that the physiological aspect of the brain as the physical instrument for absorbing the sense-phatasm requires a more serious and searching study than has heretofore been given to it, it is surely the height of folly to look to the physical laboratory for a superphysical substance, to consult the oracles of spiritism for a truth which requires no table-turning to demonstrate its reality. Modern psychology has committed the unpardonable error of confusing the "phenomenon" with the "noumenon", the external instrument with the internal principiant, and until this error is removed we shall be for ever tapping around in a world of subdued lights and mohatmas.

THE FATE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IS SEALED BY HIS OWN ACTIONS

Again, there is a universal consensus of all peoples, historic or prehistoric, that whatever the nature of the life beyond, it is determined by the conduct of the soul in the present existence, the good being in some way rewarded, and the wicked punished or annihilated. This also flows with equal certainty from the moral aspect of the finality of all being. Human life, not to speak of the divine government, would cease to have any moral content, and all ethical struggle would come to an end, unless the universal law of equilibrium, of moral recompense, could make itself felt. It is simply unethical and immoral to think otherwise; we would be encouraging the adulterer. The ultimate triumph of goodness is thus seen to be a universal persuasion.

TRANSMIGRATION IS ONE ANSWER BUT A DEFECTIVE ONE

Coming to the nature of the recompense as such, the most cursory study of the beliefs of mankind must convince the more thoughtful that the doctrine of palingenesis or re-birth has had among its advocates a very large section of the human race. Even in our own time the study of Oriental "wisdom" has brought it once more before the mind of the public, and it is perhaps at the present moment the most widely diffused of all "secret" doctrines. Such an enormous hold upon the conscience of mankind cannot be accounted for unless we candidly admit that it contains some elements of moral greatness.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

For, to say nothing of its very wide distribution and its promulgation by some of the wisest thinkers of mankind, it gives a fascinating solution to the mysteries of heredity and of physical and social inequality. Why am I born white rather than black, rich rather than poor, healthy rather than diseased, talented rather than obtuse, heroic rather than cowardly? These things are not mere accidents. It is because in a former life I have battled with the forces of evil, I have conquered the opposite tendencies, and as a reward I am what you see me to be, I have myself and only myself to thank for it, it is an ethical conquest, the discovery of a new world. Who can deny that this furnishes a strong sanction for right conduct, for living up to ever higher ideals? If as a prize I ascend to the lamas, and as a punishment I descend to the catterpillars, have I not good reason to obey the moral law, to be in short philosophical? The law of *karma* is indeed one answer to the problem of evil, but it is neither the first nor the best one, and it robs mankind of a still higher and holier ideal.

THE MORAL SANCTIONS OF METEMPSYCHOSIS ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY STRONG

For, however much certain types of humanity may be spurred to virtue or deterred from vice by the prospect of a migration into higher or lower forms in nature, there is an *invincible desire* among the more perfect to deliver themselves for ever from its enslaving and degrading fetters. Who can honestly say that they would like to make their lives over again, even on a higher plane, in view of the fact that it can never be constant, never without great suffering, never without the continual possibility of a relapse into sin, and of its consequent penalties, the recommencement of the cycle of life with the worms and spiders? It is because the supernatural character of the soul requires a supernatural destiny, that such a doctrine can never be approved by the better and healthier voice of humanity. The higher conscience of mankind requires *permanence, not variation*, in its ultimate fate, and such has been the feeling of humanity in all its highest manifestations, as witness the *nirwana* of the yogis, which aims at complete riddance of our lower nature, not at its continual return. If then the very constitution of our nature recoils at such a future, the system is condemned on its own showing and is moreover insufficient to guard morality in any sense in which we understand it. The moral decadence of all peoples who still cling to it, the wholesale vice, infanticide, murder, and adultery, which almost invariably follow in its wake, is alone a sufficient proof that it is incapable of dealing with problems morally fundamental. And how could it be otherwise with a system which is in such glaring antithesis to the dignity of human nature, which reduces human beings to the level of dogs and robs them of all higher feelings for personality?

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

THE THEISTIC SOLUTION IS ALL SUFFICIENT

To the question, where I came from and whither I am going, the Christian saint no less than the primitive savage and the Oriental mystic give practically the same answer. "I came directly from the hand of God, and I shall return to Him, and if I cannot explain my exact status in the present life it is because I cannot see into the mind of an all-wise Providence, who has ordained that this shall be *for me* the best and the most perfect way." In this manner all is attributed to the divine mercy rather than to the individual's self-glorifying merits, though there is doubtless something in the individual's character which, foreseen by the Divine Mind, gives him the appropriate means for working out his own salvation. Moreover the realistic heaven no less than the terrifying hell and the purifying purgatory have ever been and still are the only *final safeguards of the moral law*, with which the six descents of Siwa and the boddhisattwas cannot for a moment compare. Where I am continually free to change my ticket, I can never arrive at the terminus, I can never obtain that peace which "passeth all understanding". And it is precisely the saints of all ages who have been most emphatic on the realism of the hereafter, who have ever insisted on the vision of heaven as a moral stimulus to the heroic no less than on a wholesome fear of hell as the most powerful deterrent from a life of sin. This speaks more powerfully than all theorising, and contains within itself the vindication of its truth.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION FOCUSSES THE HOPES OF ALL AGES

But there is a soul of truth in many of the fractured faiths by which we are still surrounded. The human and physical side of the doctrine of palingenesis is the one redeeming point in the system, inasmuch as it prepares mankind for a better reincarnation than can be conveyed by the sacred buffalos. Now this longing for a double existence, for a beatification both in body and soul, is eminently fulfilled in that higher union of the two natures which is promised in the doctrine of the resurrection. Here then is the evident meeting-point of the two systems, the plain upon which the buddhas and the saints may some day meet. It is through a beatific and integral life *in both natures* that the highest and most complete ideal of the life to come is finally acquired, and once acquired it furnishes the key to the long-sought mystery. "*I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall rise out of the earth. And I shall be clothed again with my skin and in my flesh I shall see God! Whom I myself shall see and mine eyes shall behold, and not another. This my hope is laid up in my bosom*". (Job. 19, 25).

THE UNIQUENESS OF THE CHRISTIAN
IDEA OF BEATITUDE

And with these words we have indicated the one essential feature which distinguishes the new revelation from the old in everything that concerns the contemplation and the final fruition of God in the world to come. As this subject is not always appreciated at its proper value, it seems useful to call attention to certain grave and much-neglected points which place the Christian view of the hereafter upon an altogether unique and unapproachable pedestal.

With a more profound and extended study of the hidden wisdom of the ages, it must indeed be admitted that some of our old-time notions of the utter hopelessness of primitive man in regard to his own fate must be consigned to the well-deserved limbo of a forgotten past. It cannot be sufficiently emphasised that the knowledge and love of God as the final end of beatitude does not necessitate a more than natural longing for union with the divine, that the contemplation of God as a philosophical essence, nay, even as an absolute Person, is within the reach of humanity as such, and from this point of view it is most consoling, if not actually inspiring, to find such an abundance of material in proof of a proposition which has always been upheld by conservative thinkers. And if we turn once more to the combined, and more especially to the earlier impressions of the human race, we may candidly admit that this "seeing" and "living with" the Creator, in however crude or fanciful a form, does contain some elements of undoubted truth,—it is possible for any child of Adam to enjoy the divine presence by "abstraction", that is, by seeing the glory of God *reflected* in the works of creation, and to this extent we may speak of a "natural beatitude", the seeing of God as it were in a mirror,—*in specie aliena*—, in the works of His hands.

LIMITS OF THE NATURAL FRUITION OF GOD

But it is this precisely which assigns to the natural knowledge and love of God its well-defined frontiers. For by no stretch of reason, however exalted, can the faculties of man attain to such a height of development as to penetrate into the divine essence, to see God in His own incommunicable purity. This would involve a logical or a psychological leap, for which there is no warrant in purely human philosophy. When a man is face to face with the Infinite, he can no longer argue with finite categories, he requires that the Infinite impart Himself to his soul out of His own Goodness and Love, he cannot attain to it by his own power,—it is the relation of a speechless infant to an all-wise, all-powerful Father.

THE PREHISTORIC "VISIONS" OF GOD ARE PURELY ABSTRACTIVE

If then we turn to the material on this head, we shall find that in every case the supposed seeing or dwelling with the divine is trampled with the naturalistic and the immediately useful. In the earliest period, which is also the purest, there is a dignified island of fruits, which, however, is soiled by the hunting-theme and its purely material delights. There is not so much as a hint that the soul enjoys the Creator for His own sake, much less that He imparts Himself to the soul as a unique, an all-satisfying Personality. And in the later ages of man this is perhaps still more pronounced. With all the undeniable beauty of the Babylonian and Egyptian schemes of the hereafter, there is not the shadow of proof that we are dealing with more than a fruition of God *through* His gifts, nowhere do we find anything that could insinuate a living the *life* of God, an actual assimilation to the divine nature. This is proved partly by the animistic pluralism underlying such expressions as "communication of life", "vision of the All-Sun", "imparting of power through demiurges", etc., partly by the utterly inadequate picture of the future life as still in need of earthly necessities, the feeding at the tomb emphasising its essentially limited, its semi-mundane character. "*Rich power, blest rewards, the Good Mind's life*",—this is as far as our pre-Christian sources can lead us, it is an enjoyment of God through a good conscience, not the enjoyment of the divine nature as such.

THE BEATIFIC VISION OPENS OUT A NEW SUPERNATURAL HORIZON

But if there is one thing which cuts the teaching of the Messiah clear from all but the Jewish systems, it is the doctrine of a real, personal, however incomprehensible *seeing* of God, the idea, namely, that the Heaven of the blessed is not simply an elysium of fruits or a paradise of "thoughts, words, and deeds", but that it is in a more direct sense an immediate intuition and fruition of God *in specie propria*,—transcending all that the poor heart of man could ever conceive. Of this we have abundant evidence in the Scriptures. "*The beholding the face of my Father who is in heaven*" is a prominent theme in the gospels, while the sharing of the very nature of God is expressly taught in the epistles "*Dearest beloved, we are now the sons of God, and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that when he shall appear, we shall be like unto him: for we shall see him as he is*". (1. John, 3, 2). Again—"Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him", (1 Cor. 2, 9).

It would be difficult for human language to express more forcibly what in the nature of the case surpasses philosophical definition.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH
CONFIRMATIO

Summary and Comparative Analysis

AND COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

We have come to the end of our present investigation. With this treatment of the four last things the entire chain of prehistoric beliefs is completed, and it is seen that the last link of the chain forges into the first, it is the divine being who is the beginning and end of the cycle. In the study of this universal creed of humanity and its different articles it has been found necessary to continually revert to the opening chapters in order to gain a synoptic view of the relation of the parts to the whole, in order to appreciate the general coherence of the system. This is unavoidable in any presentation of the subject which shall be at once clear and convincing, as it is impossible to treat the entire creed under one head without sacrificing the element of limited concentration, which is so important. It will therefore be allowed that this method is on the whole the most fruitful and practical one, even if it distributes the matter over a somewhat lengthy and cumbersome area.

But as it is beyond the range of a first survey to view the combined facts in such a manner that their united testimony may be productive of a lasting and compelling assent, it seems necessary to take one more logical step in order to bring home to ourselves the united force and meaning of the facts presented. Without a final summary, or "confirmation" of proofs, the most telling argument remains but a truncated pyramid. And so, if we would realise the full weight of the evidence as it is brought before us in all its parts, it will be necessary to interlace those parts in such a manner that the whole picture may be revealed to us at a glance, in a single vision, as it were, of the mind's eye. That this must involve some little repetition and tedious reconsideration is indeed inevitable, but inasmuch as the prize is of no mean order,—being nothing less than a clear notion or comprehension of what "God" has meant to our remote ancestors and what He still means to ourselves,—the battle is worth the fighting. I will leave it to the impartial reader to judge for himself, whether or not, at the end of this study, our ideas of the divine have not been considerably widened, whether or not the entire investigation has not brought to light aspects of divinity which are both suggestive and fascinating.

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

If then a general or comparative analysis is something that we cannot dispense with, let us bring our attention once more to bear on the main question at issue, the origin and nature of the primitive concept of the divine being, touching on the collateral matter of creation, immortality, sacrifice and so on, only in so far as they help to illuminate this central point of contention and to bring it into clearer perspective. It is for this reason that we have deferred a detailed analysis of our first chapter for the present occasion, in that the more abundant material now in our possession will enable us to focus all the descriptive matter upon this one fundamental point, and to make it shine with increased brilliancy. Not that the abstract concept of divinity is the apex and end of all, far from it. The climax of all religion is reached in the idea and the practice of sacrifice without which the supposed "worship" of God is but an empty name. But in laying a solid foundation for the *idea* and the *existence* of God, we shall have laid the cornerstone upon which the higher edifice of the temple and the sanctuary can, so to speak, be raised. In fact it will become increasingly clear that there is no God without sacrifice, that a complete and integral act of religion includes within itself the notion of immolation or offering up of some object, even if this is only an a posteriori induction, not an immediate inference.

In the nature of the case such a final criticism of the forces that are opposing us must take on the nature of a polemic, of an organised opposition to the rival theories by which we are surrounded. Such an opposition is demanded in every branch of science, whenever a more or less startling discovery tends to dissolve the previous theories into thin air. But we make no such high-sounding claim for any of our supposed "discoveries". Many of these conclusions have been in part anticipated and are at present simmering through the minds of the more thoughtful investigators,—they are in fact "the latest news". Apart, however, from the fact that there is nothing entirely new under the sun, any combating of opposing theories should be taken in the friendliest sense. There is not an aspect from which this subject can be regarded that does not contain some elements of truth, no proposed explanation that cannot be made to account for some at least of the facts. In all these matters reserve and moderation should be our watchword, a future synthesis our constant hope. But in the mean time we shall not be timid, but boldly present our argument as it appears to us in its overwhelmingly convincing power, regardless of consequences.

I. THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY

From what we have seen of the religious convictions of early man, it is evident that their value as primitive concepts concerning the being and nature of God is bound up with three questions upon which any argument, theistic or otherwise, will have to depend,—(1) the question of priority,—(of certain areas over others),—(2) the question of authenticity, (of the sources that are at hand),—and (3) the question of interpretation,—how far do the same sources warrant the conclusions that have been drawn? Let us consider these points one by one, beginning with the first.

(A-E) THE ANTIQUITY OF THE EAST-INDIAN AREA AND THE QUESTION OF THE PRIMITIVE CENTER OF DISTRIBUTION

I have already given the cumulative reasons why we should look to the proto-melanic races of the far East as the most primitive exemplars of the human family. (See Introduction). Here I would only add a few extracts in order to illustrate this subject from the physical standpoint:—

“In these gardens of nature man is the Adam of a modern Eden, primitive in habits and numerically insignificant. He has scarcely begun his battle with things inanimate or his struggle for existence as it is known to us. At home we have man as in some sort the master of nature, but *in the Bornean forests nature still reigns supreme*. Here with us man wrests his sustenance from her, there she is lavish in the bestowal of gifts unsought”.¹

“Primitive man was probably at a very early period a dominant race, *spreading widely over the warmer regions of the earth* as it then existed. As he ranged farther from his *original home* and became exposed to greater extremes of climate, etc. there would be corresponding external physical changes,—the red, black, yellow, or blushing white skin; the straight, the curly, the woolly hair; the scanty or abundant beard; the straight or oblique eyes; the various forms of pelvis, cranium, and other parts of the skeleton”.²

“The inference seems irresistible that all these allied forms had their common primaevial home in and about the *Indo-African and Austral Continents* of which considerable sections still survive”.³

“We must therefore look for the cradle of our race to the northern portion of the miocene block, (Lemuria), that is upon *Asiatic territory*. Here we find Pithecanthropos, and to the present day, in *Borneo and Java*, anthropoid apes. Here in Asia we see the continuous and unbounded development of higher life right through the tertiary and quaternary periods, and it is here that man, its highest product, must have received his first formation”.⁴

¹ F. W. Burbidge, *The Gardens of the Sun*, (London, 1880), p. VII-VIII. (Preface).
² A. R. Wallace, *Natural Selection and Tropical Nature*, (London, 1895), p. 178. ³ A. H. Keane, *Ethnology*, (1909), p. 236. ⁴ Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, (Munich and Vienna, 1914), p. 380.

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY

So much for the purely physical or biological side of the question. The recent discovery of pleistocene man in *Australia* tends to confirm this view and to shift the racial center of gravity more and more to the east. It is in these regions, therefore, that we may expect to find the real primitive.

If, however, we take the standpoint of culture, we have additional means for solving the problem and for determining specifically who and what these races are. It has been shown that the negritos, veddas, dayaks, toalas, bakatans, and mafulus, preceded all other peoples in this region by indefinite periods and that they form one of the most primitive groups of mankind in existence. Here are a few additional testimonies:—

THE RACES IN QUESTION ARE QUASI-PRIMITIVES

“The social facts, viewed in this light, are striking, and perhaps mortifying, but probably all that they mean is that the *stage of development reached by these races of Malakka,—Semang; Sakai, Jakun—, is a rudimentary one*, the exact counterpart of that golden age of innocence to which all civilised and semi-civilised races regretfully look back”.⁵

“The Mincopies are the original inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, whose occupancy dates from *prehistoric* times. A racial affinity may some day be found to exist between them and the Semang of the Malay peninsula and the Aeta of the Philippine islands”.⁶

“The present-day Veddas are beyond doubt the lineal descendants in culture as well as physique of the *early people who inhabited Ceylon* before it was colonised by an Aryan-speaking people”.⁷

“Of the negrito population of the Philippines the group largest in number and probably *purest in type* is that in the Zambal mountains, W. Luzon”.⁸

“I have no doubt in my mind that this wandering race of people,—Punans or Bakatans—, are the *aboriginals* of the country”. “I look on these people as being the *aboriginal stock* of the population coastwise in this section of the island of Borneo, and their language tends to support it. *The most primitive branch of the Malanaus are the Bakatans or Ukits*, and I may mention that many of their practices are like those of the Semangs or Jakuns of the interior of Malakka”.⁹

“The Mafulus may be regarded as belonging to the *older population* of New Guinea, both Papuan and Melanesian having added something to their civilisation, as well as to their physical characters”.¹⁰

It is therefore beyond all doubt that, as far as science can carry us, these peoples represent the earliest offshoot of the primitive stock that is at present in our power of discovery.

⁵ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, I. 14. ⁶ Man, *Andaman Islands*, 2. ⁷ Seligman, *Veddas*, 416. ⁸ Reed, *Negritos*, 23. ⁹ Hose and Brooke, *apud Ling-Roth, Borneo*, I. 16-18. ¹⁰ Williamson, *Mafulu*, 299.

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY

(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

A more difficult problem is presented by the race-question on the Australian continent. For on the one hand there has been a gradual fusion of types which have so far blended as to produce a fairly homogeneous nation, on the other hand the distinctively local traits are not always sufficiently constant or sufficiently well-marked to merit the designation of a racial type or sub-type. Here the biological argument is by comparison weak, but the social and cultural data are correspondingly powerful and seem to point to conclusions that may be of far-reaching theological consequences.

IMPORTANCE OF THE SUBJECT

Until recently it has been received as an axiom that the primitive area in Australia is to be found in those central or north-central regions that are apparently isolated and that seem to be on the lowest level of indigenous culture. This is the standpoint of Tylor, Frazer, and others, who in their zeal for a pan-animistic or pan-totemistic theory, have laid it down as a first principle that theism cannot be primitive, that the first stages of mental development were of necessity multiform and found their expression in that spontaneous deification of nature and the forces of nature, living and dead, that figures so largely in the religion, if such it be called, of the Central-Australian aborigines. They had only to appeal to Spencer and his ghost-gods, to Hegel and his self-winding absolute, to find abundant sanction for a theory which has since become classic:—In the development of man, whether socially or religiously, it is the lowest and most material that comes first. Therefore promiscuity precedes marriage, and totemism precedes theism, on the same principle that the less perfect precede the more perfect forms throughout the whole realm of nature that has so far become known to us.

Now are these conclusions well-founded? Is it a fact that the Arunta-tribes of Central Australia represent the most ancient layer of civilisation on this or any other continent? The first writer that was bold enough to call this statement into question was Andrew Lang, who in his prolific writings on the subject has attempted a demonstration, purely sociological, that the real primitives are to be found in the South-East, that this alone is the area in which the ancient religion of Australia has been preserved. Recent investigation has only tended to confirm this view, the majority of writers being now solidly convinced that the whole question requires a new and more accurate method of treatment.¹¹

¹¹ Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*, (London, 1900-1909), pp. 175-184. Idem, *Magic and Religion*, (London, 1901), pp. 46-75. Idem, *The Secret of the Totem*, (London, 1905), pp. 59-89, 188-201. The reception and criticism of these works has been well described by Father Schmidt in his recent work, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, (Münster, 1912), pp. 105-173ff.

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY

This is not the place to enter into this subject in all its multitudinous aspects. Broadly the argument may be stated somewhat as follows:—

(1) Biologically this region is the more ancient. Nearly all writers are now agreed that Australia was originally peopled by a dark, frizzly-haired Tasmanioid race, which was prior to the Dravidian or Indo-Caucasian wave of immigration.¹² Now there are Tasmanioid elements in S. E. Australia, whereas there are no Australioid elements in Tasmania, from which it may be argued that the South-Eastern area takes the precedence.¹³

(2) Culturally there is a gradual development from South to North, to wit:—

- (a) The rough eoliths give way to pointed and polished tools.
- (b) Stones, sticks, and waddies yield to spear, shield and boomerang.
- (c) Caves and windshelters make room for substantial huts and “beehives”.
- (d) The fire-plow develops into the fire-drill and the fire-saw.
- (e) The bundle-raft gives place to the bark-canoe and the large “dug-out”.
- (f) The sounding-stick is superseded by the bone-flute and the shell-trumpet.

(g) The simple earth-grave is supplemented by platform and tree-burial.

While some of these evolutions may be open to question, there can be no doubt that they do in the main represent an order of time corresponding to some extent to an order of culture,—from Tasmania to Queensland. Here, however, there are isolated streaks that approach the Tasmanian level.¹⁴

(3) Socially, it has been pointed out with some force, that the existence of a living rite or custom side by side with a decaying one argues for the priority of the latter and the gradual introduction of the former. Hence circumcision was preceded by tooth-pulling, tooth-pulling probably by beard-plucking, beard-plucking by simple fasting, and so on. This means that simple local exogamy with paternal descent (Kurnai, South Victoria) must have preceded the complicated two, four, and eight-class culture of the Aruntas, etc. especially when it is considered that the Asiatic and African primitives are on very nearly the same level,—(sex-birds, fasting, etc. Compare the East Indies, Andaman Islands, and Central Africa).¹⁵

(4) Linguistically the South-Eastern area forms almost a unit. The dialects are strongly Tasmanioid, with post-position of the genitive and vowel endings.¹⁶

¹² Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 24ff. John Matthew, Eaglehawk and Crow (London and Melbourne, 1899), pp. 1-4. Brough-Smith, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, II. p. 301. Keane, *Ethnology*, p. 289ff. Ling-Roth, *Tasmania*, p. 227-228. ¹³ Fritsch and Topinard, confirmed by Howitt and cited by Schmidt, I. c. pp. 200, 324. ¹⁴ Matthew, *op. cit.* p. 22-26. Ling-Roth, I. c. pp. 67, 83, 107, 118. Graebner, Thomas, Foy, I. c. *supra*. Schmidt, I. c. p. 191-201. ¹⁵ Matthew, I. c. pp. 26-29, 113-124 (Initiation-rites) where foreign importation is distinctly implied, though the Tasmanian data are inaccurate. Comp. Ling-Roth, I. c. *supra* and E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race* (Melbourne, 1887) Vol. I. p. 376, 402. ¹⁶ Though not exclusively so. Comp. W. Schmidt, *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen*, (with map), in *Anthropos*, 1912 (Jan-Apr.), p. 230.

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Now although each of these arguments may be considered weak when taken alone, their cumulative power is certainly strong. This is being felt more and more in quite recent times, when, in spite of the proverbial tenacity with which a pet theory is clung to, several notable specialists have boldly taken their stand on the new platform.

"From the investigations of Dr. Graebner", writes Father Schmidt, "it is therefore evident that *the South-East contains the most ancient tribes of Australia*, and therefore precisely that region which is conspicuous for the belief in the Supreme Being. This militates against Howitt's theory, who says that as the south-eastern tribes represent a higher and therefore later stage of material and social culture as against the inland tribes, so their belief in a Supreme Being is the result of higher and later developments. Precisely the opposite is the case".¹⁷

"Besides the aboriginal culture", says Dr. Foy, "which we find particularly well preserved in Tasmania, that island *immediately opposite to South-East Australia*, we must distinguish three cultural invasions of the continent".¹⁸

"Thus the evidence afforded by the bodily structure", says Prof. Sollas,—"the best in these matters—, distinctly indicates the survival of primitive characters in the *south of Australia*, where ex hypothesi we might have expected to find them; whatever other evidence exists points in the same direction. The language of the Kurnai and Narrinyeri finds its nearest ally in Tasmania, their *material culture is poorer* in many respects than that of the more northern tribes, and their *social organisation is simpler*".¹⁹

"Though still in the palaeolithic stage, the Australians, unlike the more isolated Tasmanians, *have made a considerable advance on the Mousterian culture*. This they may easily have accomplished by their own efforts, yet at the same time there can be no doubt they have borrowed something from adjacent races. The people of Torres Straits and New Guinea visit the mainland in their canoes and the Australians cross over to New Guinea. Besides this the Malays voyage to the North-west coast in search of trepang".²⁰

"According to Dr. Noetting", writes Prof. Elliot, "*the original Tasmanians had hardly advanced beyond this 'eolithic' grade*. They had no idea of chipping or 'knapping' flint or other stones, but simply shattered them by throwing them down on a rock". Though this statement is wisely modified by the author, he admits that "among the Australians there is still evidence of the Tasmanians whom they assimilated. But the former have developed many rather advanced characteristics".²¹

¹⁷ W. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 196ff. expounding Graebner, Fritsch, Topinard, etc. ¹⁸ W. Foy, *Führer durch das Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum*, (Cologne, 1910), p. 60. ¹⁹ W. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters and their modern Representatives* (Oxford, 1915), p. 284. ²⁰ *Idem*, p. 285. ²¹ Scott-Elliot, *Prehistoric Man and his Story* (London, 1915), pp. 108, 228.

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

THE QUESTION OF PRIORITY

(G-H) CENTRAL AND SOUTH AFRICA

For similar reasons the immense antiquity of the Central African Negrillos may now be considered well established. They are surrounded by stronger and more cultured races, Bantu, Hamitic, etc. who, though they have mingled with the negrillos in some few instances, have been unable to affect their general status or to imbue them with totemic or Islamic ideas respectively. They are nearly all in the shell- or bamboo-stage of archaic culture and their social organisation closely resemble that of their Oceanic brethren. It is generally admitted, however, that the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert are in some respects more advanced,—with higher industries and hereditary chiefs, which in combination with other features, chiefly physiological, place them slightly above the negrillos and very near the South-Australian aborigines. They occupy the same position to the negrillos that the Tasmanians do to the negritos, and should be judged accordingly.

“By their type, by their social organisation, by what we have come to call by the too elastic name of ‘civilisation’”, writes Bishop LeRoy, “all these peoples, all these races, and all these families, (referring to the Bantus, Hottentots, etc.), are found to differ essentially from another population everywhere distributed and everywhere identical:—the Negrillos, who, as we have many times insinuated, seem to have been *decidedly the first occupants of the soil of Africa*”.²² “There cannot be any reasonable cause to doubt”, says Stow, “that from a remote period to a comparatively recent date *Southern Africa was solely in the possession of the Bushman race*”.²³

(K-L) SOUTH-AMERICA AND PATAGONIA

It has also been shown that the Tapuya races and their allies in the Brazilian jungle are on the lowest level of American culture and are very probably the aborigines of the entire South-American continent. Together with the Fuegian peoples at the extreme end of Patagonia, they furnish one of the most primitive types of mankind to be found in the Western Hemisphere.

“In the Botokudos”, says Dr. Ehrenreich, “we have the *oldest representatives of the Ges-peoples or pure Tapujas*”.²⁴ Similarly Dr. Foy:—“A particularly archaic group of nomadic races is found in the Ges-tribes of Eastern Brazil, with *primitive culture*, and for whom the large ear- and lip-ornaments are characteristic”. “To the lowest of American races must undoubtedly be counted the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, who inhabit the extreme south of the American continent”.²⁵

²² LeRoy, *Les Pygmées*, (1910), p. 323. ²³ Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (1910), p. 6. ²⁴ Ehrenreich *Über die Botokudos*, (ZE, 1887), p. 81. ²⁵ W. Foy, *op. cit.* p. 154-155.

II. THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

PRINCIPLES AND THEIR APPLICATION

Convergence of testimony is said to be the best test of authenticity. When we have several independent witnesses, all agreeing on the smallest items of a cultural complex, though separated by indefinite intervals of space and time, the chances are that their reports on the mythology and higher beliefs will be of correspondingly accurate value,—that as the former have been proved to be reliable through repeated verifications, the latter will be proved to be equally reliable, if not by direct verification, at least by their general resemblance and agreement with what has been found by other reporters elsewhere. (Principle of Convergence).

(A-E) EAST INDIES

The combined testimony of Vaughan-Stevens, Martin, Skeat, and Borie, and their general agreement on all questions affecting the material and social condition of the Malakkan races, establishes a presumption in favor of their accuracy when speaking of their religious beliefs. It has been objected that Vaughan-Stevens lacks confirmation and is something of an embellisher. It must not be forgotten, however, that great adventurers are notoriously apt to exaggerate here and there, but that this does not destroy the value of their testimony on matters of grave import, and that are or can be indirectly verified, at least in essentials. In this case, however, we have good reasons on independent grounds to accept his testimony. His general accuracy and the priceless value of his collected material have been commended alike by Dr. Skeat of Cambridge and by Professor Virchow of Berlin. The fact that most of his data have been verified independently,—blood-charms, bamboo-patterns, several wind-spirits, including the redoubtable *Tappern*, (*Ta' Pönn*), the alleged servant of Kari,—makes it more than probable that his remaining statistics are reliable also. This opinion will gather additional momentum when we compare the testimony of E. H. Man for the neighboring Andaman Islands. Here we have a very similar deity, described in almost identical terms,—a thunder-god, of fiery breath, served by wind-spirits, and so on. Can it be possible that two independent reporters should have accidentally invented the same divinity? I hardly think so. Moreover Dr. Portman has given his highest approval to Mr. Man's work, and the fact that *Puluga* was so readily identified by him establishes an inherent probability that *Kari-Peng-Tuhan* takes the same place in the Malakkan theology among a people who are on almost exactly the same level and have so many other points of similarity,—mythology, general culture. Finally the Veddas furnish additional confirmation from Parker and Seligman, whose description of the great *Kande-Yaka* approaches in some respects those of the above authors.

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As to the Philippines, though the sources are scattered, they are beyond criticism. Meyer and Blumentritt are safe in ethnology, while Montano is a good observer of customs. The evidence for a supreme divinity is grounded on three unimpeachable witnesses,—two of them Catholic priests—, whose united reports, however fragmentary, can hardly be accused of deliberate fraud. They bear witness to the belief in a great Maker, which can be traced right through the heart of Central Borneo to the Aru-Islands and New Guinea, as is certified by Col. Reed, Dr. Hose, Bishop McDougall, Dr. Nieuwenhuis, Messrs. Kruyt and Riedel, Father Schmidt, and Monsignor Dunn.

(F) AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

These data are further augmented by an abundance of material from the Australian region. Here we have a large number of first-hand witnesses, whose reports, however defective, are frankly impartial in spirit and tendency. Moreover these reports are so numerous and so widely separated in space and time, that it is quite impossible for a conscious fallacy to enter the field, at least in the matter of bare statistics. Take the work of Howitt, the standard authority on the "Native Tribes of South-East Australia". Whatever may be thought of his deductions,—and they are by no means flawless—, his main collection of facts as a direct observer of rights and customs is invaluable. He is one of the few modern explorers who has lived the lives of the natives, who has become a fully initiated member of the tribe. But what is more important, he does not stand alone. His conclusions have been anticipated or confirmed by other writers in complete independence. Thus Brough-Smith in "The Aborigines of Victoria", Taplin in "The Narrinyeri", Langloh-Parker in "The Euahlayi Tribe", Ridley in "The Kamilaroi", Ling-Roth in "The Aborigines of Tasmania", the latter a huge compilation from original sources,—all proclaim from different points of the compass, that these facts are too constant, too uniform, and too universal to have been the result either of concoction or coincidence. They must have some foundation in the reality of the past.

(G-L) CENTRAL AFRICA AND SOUTH AMERICA

The same remarks apply to the transoceanic regions. The work of Stow is founded upon Orpen and Arbousset, scientific observers of the first rank, while the personal interviews of Bishop LeRoy and Father Vander Burgt among the natives of the Congo-belt have the distinctive ring of truth, they can hardly be questioned. Similarly Von den Steinen and Ehrenreich are final for South-America, being supported by Denis, Preuss, Rivet, Renault, St. Hilaire, Father Teschauer, and many others.

Thus the combined picture is unassailable,

however defective the individual sketch. It is hardly conceivable that such a unanimity can have any other basis than that of objective fact.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

CRITERIA FOR INDIGENOUS ORIGIN

As to the native origin of these traditions, their freedom from foreign influence, it is based on the broad principle, that when we have ninety-nine per cent of indigenous elements,—from the cave or windshelter down to matrimonial rites and mythology—, the chances are one hundred to one, that the remaining one per cent,—the religious beliefs—, will be indigenous also, that they form an integral part of the national life, that when the former change, the latter are apt to change in the same proportion, that as the former have existed from time immemorial, the latter have existed from time immemorial also. (Law of Concomitant Variations).

A SURPRISING UNIFORMITY

This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that in the most ancient East-Indian and Tasmanian belt the deity is very generally a "Father"- or "Thunder-God", of "fiery breath", but otherwise "invisible", who lives in the "high heavens" and is above all stars, suns, or planets, which, even when personified, have no genetic relation to man, but are rather his "messengers", the fiery emanations of his almighty will. This idea extends with varying completeness from Malakka, Ceylon, and the Andaman Islands, (*Kari-Kande-Yaka-Puluga*-region), through Borneo, the Philip-pines and New Guinea, (*Amaka-Anito*-region), down to South-East Australia, (*Daramulun-Mungan-ngaua*-region), and far into the heart of Central Africa, (*Waka-Nzambi*-region), nay, even to the remotest confines of Central Brazil, (*Tupan-Kamushini-Iguanachi*-belt),—all of which compare. It seems difficult to account for this wonderful uniformity except on the theory of native origin.

But it is possible to bring the argument to a more definite issue. Tylor's contention that the High Gods are due to missionary influence is at variance with facts. Long before the advent of any such mission, *Bundjil Baiame*, and *Mungan-ngaua* were worshipped in their respective territories. There is strong evidence for this in at least three areas. Then again, there are no vestiges of such influence, whether religious or otherwise. A Catholic missionary would presumably leave them a crucifix, while a Protestant would hardly teach them to pray for the dead. No white man would ever associate *Kari-Ple* with the jungle-fruit, *Puluga* with a female spider, *Kande-Yaka* with a mighty hunter, *Anito* with a huge rock, *Amaka* with the enchanted forest, not to speak of the creation-legends, with their tailed baboons and dancing divinities, their stars and emus, their lizards and sex-birds. Finally the secrecy of the cult would have no meaning, if the people had borrowed from outside sources; they would be trying to conceal from the whites that which they knew every white man was cognisant of, that which the civilised races themselves had given them,—an absurd supposition. Secret societies *do not borrow*.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

DETAILED TESTIMONY

As this subject is so commonly underestimated, I will give a few extracts from the leading authorities, even at the risk of a little repetition.

THE IDEA COULD NOT HAVE BEEN IMPORTED

Malakka:—"Here I only remark", writes Mr. Logan, "with reference to the incantations, charms, and other superstitions of the Mantra, that the greater part appear to be *essentially native*, that is, they have not borrowed from the Hindoos or Arabs, but have assumed their peculiar form from the state in which the tribe has existed on the peninsula from time immemorial, while in substance they have been transmitted from the same common source to which a large part of the inhabited world must refer its earliest superstitions. The religion of the Mantra is the *primitive heathenism of Asia*, which spreading far to the east and west, was associated with the regions of the eldest civilised nations, for it flourished in ancient Egypt before the Hebrews were a people, in Greece and Rome, and bids fair to outlast Hindooism in many parts of India".²⁷ But if this author derives *Tuhan* from Arabic sources, Dr. Skeat strongly protests against such a scheme, for he says: "Among the Mantra, and doubtless among other Jakun tribes, *if the matter were more thoroughly investigated*, there does undoubtedly exist a belief, shadowy though it be, in a deity, and this *independently of Arabic sources*. There are in fact, as among the Semang, traces of a dualistic system. . . . Ostensibly Semang is the legend that *Kari* created everything but man, whose creation he desired *Ple* to effect, and that when *Ple* had done so, *Kari* himself gave them souls".²⁸ Again,—"*Kari*, (*Kai*, *Kail*), "thunder", says Father Schmidt, "does not occur in any of the Sakai, Jakun, or other Austroasiatic languages, so that the name of this supreme Being is in every respect peculiar to the most ancient layer of the population, and *could not have been borrowed*".²⁹ I have already treated the main points of this controversy in the preceding pages, and simply wish to call attention to the united force of the argument by a final appeal to the facts and a comparison with other regions.

Andaman Islands:—"It is *extremely improbable*", says Mr. Man, "that their legends were the result of the teaching of missionaries and others", and he emphasises want of tradition, absence of traces, parallel cases elsewhere.³⁰ Similarly Dr. Portman:—"The anthropological professors are very anxious to prove that the Andamanese must have derived their idea of a deity from some of the more civilised nations . . . but *I cannot agree with it*". (And he calls particular attention to the antiquity of the race, seclusion, conservatism,—no vestiges, social, linguistic, or otherwise).³¹

²⁷ J. R. Logan, in *Journ. Indian Archipelago*, Vol. I. pp. 329-330. ²⁸ Skeat, *Pagan Races*, II. 179, 185. ²⁹ Schmidt, *Pygmäenvölker*, p. 221 note. ³⁰ Man, I. c. p. 88-89. ³¹ Portman, *A History*, Vol. I. p. 45.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

DETAILED TESTIMONY

Ceylon:—According to Dr. Seligman, "The three strata of belief which exist among the Veddas of the present day have not fused so thoroughly that there is any great difficulty in separating them. We believe that they may be tabulated as follows:

(1) The cult of the dead, including the cult of the spirits of recent ancestors, that is of the *nae yaku* and the *yaku* of *certain Veddas who have long been dead and may well be regarded as heroes* (!). *The most important of these is Kande Yaka* (sic.) (2) The cult of foreign spirits who have become naturalised and have taken the friendly protective nature of the Vedda *yaku*. (3) The cult of foreign spirits who, though not often regarded as such, have retained their foreign nature and are in the main terrible or even hostile".³² *Kande-Yaka*, therefore, belongs to the most *ancient stratum* of beliefs, whatever be the value of this figure as a heaven-god,—he is a primitive "friend".

Philippines:—"On the Tarlac trail, between Tarlac and Zambales province", says Col. Reed, "there is a huge black boulder which the negritos believe to be the home of *one powerful spirit*. So far as I could learn the belief is that the spirits of all who die *enter this one spirit* or 'anito' who has its abiding place in this rock".³³ As no Catholic missionary would associate the God of Heaven with bananas and rocks, it is clear that this part of the belief cannot be traced to such a quarter, whatever other origin it may have had.

Borneo:—Dr. Hose comes to similar conclusions. "It might be thought that the conception of a beneficent supreme Being has been borrowed, directly or indirectly, from the Malays. *But we do not think that view is tenable*. For this is a *living belief* among the Madangs (Kenyas, and others), far from Malay influence in the remote interior, while it is a *dead one* among the Ibans and Sea-Dayaks, close to Malay influence on the surrounding coast-line". Archdeacon Perham also testifies that "among the Ibans there are traces of belief in one supreme God, which suggests that the idea is one that *has been prevalent*, but has now almost *died out*".³⁴ We have a strong case for Borneo, where the decadence of the later as compared with the earlier beliefs is strikingly illustrated.

New Guinea:—"Now it comes out that father was right after all." You boys of Dalmannhafen, is not 'God' the same as your *Wonekau* and our *Wonakau*?" These remarks of the mission children on the identity of their ancestral faith with that of the imported school-religion shows with some force that the idea of God was already familiar to them. However enriched by the Christian concept, it was certainly not introduced by the missionaries.³⁵

³² Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 149. ³³ Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 65. ³⁴ Hose and McDougall, in the *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.* (1901) Vol. XXXI. p. 212. including Perham's report. ³⁵ W. Schmidt, *Austronesische Mythologie*, (1910), p. 118.

THE QUESTION OF AUTHENTICITY

DETAILED TESTIMONY

Australia.—"As to Australia", writes Andrew Lang, "in face of the evidence which settled Mr. Howitt's doubts as to the borrowing of these ideas, can any one bring a native of age and credit who has said that *Baiame* under any name was borrowed from the whites? Mr. Palmer is 'perfectly satisfied' that 'none of these ideas were derived from the whites'. He is speaking of the tribes of the Gulf of Carpentaria, far away indeed from Victoria and New South Wales. There is no greater authority among anthropologists than Waitz, and Waitz rejects the hypothesis that the higher Australian beliefs were borrowed from Christians". (His motives are,—their priority to the missions, the absence of any traces, the secrecy of the cult.³⁶)

"It seems advisable", says Mr. Howitt, "that I should give the reasons which appear to me to prove conclusively the aboriginal origin of the belief in the tribal All-Father as I have given it". Then he mentions the case of the Kurnai informants, who had been initiated in 1844, sixteen years before the establishment of the two missions in Gippsland in 1860, and who assured him at the Jeraeil in 1864 that they were doing exactly as "the old men" had done when they themselves were initiated. "In answer to my inquiries about the legends told at the ceremonies, including that of *Mungan-ngaua* and his son *Tundun*, they said: "*The old men told us so*". Again,—"*See! That one is Bundjil* (pointing to the star Altair), you see him, and he sees you!" "This was before Bateman the missionary had settled on the banks of the Yarra river, and is conclusive as to the primitive character of the belief".³⁷

"I was first told of *Baiame* in whispers", says Mrs. Parker, "by a very old native, said to have been already grey-haired when Sir Thomas Mitchell discovered the Narran in 1846, (10 years before Mr. Ridley's catechism). But He was a worshipful being, revealed in the mysteries, *long before any missionaries came*, as all my informants aver".³⁸

Africa and South America.—Two anecdotes will suffice for these regions:—Asked from what quarter they had received their ideas the Wapokomo answered: "We have taken it from the Watwas or Negrillos", speaking of the first-fruit sacrifice to *Waka* (God).³⁹ "Is *Keri* the God of the Portuguese? No, we know nothing of him. . . . He is another. . . . *Keri* lives in the heavens. He is the grandfather of the Bakairi"—implying independence of the native belief.⁴⁰

³⁶ Lang, *Magic and Religion*, pp. 42-43. ³⁷ Howitt, *Native Tribes*, p. 504, 492ff. ³⁸ Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 5. (condensed). ³⁹ LeRoy, *Les Pygmées*, p. 177. ⁴⁰ Von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern*, p. 380. For a general refutation of the "Loan-god" theory, extending also to American Indians, see Lang, *Magic and Religion*, pp. 15-45, a powerful plea. These points are now generally conceded and Tylor appears to stand alone. Cp. Howitt, in *Folk-Lore* (1906), p. 188. N. W. Thomas, "Baime and the Bell-bird", in *Man* (1905), p. 44. Schmidt, *Ursprung*, p. 204-209.

III. THE QUESTION OF INTERPRETATION

PRINCIPLES OF THE PRIMITIVE THEOLOGY

Given the antiquity and the genuineness of the sources, the question arises as to their meaning. Is there any sense in which these traditions can be said to embody a nucleus of truth, to reflect, however vaguely, the primitive ideas of a supreme Being? The answer to this question must depend very largely upon the combined weight of the evidence in all its parts rather than that afforded by any single region. By collating the material for the primitive belt, it is possible to obtain a more or less complete picture of the deity as presented to the mind of the natives.

I. FOR THE QUIESCENT ATTRIBUTES

(1) SIMPLICITY OR SPIRITUALITY

Beginning with the idea of simplicity, the best test of such a notion is afforded by the attribute of invisibility or subtlety, which is fairly prominent:—"He is of fiery breath, but is now invisible" (*Kari-Puluga*, 1, 13), He is *Kande-Yaka-Anito*, 19, 24) "Great Spirit", He is *To-Bruwa*, "Invisible Spirit" (*Amaka*, 27), He is a *Vui*, or "powerful Spirit" (*Quat-Marawa*, 36), He is "all-seeing Spirit" (*Baiame*, 37), He is "Light-Spirit" (*Marraboona*, 45), He cannot "now" be seen (passim in Australasia), "He can see everything, but cannot be seen Himself" (*Waka*, 47), "He abides in the high heavens, and cannot now be seen" (*Indagarra*, 48), "He cannot be seen with the eyes but only with the heart of man" (*Kaang*, 51), "He is of supernatural size and invisible" (very common from *Peng*, 7, downwards), He is "Sun, or Light-Spirit" (*Kamushini*, 54). Moreover He is heard and felt, rather than seen, His voice is the thunder and His shafts the lightning, (passim in the earlier form, compare *Kari-Puluga*, 1, 13. *Amaka-Ballingo*, 25. *Nurrundere*, 42. *Daramulun*, 43. *Nzambi*, 48. *Iguanachi-Pillan*, 53. *Tupan*, 57). Though conceived as a man, He has no temples or images, except *Baiame-Daramulun*, 40, 43, (which effigy is destroyed immediately after the initiation-rite). Bamboo and bark-scratchings of similar nature are found in other regions, (Malakka, Borneo, Central Africa, Brazil). The absence of plastic representations of a permanent nature is a characteristic of this era, and in strong contrast to the practices, sometimes perverted, of the higher peoples. It will thus be seen that the idea of a supra-local, invisible, or spiritual being is very generally insinuated, sometimes described, though it is evident that such expressions must fall short of philosophical exactness, that the idea of simplicity is too refined a notion to be easily conveyed. Does not the very word "spirit" (*anima*, *ruach*, *bruwa*, etc.) indicate an analogy with the human breath, with the "wind" of heaven?

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(2) ETERNITY

"He has always existed, even before the creation" (*Kari*, 1), "He was never born, He is immortal" (*Peng*, 7, *Puluga*, 13),—eternity in both directions. He is *Amaka*, the Father or Generator before all time, (*Amaka*, 27), He is "very, very old", but never "older" (*Baiame*, 37), "He was once upon earth, but is now in heaven, where He still remains",—common throughout Australia, (Comp. *Daramulun*, 43, *Mungan-ngaua*, 44 etc.) These are explicit statements, but the idea is far wider than its expression. An eternity *a parte post* is universal, all these beings are "very, very old", they never "die". An eternity *a parte ante* is implied in such cases in which the figure is at once the "father" and "creator" of the universe and man. These cases are dealt with below under Creation. For the present it is important to note that in the doubtful-area, (*Anito*, *Quat-Marawa*, including the later peninsular and South-American divinities), a former creative role is strongly to be suspected, and this makes the attribute of eternity certain for the above and highly probable for the remainder. Taken all in all, the timeless character of the supreme Being is well attested in the earliest mythology.

(3) IMMENSITY AND INFINITY

These are difficult notions for the savage mind to express with anything like precision. They are generally the equivalents of large, big, enormous, terrible, etc. Thus "He is of supernatural size and of fiery breath" a forcible expression, if correctly reported, (*Kari*, *Peng*, 1, 7), "He knows and can do all things", (very general from *Kari* and *Amaka* downwards, either explicitly or implicitly), He "has immense power" (*Chidibey*, *Quat-Marawa*, 35), "He can do what He wishes" (*Baiame*, 37), "He can go everywhere and do anything" (*Daramulun*, 43),—implying omnipresence, a ubiquitous being. Again,—"He is very, very big, the best, the biggest" (quite common in Australia-Africa), "He is the master of all, He has made all, and arranged all, and in His sight we are all very small" (*Nzambi*, 48), His name is *Kari*, Thunder, *Amaka*, Great Father, *Quat*, Great Lord, *Baiame*, Great One, *Biamban*, Great Master, *Tupan*, Great Chief, etc., all of which point to qualities that are distinctly above the normal, though they fail to bring out the notion of limitless being in all its fulness. Here again the apparent deficiency is supplemented by more powerful criteria, for any being that can create is ipso facto an immense, an infinite being. We must therefore interpret this notion with the help of the operative attributes, from which the idea of the infinite may be deduced with more hope of success, (see below).

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(4) TRANSCENDENTAL ATTRIBUTES,—UNITY, TRUTH AND GOODNESS

(a) UNITY,—ABSENCE OF PARTS

Is this being singular or plural in number? The *Kari-Ple-Puluga* controversy suggests a lurking dualism. *Kari-Ple* are both apparently creators, and both receive the homage of worship and sacrifice, (1-5). It is certain, however, that the thunder-god is immensely superior to his demiurge, he has evidently fashioned him, for the latter is his "servant" or "son", who carries out his behests and intercedes for humanity, and who, though he formed the body of man, did so at *Kari's* command, who alone "gave them souls". This is equally conspicuous for *Puluga*, *Kande-Yaka*, *Amei-Amaka*, *Wonekau*, *Baiame*, and other great figures, not excluding the *Quat-Marawa* couple. However powerful the surrounding spirits may be,—and they nearly all have powerful helpers,—the supreme divinity towers above them in importance, and He alone is invoked in the greatest emergence, (*Bali Pen-ya-long*, 25. *Waka-Kaang*, 47, 51), though an appeal to the Creator through some powerful saint or mediator is, as with us, not excluded. Compare the cries for help to be given below, and this will be evident,—the Father above is their chief or ultimate object. In other words, there is only *one God*, though his "messengers" are innumerable.

(b) TRUTH,—CORRESPONDENCE OF REALITY WITH EXEMPLARY IDEAS

That the universe is modelled after the exemplary ideas in the divine Mind, that it is in some sense a "pattern" of God, may be inferred from the fact that the "all-seeing Spirit" knows His creation, that it is in a very direct sense His own work. (Comp. *Kari*, 1. *Peng*, 7. *Puluga*, 13. *Amaka*, 25. *Quat-Marawa*, 36. *Baiame*, 37. *Nurrundere*, *Bundjil*, 42. *Daramulun*, 43. *Waka*, 47. *Kamushini*, 55 (spider-motif) etc.) This seems to postulate a correspondence of the external, physical, with the internal, mental world, viewed from the standpoint of a divine originator. (Compare the "speculum" of the scholastics). God is thus the ontological truth of things. Is He also their ethical truth, the revealer of a true order of reality? It is a remarkable fact that in nearly every case the virtue of truthfulness is safeguarded by the highest sanctions, that lying is punished with severe chastisements. (Comp. *Puluga*, 13, on the sin of "falsehood", *Baiame*, 39, on the "deadly sin of lying to the elders of the tribe", and the testimony of Reed, "I never detected an untruth except one arising from errors of judgment", and of Haddon, "they never do any injury by making a false statement", p. XXXIX above). If then these "gods" demand truthfulness from their creatures, it is not too much to say that they are truthful themselves, that their object is not to deceive but to elevate and illuminate mankind.

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(c) GOODNESS, WISDOM, AND HOLINESS

The idea of goodness or moral perfection is contained either in the very concept of the deity as defined by the natives, or in the laws and sanctions for moral conduct as reflected in the lives of those who acknowledge His sway. As to the former, it must be admitted that explicit references to "goodness" are few and far between. Perhaps it was not necessary to emphasise a quality which is so obvious a notion in any concept of divinity that is worthy of the name. Nevertheless, it is clear that the idea of a good rather than a cruel or malevolent god is not in itself immediately evident, and there must be some guarantee that we are dealing with a divine, not a demoniacal being. Now this may be gathered from the whole trend and tendency of the mythology. These supreme figures are essentially good, wise, and benevolent Creators, they are the authors and guardians of the moral law, and they punish the wrong-doing of man by severe measures, they are his judge. (Comp. *Kari*, 1, 4. *Puluga*, 13, 17. *Kande-Yaka*, 20. Of *Anito*, 24, it is distinctly stated that he punishes the transgressions of his law by "sending diseases". The same idea is contained in *Amaka*, 27, the author of *adat*, "moral law", in *Wonekau*, 33, the "good" being, who punishes adultery, and perhaps even in *Quat-Marawa*, 36. However facetious the latter may be, he is never bad, malevolent, or immoral. This is equally prominent with *Baiame*, 37, the rewarder of the "good", and in fact with nearly all the Australian and African High-Fathers. Note especially *Kaang*, 51: "At first he was very good and nice, but he got spoilt through fighting so many things" (Idea of goodness contending with increasing evil). As to *Kamushini* and the Brazilian deities, the attribute of moral goodness may be inferred from the fire- and flood-legends of this region, in which the Sky-Father is said to have destroyed mankind on account of a violation of the moral law,—adultery, blasphemy, sacrilege, (54ff.). Finally, if ethical standards are to be our test, the remarkably high practice in this regard is something that requires an explanation. Murder and adultery are almost unknown, there is hardly any cannibalism or infanticide, and the "three deadly sins were unprovoked murder, lying to the elders of the tribe, and stealing a woman within the prohibited degrees". Moreover it is in the earliest region, (A-F), that this is most conspicuous, which tends to show that a pure theology and a pure morality develop on parallel lines. But the whole subject should be re-studied with the help of our Introduction (p. XXXIV-XL), from which the combined evidence on this head may be gathered. It is only through constant revision and recapitulation that the moral statistics for the earliest ages of man gradually sink into the mind of the student.

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(5) THE IDEA OF MERCY

It is generally supposed that mercy, the superabundance of love, is a "supernatural" attribute, being underivable from the idea of God except by metaphysical composition, that is, by adding a new, logically exclusive note. If this is so, it is all the more surprising to find this attribute dimly recognised in the earliest section. "He is angered by the commission of sin, but shows pity for man, and is moved by the pleadings of *Ple* on man's behalf" (*Kari*, 1), "He may also show mercy" (*Peng*, 7), "He is angered by the commission of certain sins,—falsehood, theft, grave assault, murder, adultery, etc.), while to those in pain or distress He is pitiful, and sometimes deigns to afford relief" (*Puluga*, 13). He shows pity, therefore, in at least three cases. In others it may be inferred from general benevolence, but not with certainty. Also from responses to prayer, (*Kaang*, 51), and from the survival of select souls from the flood, (*supra*). Here again the absence of explicit statements must be supplemented by the social and ethical data. The extreme kindness and charity that are meted out to the sick, the aged, and the infirm, who "invariably fare better than their more fortunate brethren", this has hardly the ring of a cruel and exacting divinity, and the numerous cases of unselfish heroism, of starvation for the sake of the progeny, of the rescue of feeble and decrepit persons when in peril of drowning, of the carrying about of wives on the backs of their husbands, "when too old or too sick to walk",—all these merciful actions point to a merciful God, to a being who is not a tyrant but a tender Father of humanity. (Compare the data *passim* as given on p. XXXIVff. and in the text.)

(6) THE IDEA OF JUSTICE

But this Father is also just, He requires a strict account of the actions of man, He punishes their misdeeds. (Comp. *Kari*, 5. *Puluga*, 17. *Anito*, 24. *Amaka*, 27. *Baiame*, 37. *Daramulun*, 43. *Mungan-ngaua*, 44. and generally throughout Australia-Africa). Here again a universal Flood is the result of divine justice for breaches of the moral law. (Comp. *Kamushini-Monan*, 54ff.) Then again, moral duties are held to bind sometimes under "pain of death", they never go unpunished. Taken altogether, therefore, these facts cannot fail to have some bearings on the moral qualities of the Lawgiver. He who requires truth, mercy, justice, chastity, charity, and self-sacrifice from His creatures and brings them forth in their lives,—He must Himself be truthful, merciful, just, pure, and inherently lovable,—recalling the old scholastic saying, so often forgotten,—*Nemo dat quod non habet*.

(II.) FOR THE OPERATIVE ATTRIBUTES

(1) OMNISCIENCE

The operative attributes, being more external, are as a rule more easy to verify. Omniscience is fairly strong. "He knows all things, at least all things that concern man" (*Kari*, 1. *Peng*, 7. *Tuhan*, 11). "He is omniscient while it is day, knowing even the thoughts of men's hearts" (*Puluga*, 13). (The addition "while it is day" has been shown to be a later touch). "He sees their actions at all times" (*Anito*, 21), the same for *Amaka* (27), for *Wonekau* (34), and for the *Quat-Marawa* region (35), though with less security. He is "all-seeing spirit" (*Baiame*, 37), "See! That one is *Bundjil*, you see him, and he sees you!" (*Bundjil*, 42), "He watches the actions of men, He can see people" (*Daramulun*, 43). "Waka can see everything, but cannot be seen himself" (*Waka*, 47). These are verbatim reports, but the concept is implied in all regions where this Being is all-powerful. Note therefore the evidence for

(2) OMNIPOTENCE

Kari "can do all things, his will is irresistible" (1), *Puluga-Anito-Amaka* are at least "very powerful" (13, 24, 27), *Chidibey* has "immense power" (35), *Baiame* "can do what he wishes" (37), *Daramulun* "can go everywhere and do anything" (43), *Waka* is "the Master of all" (47), *Nzambi* the same (48), *Kaang* "causes to live and causes to die" (51), *Kande-Yaka* is "Great Spirit" (19), *Tuhan di-Bawah* is "Great Lord", etc. from which it is evident that this being is looked upon as more than an ordinary *vui* or spirit-agency, that he "sees" and "does" things in a manner that is rather above the normal, that is hardly shared by any of his associates. But does this imply an *all-knowledge*, an *all-power*, in the strict sense? This can hardly be proved from the existing material. Though the language is sometimes strong, there are too many limiting clauses, the notion is sometimes vague (see above). All we can say is that this being is endowed with "great" knowledge, and with "great" power, the superlative being suggested, the infinite hardly provable.

(3) PROVIDENCE

By combining (1) and (2) with wisdom and goodness, we get the notion of Providence,—the disposal of all things according to their appointed ends, the finalisation of being. If then these items have been correctly reported, it would seem that some such notion is thereby included. But apart from this, the idea of benevolence, of asking and obtaining things from the Giver of all, of rewards and punishments in the world to come,—this alone suggests a divine "planning", though it falls short of rigid demonstration. It is difficult to see what all these numerous prayers and invocations could otherwise mean.

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(III) THE NOTION OF CREATOR

"The idea of a creation out of nothing is a product of priestly speculation, and is entirely foreign to the mind of primitive man". These words of Paul Ehrenreich, (*Mythen*, p. 29), presuppose for their truth, that the absence of an explicit statement proves the absence of the idea, a species of negative argument which is always dangerous. As to explicit statement, not until the time of the Maccabees can a creation "*ex ouk onton*" be strictly demonstrated from the wording, (2 Macc. 7, 28). Does this destroy the value of Gen. 1, 1, as an implicit recognition of the doctrine both by text and context? The majority of critics reply in the negative. In a very similar manner the absence of the clause "out of nothing" in the earliest legends proves at the most that this concept was not explicitly emphasised, not that it was non-existent. There are reasons for believing that a Maker of *all* things can hardly be less than a Creator out of nothing; for how could He make *all* things, if *some* things existed from all eternity? This reminds us of the famous Thomistic discussion on "eternal creation", admitted as conceivable only for a static creation, an immovable universe, but generally repudiated for all movable or perfectible, all "progressive" being. The difficulty of an infinite series is insurmountable, whatever may be said of "projected archetypes". If then we take the notion of *universal making* as the safest test of creative power in the philosophical sense, we shall be led to the conclusion that this notion is fairly conspicuous from the earliest times, that it is in fact a characteristic of very early thought.

Kari has "made all things", even if the earth and the body of man were formed by *Ple*, his "servant" or demiurge, not impossibly a logos or divine mediator, (Creation, 134). Moreover He alone can "inspire" the soul, while the body is formed of clay and water. (*ibidem*). The same of *Peng* and of *Tuhan-ai-Bawah*, though in somewhat faded form (135, 136). *Puluga* has "made the world and all objects", excepting only the powers of evil, but these are dependent and have no creative functions, (137). The "Supreme Being" of the Alabat Aetas is addressed as "Our Maker" (138), and in Central Borneo *Amaka-Balingo* is evidently a universal generator, even if by secondary causes, (139). This is equally pronounced in Celebes and the Southern Molukkas, with the "breath of heaven"-theme, (140), and in New Guinea,—"*Wonekau* made the Pleiades and the stars", (141). *Baiame* is distinctly a Creator, "He has made all things", and *Bundjil* forms the first pair out of a lump of clay and "breathes" on them, (142-143). This idea can be traced as far as Tasmania, where the "Spirit of great creative power" forms or fashions the first man, (*Marraboona*, 144).

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

THE NOTION OF CREATOR

Turning to Africa, there is no lack of a creating God, if we take the reports just as they stand. "He has made all, He is the Master of all, and in His sight we are all very small", "He causes to live and causes to die" (*Waka-Kaang*, 145). In some cases the idea is contained in the root-meaning of the word, as in *Nza-ambi*, "He who creates", and that the terminus of this action is universal may be inferred from the fact that no other beings are regarded as self-subsistent, they all depend upon the Father above. Even the few mediators derive their power from Him alone, (*ibid*).

As to South America, we have the same prominence of a single universal First-Cause who shines through the different creation-legends in such a manner that He can be separated from the later culture-heroes without, as a rule, much difficulty. *Tupan* is a "Great Master", *Monan* is a "Creator", and *Kamushini* is a "Father of Shining Light", who "spins the world out like a spider". Even if *Keri* and *Kames*, the created pair, have been bedecked with wonderful qualities, few can approach the central figure in commanding importance. The same may be said of the early Fuegian divinities, though the confusion of God and ancestor is here very marked. But if *Pimaukel* "has made all things", it is a "Great Giant" that came down from heaven, and formed the first Ona man and woman out of two mountains or clods of earth",—essentially the same concept. (54, 57, 147, 148).

Furthermore, we have discovered that in this earliest layer of tradition creative action is largely personal, immediate, self-conscious, and direct, there are no independent or self-evolving units. Rather does the Sky-Father call the whole of nature into existence "by His breath", and this not suddenly, but in successive ages or periods of activity,—corresponding to light, water, earth, stars, animals, man,—in all six cycles, (188). While this does not of course exclude the operation of secondary agencies in the shape of wind, water, and fire-spirits, including "eagles",—a prehistoric synonym for what we call "angels"—, it seems very clear that *through* these messengers He reaches every form of creatable being.

Now as this power to create is one of the most essential marks of a divine Being, it cannot be rated at too high a value. It shows that in the mind of the primitive savage all things were made by a *supreme Person*, though *how* He made them, he does not know. He insinuates "out of nothing", but leaves the question unanswered. Even we ourselves find it difficult to picture, how something can arise out of nothing,—but this is precisely the supreme test of divinity, it requires *infinite power*.

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(IV) THE ROLE OF LAWGIVER

(1) AS REVEALED IN THE PARADISE-LEGENDS

So much for the metaphysical side of the deity. For the ethical side we must turn to that more external aspect of the divine economy by which He governs the human race by definite norms or standards of conduct, in other words, by "laws". The idea of personality is incomplete unless it can be shown that the infinite Ego can vindicate His authority as a moral being by demanding His rights, by compelling the fulfilment of His eternal decrees. Only in this sense is He more than a creating-machine.

The first illustration of this subject is obtained from the paradise-literature. We have seen that the combined folk-lore of the primitive age leaves no room for doubt that among the first commands given to the human race was that of abstention from a fruit or food-product which was in some mysterious way connected with the seat or the origin of life. It is the "Soul-Tree" of Malakka and South-Victoria, with the "enchanted fruits" of Borneo and Central Africa, that forms the basis of this command. "*You shall not eat of the fruit of the paradise-tree*",—this is distinctly implied in all the earlier accounts where there are special trees that contain the power of procreation, of causing the human race to multiply. (*Kari-Peng-Tuhan*, 196-198. *Puluga*, 199. *Amaka*, 201, and very probably for *Baiame*, 203. *Nzambi*, 204, and *Kamushini*, 206). This is a clear hint that the original sin was in part sexual, it was a command to abstain from the indiscriminate use of the power of propagation,—in other words respect for the laws of marriage. But there is another tree which imparts the divine life in a higher sense it contains the power of making people invisible, immortal, "supernaturally beautiful and invulnerable" (*Kari-Peng*, 186, 316. *Amaka*, 201, 334. *Baiame*, 203, 341. *Nzambi-Kaang*, 204-206. and perhaps *Kamushini*, 207). This is the "Tree of Life", which is distinguished from the "Tree of Death" in that it has no connection with sexual desire. While these two "soul-fruits" cannot always be separated, it is certain that a supreme taboo was placed upon both, and the punishment for its violation is expressed in the sentence:—"Because you have chosen the banana, your life shall be like its life. When the banana-tree has offspring, the parent-stem dies: so shall you die, and your children shall step in your place. Had you chosen the stone, your life would be like the life of the stone, changeless and immortal!" These words come from Borneo-Celebes, (*Amaka-Samoa*, 201), but the Andamanese tradition alone is sufficient to reveal a commanding and punishing God, and one essentially connected with the paradise-fruit, (*Puluga*, 199).

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

THE ROLE OF LAWGIVER

(2) AS REVEALED IN THE HOPE OF REDEMPTION

But the gates of Heaven are not to remain for ever closed. From the earliest times there is hope of reconciliation, symbolised by the triumph of the Heaven-God over the insidious crocodile, (*Amaka*, 201). Moreover, in so far as the Sky-Father himself saves man, He is the carrier of a divine Law which is to reform the world, and this by his triple manifestation as *Father-Mother-Son*, an obscure relic of a paradisaic promise. That this is the pattern upon which the redemptive scheme has been built, is to say the least highly probable. Saving mothers and sons occur too frequently to be looked upon as mere ornaments. *Kari* saves by his son *Ple*, *Peng* by his mother *Lanyut*, *Tuhan* by his demiurge *To-Entah*, *Puluga* by his son or archangel *Pijchor*, *Kande-Yaka* by his son or brother *Bilindi-Yaka*, *Amaka-Penya-long* by his helping mother *Do-Penya-long*, *Ilai* and *Indara* by their divine child *Samoa*, *Baiame* by his son *Gregorally*, *Bundjil* by his son or brother *Binbeal*, *Mungan-ngaua* by his son *Tundun*, etc. (See pp. 255-262). In Africa we have at least one mediator in *Ryangombe*, and perhaps *Cogaz*, while in Brazil, *Kamushini* lives in *Keri*, the semi-divine deliverer (264).

Now it is manifestly impossible to deduce any pure scheme of soteriology out of these mythical fragments. The personalities are too perfunctory, their nature and number are altogether too variable, to admit of any serious conclusions on the subject of a supposed "trinity". But that they are fractions of a past revelation on the subject can hardly be questioned, and, as they stand, they may be said to furnish the basis for a distant messianic hope, that may some day be realised. In other words,—*It is God who is to save by His Son, and with the help of His Mother*,—this is as far as the primitive data can possibly carry us, and even this can only point to the future by the general failure of the demiurges to effect salvation,—they must be continually replaced by new "saviors".

It is here, however, that we may look for the *source* of the law as the moral standard of the faithful and as about to renew the earth. It is through imitating this model, the ideal or celestial "family", that a prototype is given to all mankind to direct their conduct and to look to the heavens for hope. "*Amaka, Quat-Marawa! Save us!*"—this formula seems to focus the common longing for deliverance, and the dusky mariner on the savage sea realises as well as any of us that the only hope of salvation must come from his fidelity to the eternal law. It is this certain hope that is for ever haunting the vision of primitive man, obscured as it is by every imaginable form of hero-worship. For behind the demiurge we are forced to recognise some Power who carries in His own person the promise of its fulfilment, (313).

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

THE ROLE OF LAWGIVER

(3) AS REVEALED IN SACRIFICE, INSTITUTIONS, AND ESCHATOLOGY

Coming to the practical side of the question, the most efficient test of a theory is found in its workability, in its power to mould and direct human life not only in its private but in its public and social relations. The role of institutional lawgiver is therefore all-important, and, being less abstract, is generally more easy to verify, being reflected in the sacred traditions and practices of the people and their latter-day beliefs. Let us make a brief review of the main points treated under this head.

(1) BIRTH-CUSTOMS

(a) *The Birth-Bamboo*:—Among the earliest practices reported in this connection is that of wearing the so-called birth-bamboo as a protection in childbirth. The Malakkan *Tahong* is a mystical cylinder worn by the mother which no one but her husband may see, but which she must never be without. It is believed to secure a successful delivery. Inscribed with the mystical patterns ordained by the Thunder-God, it has a semi-religious significance inasmuch as it contains the "soul-bird", which nestles in the "name-tree", and which is despatched from *Kari's* "paradise-tree",—which bird is then religiously eaten by the mother,—“She has eaten the bird”, (319). A similar custom is reported from Ceylon, with tree-bast (327), and from Borneo, with the "birth-ring" (333), while the name-tree is very common, and the soul-bird reappears in South-East Australia as the sex-bird, (341). All this suggests that the birth of a child is regarded as a solemn and providential moment, as requiring the co-operation of divine power, the blessing of heaven.

(b) *The Couvade*:—The mystical "lying-in" of the father is another very early custom. "At birth the husband is confined to his house for eight days, he must fast on rice and water, and for four days he cannot even take a bath or look at the sun". (Borneo, 333). The same to some extent for Melanesia (339), and for South America,—“the father is a patient in so far as he feels himself at one with his new-born”, (Brazil, 345). The ceremony emphasises the male parentage of the child,—a beautiful practice.

(c) *The Ablution*:—“At the moment of birth, or soon after, the name of the child is solemnly pronounced by the midwife or medicine-man, the name being taken from the birth-tree, and the child is washed or sprinkled with water” (Malakka, 319). This ceremony is so universal, sometimes even with a cruciform sign (Australia, 341), that we can almost discern the formula:—

“*Palm-tree, Willow, Mangrove,—may Heaven help you!*” (East Indies, 390). It is the means by which the child is dedicated to the Sky-Father, (ibid.)

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(2) THE INITIATION

We have seen that the simplest form of initiation to manhood consists of an unction with palm-oil or turmeric, sometimes accompanied by a moderate fast, during which the candidate is instructed in the rights and obligations of citizenship, the laws of marriage, the observance of tribal customs. We have abundant evidence of the moral and quasi-religious nature of these functions, during which the adult name is generally assumed, the boys being called after animals, and the girls after flowers,—thus—

"Bear, Buffalo, Rafflesia, Rhododendron,—I rub you with this oil!"

"Be brave, be generous, be true!"

a ceremony which is well attested for the East-Indies and Central Africa (319, 334, 343ff.) As an illustration of their serious moral and social import, take the Kurnai-initiation in South Victoria, in which the youth are instructed in the following terms:—

"Our Father" has commanded you:—

- (1) *to listen to and obey the old men,*
- (2) *to share everything with your friends,*
- (3) *to live peaceably with your friends,*
- (4) *not to interfere with girls and married women,*
- (5) *to obey the food-restrictions.*

Whatever abuses may have crept into these ordeals in later times, it is clear that these earliest initiations were conducive to good social standards, that they tended to foster a healthy tone of social morality.

(3) THE SACRIFICE AS SUCH

The initiation naturally prepares the youth for admission to the sacrifice in the proper sense, which, as we have shown, was originally and primarily of *unbloody* nature, the fruit of the paradise-tree being its principal model. It is commonly the bud or the blossom of the mystic palm,—generally known as the "magic flower"—, that is the foundation of this primitive cult and thus vaguely foreshadows the better gifts to come. The flower is kept in a bamboo case, and on solemn occasions the blossom is wafted about with torches or fire-sticks, and the patient is "healed". In our analysis of the religious ideas underlying these rites, we have discovered that there is a vague belief that the Creator imparts His power to His creatures in some mysterious and incomprehensible manner,—that He operates His cures by means of the "magic" palm, which palm is often consumed in the fire to complete the offering. Its purpose is "to call back the souls of the suffering" to "make his children supernaturally beautiful and invulnerable". Side by side we find the deer, the bird, or the buffalo solemnly sacrificed to the Creator of all, and thus we reach the most primitive form of sacrifice as yet known to us.—the simple offering up of the first-fruits of the earth and the firstlings of the flock—, the so-called *Sadaka*, or Cain-Abel sacrifice. (Malakka, 320-321, Ceylon, 328-329, Borneo, 334-335, Central Africa, 342-343. See also 315, 394).

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

THE SACRED MYSTERIES AS EVIDENCE OF PRAYER AND SACRIFICE

THE QUESTION OF PERSONALITY

From the preceding data it would seem to be clear that the idea of personality is distinctly implied in the notion of Lawgiver. He who rules by right divine is evidently a "substantia sui juris". This is brought into still bolder relief by the prayers and petitions that are addressed to Him for help, and which can only be referred to a real, "living" personality.

THE TEST OF WORSHIP

To take the test of worship, it must be admitted that formal prayers are at a minimum. There are certain solemn moments, however, when a definite form of words seems to be used, as witness—

(1) "*Blossom, I offer you to heaven! Blood, I throw you up to the sun!*" Mystic palm, fern-juice or human blood, "thrown up" to the divinity, (addressed to *Kari-Ple*, the god of the "thunder-fruit", [Malakkan Rite, 320]).

(2) "*King of the hills, who continues to go from hill to hill, cause rain!*" "*Long life! Long life to the Great Master!*" addressed to *Kande-Yaka* at the coconut-sacrifice, (Sinhalese Rite, 327).

(3) "*Praise to the supreme Being, our Maker!*"—"This for Thee!" etc. addressed to the Alabat Creator, etc. with first-fruits, (Philippine Rite, 331).

(4) "*Father above! Spirit-Master in Heaven!*" "*O holy Dayong, thou who lovest mankind, bring back thy servant from Leman, the land between life and death!*" "*O spirit of this bird! Ask the Heavenly Father to take away all sickness from us and to keep us from all harm!*" (Bornean Rite, 334-335).

(5) "*Father of all, whose laws the tribes are now obeying!*", addressed to *Baiame*, with spear-throwing, (Australian Rite, 341).

(6) "*Great Father!*" (Papang), "*Great Master!*" (Biamban), (Idem, 43).

(7) "*Our Father, who art in Heaven!*" (*Mungan-ngaua tiganna-marra-boona*), the former in South Victoria, the latter in Tasmania (High-One-Exalted, 45).

(8) "*Our Father in Heaven!* in Central Africa (50). "*Forward, forward, forward! Let us gather the present of the Lord!*" (Ibid. 343).

(9) "*Waka! Thou hast given me this buffalo, this honey, this wine. Behold thy portion. Grant me continued strength and life, and that no harm may come to my children!*" (Central-African Firstling Rite, 343).

(10) "*O Kaang, Kaang, are we not thy children? Do you not see our hunger? Give us food! (And He gives us both our hands full)*". (Bushman Rite, 343).

(11) "*The Great Chief is angry!*" "*The heavenly Master is scolding!*"

(12) "*Father in Heaven, Father of shining Light!*" (*Aba-angui-papa-kamu-shini*), Upper Shingu tribes, (Central Amazonian Rite, 54-57, 345).

From this selected material it is evident that the invocation of a "Heavenly Father", and this for a moral purpose, (food, protection, help, blessing, etc.), is well developed in the earliest region. It will show that the theory of an unknown, unloved, unworshipped divinity can no longer be maintained.

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(4) EXPIATION

In so far as the preceding rites are in part curative, they acquire also a medical aspect, in which the same herbs or specifics are administered to the sick as a healing portion. But the exorcism of sin is a special rite which is combined with the exorcism of sickness as of demoniacal origin. The shaman takes the palm-branch and with it he belabors the patient who is perched upon a rude couch in the medicine-hut, and invokes the yaka:—*"I crave your help in healing him, whose soul is sick, whose body stricken!"* As the civil magistrate he knows his patient and the nature of his failings and he administers his medicine by gentle taps with the palm, by blowing over his head, or by brandishing the bamboo cross. This is as near an approach to an absolution from sin as we can find in the earliest times, though its semi-magical aspect has been duly noted, (322, 401).

(5) PRIESTHOOD.

The extreme simplicity of the primitive government is revealed in nothing so forcibly as in the "patriarchate",—that system of family government in which the father unites in his own person all the vocations or professions in life,—he is their king, priest, guide, philosopher, and friend,—a condition which is inevitable in very early stages of society. This means that the entire ritual is administered by the family-father in the name of the All-Father above, and thus the priesthood is derived from God, the Father of the human race. Nay more, he trains his son to succeed him,—

"May your life be long, I am training a scholar of the mind", (329).

He anoints him with palm-oil, gives him the pastoral staff or the sacrificial bamboo, and so the power is handed down from one generation to another.

(6) MATRIMONY

In an age when new social experiments are in the air, it is refreshing to turn to the simple lives of these simple people, and see how they have solved the sex-problem by a direct appeal to the law of nature, which dictates:—

- (1) the union of one man with one woman,
- (2) division of labor as the basis of equality of sex.

This union is very generally regarded as binding for life,—divorce is not normally recognised,—and its religious character is emphasized by the prayers and sacrifices that accompany it, as in the Philippines and Borneo.

"Praise to the supreme Being, our Maker!" (322).

"May Father-in-Heaven protect us!" (338).

Moreover the custom of dividing the labor between the two sexes, leaving the chase and the animal creation to the man, and the domestic hearth and the vegetable creation to the woman, this has produced a happy equilibrium in the rights and duties of the married couple,—the ideal relation.

PRIMITIVE INTERPRETATION

(7) BURIAL AND ESCHATOLOGY

It is in the matter of funeral rites that we meet with an equally unexpected and perhaps still more striking phenomenon. So far from neglecting the body or even burning it, neither desertion nor cremation can be proved to have been the original practice. On the contrary, the body is generally painted or anointed in preparation for death with encouraging words,—

"I rub you with this fat. May you continue to live!" (403).

"Happy journey to the land of Leman!" (338).

When however the supreme moment has arrived, the family will gather around the dying one and whisper consolations into his ear, bidding him a last farewell. After the soul has expired, the funeral itself is undertaken, which *may* consist in leaving the corpse in the spot where death supervened, covered by the leaves of the forest, or, more commonly, in carrying it to some remote tree or rock-shelter to be consigned to the earth. Here and there the body is placed in the hollow of a tree as in a primitive coffin. *"Our father who went to that world, come to this world, come very quickly!"* In these words is summed up the primitive belief in the hereafter, which, as we have abundantly proved, is not an indefinite nowhere, still less a return to the animals, but a clearly-marked world of happiness or misery, which is the final lot of the saint or the sinner here below. For if the wicked descend to a boiling lake, and the half-cleansed are forced to contend with the fire and fumes of the paradise-bridge, those who have obeyed the commands of the Heaven-God are admitted to the enchanted fruit-island, there to enjoy His blessings for ever. This, however, falls considerably short of what we understand by supernatural beatitude, (403, 492, 500).

CONSIDERATION

I have thought it necessary to reproduce the ritual and many of these prayers in compact form in order to focus the attention of the reader upon the combined force of the argument as derived from their content. Only in this manner can the entire theology be viewed as it were in a single panorama. But if doubts may arise upon this or that particular point of belief or practice, the preceding pages should be reconsulted.

As a reminder it should be noted that however doubtful or defective the interpretation of any single rite or ceremony may be taken to be, it can generally be corrected or supplemented by more detailed evidence from an adjacent region, and thus the combined interpretation remains on the whole well-founded. To appreciate the general coherence of the entire system, the following summary will represent the earliest convictions of mankind on the subject of a supernatural Being as far as all our preceding sources will allow us to make one. We may tabulate the general consciousness of early man in this regard in the following manner, and most of these statements will, I think, bear the test of serious scrutiny:—

SUMMARY OF THE PRIMITIVE BELIEF

THE COMBINED PICTURE

- (1) There is throughout this region only *one* being, to whom the attributes of divinity have been assigned. He is generally described as:—
- (a) spiritual or invisible, (“He cannot now be seen”),
 - (b) eternal or timeless, (“very, very old, but never older”),
 - (c) infinite and immense, (“of supernatural size and of fiery breath”),
 - (d) good, wise, and holy, (the author and guardian of the moral law),
 - (e) merciful, (“He shows pity for man, is moved by his pleadings”),
 - (f) just, (He rewards the good and punishes the wicked in both worlds),
 - (g) all-knowing, (“He knows all things, He can see all things”),
 - (h) all-powerful, (“He can go everywhere and do anything”),
 - (k) all-provident, (“He gives us both our hands full”).
- (2) As to the chief test of divinity, the power of creating,—He is
- (l) maker of all, (“He has made all things”) in nearly every instance.
 - (m) sustainer of all, (“He causes to live and causes to die”),
 - (n) creator of all things out of nothing, (not clearly provable, but may be inferred from universal making, an implied but confused idea).
- (3) But He is more than creator, He is a lawgiver, a personality *sui juris*,—
- (o) He is “Great Master”, “Great Lord”, “Great Father”, “Our Father”.
 - (p) He watches over human life, (“He sees their actions at all times”),
 - (q) He is their Teacher, (“He has taught them the arts of life”),
 - (r) He is their Lawgiver, (“He has commanded them to observe the customs”),
 - (s) He is the Guardian of the social order, (“Baïame told us so”),
 - (t) He is the Guardian of the moral order, (“very angry when they do wrong”),
 - (u) He is the object of worship in prayer and sacrifice, (“He hears their petitions, He answers their prayers, He accepts their sacrifices”),
 - (v) He is the punisher of the wicked, (“He sends a great flood”),
 - (w) He is rewarder of the good, (“He saves select souls from the flood”),
 - (x) He is the final consummation of all things, (“He consigns the wicked to the world below, and rewards the righteous with a heaven of delights”).

Now all this brings out the ethical attributes considered above. It reveals the qualities of truth, mercy, justice, and holiness, in a manner that is surprising and that suggests some serious thoughts on the origin of these ideas at such an early period of human development. Are they entirely spontaneous? Can they be explained by natural reasoning alone? This no doubt is partially possible. But in the mean time we have been brought face to face with a Heavenly Father, who gives His little ones their daily bread.

CRITICISM BY RECENT EXPERTS

Let us see what impression these findings have made upon contemporary authors, to what extent they bear out our main contentions.

MALAY PENINSULA

"The Mantra", says Father Borie, "*recognise a supreme God, at whose command Raja Brahil created all things, God himself creating the firmament. They have also a day-of-judgment belief, yet their religion is mainly shaministic*". This is *Peng-Tuhan-di-Allah* of Southern Malakka.¹

"Speaking of the Benua belief in a deity, Mr. Logan remarks that, so far as he had been able to understand, the Berembun tribes had no idea of a supreme deity, and he had taken it for granted that he would find the Benua equally atheistic. His surprise therefore was great when he discovered that *they had a simple and to a certain extent—a rational theology. They believed in the existence of one God, Pirman, who made the world and everything that is visible*". "The Malays were not aware that the Benua *believed in a God, or that the magicians power was considered to be derived from Him and entirely dependent on His pleasure*".²

Dr. Skeat gives the same impressions:—"Ostensibly Semang is the legend that *Kari* created everything but man, and that when *Ple* had formed the body of man, *Kari* himself gave them souls". "Among the Mantra and doubtless among other Jakun tribes, if the matter were more thoroughly investigated, *there does undoubtedly exist a belief, shadowy though it be, in a deity, and this independently of Arabic sources*".³

"From all this evidence", says Father Schmidt, "it is clear that *Kari*, the High God of the Semang, occupies a unique position, that everything is subject to Him, that *He possesses the essential attributes of a supreme Being*".⁴

ANDAMAN ISLANDS

"It is from regard to the fact that their beliefs on these points approximate so closely to *the true faith concerning the deity* that I have adopted the English method of spelling all equivalents of "God" with an initial capital'. (And Mr. Man strongly repudiates an importation).⁵

"The Andamanese", writes Dr. Portman, "*believe in One God, who resides in Heaven above, who was the cause of existence of everybody and everything, directly or indirectly, and is a somewhat anthropomorphic conception, having passions, likes and dislikes. He corresponds in many ways to a European child's idea of deity*". "The anthropological professors", he says, "are very anxious to prove that the Andamanese must have derived their word for and their idea of deity from some of the more civilised nations, but I cannot agree with it".⁶

¹ H. Borie, On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula in Transactions of the Ethnol. Soc. of London, Vol. III. p. 72ff. ² J. R. Logan, The Orang-Benua of Johor, Journ. Indian Archipelago, Vol. I. p. 295. Skeat, Pagan Races, II. 322, 349. ³ Idem, II. 179, 185. ⁴ Schmidt, Pygmaeenvölker, p. 225. ⁵ Man, Andaman Islands, p. 90, note. ⁶ Portman, A History, p. 45.

CRITICISM BY RECENT EXPERTS

BORNEO

"The Punans, or Bakatans", write Dr. Hose and Bishop McDougall, "reverence the supreme Being as the Kenyahs do and they address him as *Bali-lutong*" that is—*Bali Pen-ya-long* ("*Spirit-Father-Above*").⁷

"The Kennyas believe in a beneficent supreme Being and in a great number of less powerful spirits. The spirit of any object is called *bali*. *Balingo* is the god of thunder, but more important than all is *Bali-Pen-ya-long*, to whom the Kenyas pray for guidance in important undertakings". Like the Kenyas, the Kayans worship the supreme Being under the name of *Laki-Tenangan*, or "Grandfather Tenangan", etc.⁸

"The prevalence of the belief in a supreme Being", says Dr. Hose, "must also tend to prevent the development of totemism, and we cannot conclude without saying something as to the possible *origin of this conception of a beneficent Being*, more powerful than all the others, who sends guidance and warnings by the omen-birds, and who receives and answers the prayers carried to him by the souls of the fowls and pigs. It might be thought that this conception of a *beneficent supreme Being* has been borrowed, directly or indirectly, from the Malays, but we do not think that view is tenable. *For it is a living belief among the Madangs, far from Malay influence, while it is a dead one among the Ibans, close to Malay influence*" (transcript).⁹

Archdeacon Perham says of the Ibans that there are *traces of belief in one supreme God*, which suggests that the idea is one that has been prevalent, but has now almost died out",—that is among the Sea-Dayaks.¹⁰

"This conception is one that undoubtedly *makes for righteousness*, because it reflects the character of the people, who, within the community and the tribe, are decent, human, and honest folk".¹¹

"*Amei-Tingei*," (*Amaka*), says Dr. Nieuwenhuis, 'is the *'High-Father of the Bahau* (or inland-tribes). For the Bahau, *Amei* is he who rules the lives of men, punishes the violations of *adat*, (moral law). He is all-knowing, and has *under* him a legion of bad spirits" (showing opposition of High-Father to *bruwas* and ghosts).¹²

Speaking of the relation of the belief to morals, the same author says: "Highly significant as against other Dayak tribes is *the complete fidelity to the marriage-tie* among the Bahau, and the equality of rights between man and woman, with the consciousness of a numerical preponderance of the latter, argues for a degree of continence and sexual self-control that we would hardly expect to find among a people on such a low level of culture".¹³

⁷ Hose and McDougall, Journ. Anthropol. Institute, Vol. XXXI. (1910), p. 195. ⁸ Idem, p. 175, 190. ⁹ Idem, p. 212. ¹⁰ Ibidem. ¹¹ Idem, p. 213. (conclusion). Comp. also by the same authors, The Native Tribes of Borneo (London, 1912). ¹² A. W. Nieuwenhuis, In Centraal Borneo, (Leyden, 1900), Vol. I. p. 139ff. Idem, Quer durch Borneo, (Leyden, 1904), Vol. I. p. 98ff. ¹³ Centraal-Borneo, I. p. 100.

CRITICISM BY RECENT EXPERTS

AUSTRALIA-TASMANIA

"It seems quite clear", says Howitt, "that *Nurrundere*, *Nurelli*, *Bundjil*, *Mungan-ngaua*, *Daramulun*, and *Baiame*, all represent the same being under different names . . . an anthropomorphic supernatural being who lives in the sky and who is supposed to have some kind of influence on the morals of the natives. . . . *I am satisfied that this belief has been locally evolved, and not introduced from without.* But in saying this I must guard myself from being thought to imply any primitive revelation of a monotheistic character. What I see is merely the action of elementary thought reaching conclusions such as all savages are capable of, and *which may have been at the root of monotheistic beliefs*".¹⁴

"From all this evidence", writes Andrew Lang, "it does not appear *how* non-polytheistic, non-monarchical, non-manes-worshipping savages evolved the idea of a *relatively supreme, moral, and benevolent Creator*, unborn, undying, watching men's lives,—He can go everywhere, and do everything".¹⁵

Dr. Foy of Cologne bears similar testimony:—"It is surprising, by the way, to find in South-East Australia the belief in *One God*, the 'Father' or 'Grandfather', who is the Creator of man and of the most important phenomena of nature, who has taught men the arts, and who watches over their conduct and the carrying out of his laws".¹⁶

"Whether from the ontological or the psychologico-historical point of view", says Father Schmidt, "it is only a *transcendent Personality*, ('eine zu Beginn stehende Persoenlichkeit'), that is able to give a satisfactory explanation of all the religious facts in their origin and in their course of development".¹⁷

"My anthropological reading was scanty", writes Mrs. Parker, "but I was well acquainted with and believed in Herbert Spencer's 'ghost-theory' of the origin of religion in the worship of ancestral spirits. What I learnt from the natives surprised me, and shook my faith in Spencer's theory, with which it seemed incompatible".¹⁸

"We may indulge the conjecture", says Prof. Jevons, "that these are survivals from a period of belief in *one God alone*. . . . Nevertheless it seems strange. . . . How was the worship lost?" etc.¹⁹

"It is among the Kurnai", says Dr. Sollas, "whom on other grounds we have regarded as the most archaic tribes, that we meet with a *monotheistic belief* in its simplest and purest form. The supreme Being, who is known as *Mungan-ngaua*, or 'Our Father', dwells eternally in the sky. Unlike many other primitive gods, he has no wife, but a son, who is married, and the Kurnai are his descendants".²⁰

¹⁴ Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, (1904), p. 499-500, 507. ¹⁵ A. Lang, *Making of Religion*, (1909), p. 184. ¹⁶ W. Foy, *Führer*, (1910), p. 58. ¹⁷ Rev. W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, (1912), p. 488. ¹⁸ Langloh-Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, (1905), p. 3. ¹⁹ F. Jevons, *Comparative Religion*, (1913), p. 120ff. ²⁰ W. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*, (1915), p. 261-262.

CRITICISM BY RECENT EXPERTS

CENTRAL AFRICA

"These backwoodsman-ideas of God and of sacrifice that is due to Him made, I repeat, a profound impression upon me", says Bishop LeRoy, "superior by far as they were to those commonly found among their agricultural, sedentary, and comparatively civilised neighbors. *They reversed the conceptions that I had formed on the subject*, and which wanted to make out, (according to the books), that religious and other knowledge goes hand in hand with material civilisation".²¹

"Contrary to the generality of the neighboring blacks, the Negrillos of the bantu lands seem not only to everywhere *recognise a personal and sovereign God*, but to place at his side and to offer him sacrifices. For my part at least, I have found no group in which he was unknown".²²

"Thus it was in all probability", writes Stow, "that a germ of the religious element sprang up in their (the Bushmen's) breast, and their superstition(!) created the idea of, as he has been styled by Arbousset, *the Chief of the Sky*, whom they named *Kaang*, and who was also called the Man, or the Master of all things".²³

SOUTH AMERICA

Dr. Ehrenreich gives similar impressions from the Amazonian region. "*The Botokudos invoke what they believe to be a Sky-being* under the name of *Tupan*, 'chief' or 'master'. He dwells in the clouds and his voice is the thunder, for which reason they shoot arrows into the air during storms in order to implore his protection . . . they evidently fear him".²⁴

"*Kamushini*", says Baron Von den Steinen, "*is the oldest figure of Bakairi mythology*. He is a father or grandfather . . . belongs to a different people . . . makes men out of arrows . . . spins threads like a spider . . . he is a heavenly spider".²⁵

"*Characteristic is the Tupi-myth. It begins with Monan, the Creator*, of whom it is related that, being offended by mankind, he caused a conflagration, which through the prayers of the only survivor, was quenched by the rain".²⁶

"The deeds of the culture-heros include, apart from the *general equipment of the world*, such as the *fetching(!) of sun and moon*, which is generally the office of twins, *all the higher interests of man*".²⁷ (Strong culture-heroes!)

"The religious ideas of the Alacalufs verge upon dualism. *They believe in a good spirit, the author of all good, and an evil spirit, the author of evil*. The former is invoked in times of distress and danger, while they believe the latter can do all kinds of mischief, cause bad weather, *send famine, or illness*. *He is supposed to be like an immense black man*".²⁸

These are only the most important testimonies on this subject, but the belief covers a far wider area, as may be seen from our first chapter.

²¹ Rt. Rev. Mgr. LeRoy, *Les Pygmees d'Afrique et de l'Asie*, (1910), p. 177-178. ²² *Ibid.* p. 187. ²³ Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, (1910), p. 113. ²⁴ Renault and St. Hilaire, *apud Ehrenreich*, in *Z.E.* (1887), p. 35. ²⁵ Von den Steinen, p. 365ff. ²⁶ Ehrenreich, *Mythen*, p. 40. ²⁷ *Ibid.* v. 55. ²⁸ Cooper, *op. cit. supra*, p. 147-148. (These are short transcripts).

COUNTER-CRITICISM

The position taken up Howitt, Hartland, Tylor, Frazer, and others, has already been considered in the preceding pages. It is broadly as follows:

(1) These ideas are genuine, but fall short of being theistic. The All-Father is nothing but "the ideal headman in the sky-country", a super-human being, if you will, but evidently evolved from the national consciousness of leadership. (Howitt, Hartland, Van Gennep, etc.)

(2) These ideas are not genuine, but the result of missionary influence. The real primitives are the Aruntas, Bantus, Arowaks, etc. where little or nothing of such beliefs is to be found. (Tylor, Frazer, King, Marret, and generally among the animistic or pre-animistic "magical" school).

THE OBJECTIONS ARE INADEQUATE

It is needless to point out that these opinions neutralise one another on the score of origination-theories, if on no other. But apart from this they must be judged in the light of more recent and more accurate knowledge as follows:—

(1) It is not denied that the idea of "headman" might have suggested the idea of "heavenly father", at least in his anthropomorphic role. Nevertheless—

(a) Suggestion is not final derivation. All nature suggests a deity, but nature is *not* deity. In like manner "headman" suggests God, but headman is *not* God. Moreover this idea of headmanship is weakly developed among the more primitive tribes, and the sudden transition from tribal leader to an all-knowing, all-powerful Creator is inconsistent with a wholesale derivation of the idea from an earthly model. What becomes of this model when there no leaders to follow, when each family shifts for itself, as is the case with many of the wilder inhabitants of the East Indies and Central Africa? Yet it is *precisely among the least-organised tribes that the belief is the strongest*, as may easily be proved by the *gradual fading* of the belief among the more developed branches. (See the testimonies just given). Howitt's objection is, therefore, merely a speculative one. It concerns, as I have said, the *origin* of the idea, not the idea itself, for he is satisfied that Baiame is an "ideal" being, that the natives at present take him to be "supernatural".

(b) But even supposing, as indeed very probable, that father-in-heaven is nothing but a magnification of father-on-earth, the magnification itself is still to be accounted for. How comes it that the terms in which this being is described *transcend as a rule all finite categories*, that the savage vocabulary is exhausted in trying to express his immensity? Hartland's contention that these epithets are not always divine because clothed in a mythology at times corrupted, should be carefully reconsidered, nor is anything gained in attempting to deny that many of these surface corruptions are only too evident.

COUNTER-CRITICISM

The fact is, there are many instances in which such corruptions occur. But we have taken special pains to analyse these cases, and we have found that almost invariably the anti-theistic attributes,—mortality, sexuality and the like—, can be separated from the theistic nucleus as a *later addition derived from a higher though degenerate form of culture*. This is notoriously the case on the Australian continent, and to a less degree in Borneo, and the Andaman Islands. In every case sky-father precedes spider, lizard, emu, hawk, or crocodile, by periods that cannot be measured, and the marrying, hunting, and dying god is thus shown to be an aftermath. *The most primitive regions invariably reflect the purest theology.* (Re-examine them).

(2) As to the "loan-god" theory of Tylor and others, it is rather late in the day to talk of Christian influence where such an influence is now universally rejected. I cannot repeat the cumulative force of the argument against recent borrowing, which has been fully discussed above (509). But as to the precedence of the Aruntas, with their totemism and rain-magic, I have given the whole of my Introduction and not a little of this summary to show that the scheme is ethnologically and sociologically erroneous, that all the totem-peoples are comparatively late arrivals. This has also been made out for each region independently. (See text). I will therefore consider this question as finally and definitely closed.

THE IDEA IS NOT DERIVED FROM ANIMISM

Now in illustration of the points at issue, what do we actually find?
 (1) As against Tylor and the old school,¹ it may be confidently affirmed that there is practically no animism that is worthy of the name. The native of Gippsland, like the native of Malakka, or the rover of the Congo forest, has no fear of ghosts, little faith in dreams, and no worship of dead ancestors. Among the Kurnai the *yambo* "goes up to the sky" and, though seen in dreams, it cannot revisit the earth, and is never worshipped. Among the East Indian primitives the *semangat* escapes to the heavens and never returns to the earth, "the soul is invisible to mortal eyes", while among the Negrillos the soul is an indefinable substance, but "neither ghost nor *pepo*". If then by animism be understood a cult of natural objects as "soul-beings" in the sense of spiritistic manifestations of more or less vivid nature, we can only say that this idea is at the most very weakly developed. An occasional belief in dreams has little significance, when it is considered that the All-Father is not "seen" in dreams, but "felt" in the waking state, and the absence of swoons or epilepsy in worship points in the same direction. To know God does not mean to understand the interior essences, the psychic "manifestations" of things.

¹ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th. Edition, (London, 1903). Vol. I. p. 417-431. *Limits of savage Religion*, in *Journ. Anthropol. Instit.* Vol. XXI. (1900), 283-299.

COUNTER-CRITICISM

But if by animism be understood a spiritualisation of nature in the sense of a personification of natural forces, it may readily be admitted that "wind" and "water-spirits" are extremely ancient, nay that the Creator himself is the "breath of heaven". But *personification is not animism*. The primitive savage puts personality into everything, all nature "speaks" to him, but it speaks to him as a *subject*,—"I blow", "I rain", "I shine", "we help"—, not as a diffused life-principle,—"It is blowing, raining, shining", etc. In fact the primitive does not know *what* the "soul" or "life" really is, nor can he comprehend the idea of an infinitely subtle life-medium, what we call spirit-substance. Nevertheless he has a belief in a wonderful being, whom, for want of a better expression, he calls "Our Father". Can it be possible that this idea was evolved from the spirit-soul, when as yet the believer has no comprehension of the psychic nature of the *antu*, though he is firmly convinced that he and his "father" will live for ever in sky-land? Clearly there is a term missing in the logic that would connect the All-Father directly with a soul-cult, for *there is no soul-cult in the earliest times*.

NOR YET FROM TOTEMISM

(2) As against Frazer,² all must depend of course on the meaning that is assigned to that exceedingly equivocal term, totemism. If, as I take it with Dr. Theal, it involves an *essential identity of a man with his guardian*, in such sense that he comes out of his totem and normally returns to it by a *metempsychosis* or rebirth, we have offered conclusive proof in the preceding pages that this belief is very generally absent among the most primitive races of mankind, and is therefore not the genesis of a theistic belief. If, however, the guardian is simply a protector, animal or otherwise, but having no genetic relation to man, we are back in the primitive belt, with its divine "messengers", and in this sense totem and angel are identical terms.

NOR IS IT EVOLVED OUT OF PRIMITIVE MAGIC

(3) As against King, Marett, and others,³ the case is a more subtle one. Magic is admittedly widespread. Primitive man apparently draws supernatural effects out of impersonal objects,—stones, sticks, and boomerangs. But it must never be forgotten that the worship does not terminate in the object, but in the person operating the object,—in other words there is good and bad magic, depending upon the operator. Now the important point to consider is this: *Magic steadily decreases the nearer we approach to the primitive zone*. Here it either disappears, or is completely overshadowed by the "Great Master". In this case magic becomes "mystery", the recognised channel of supernatural power.⁴

² Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, (1910). I. p. 141ff. ³ King, *The Supernatural, Its origin, nature, and evolution* (N. Y. 1892). Marett, *Pre-animistic Religion, Folk-Lore*, XI. (1900), 162ff. ⁴ Comp. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, (1901), p. 46-75.

COUNTER-CRITICISM

BUT IS DERIVED FROM THE NOTION OF FATHERHOOD AS FIRST CAUSE

If then the idea of a transcendent "person" is demonstrably prior to any of the above notions, there remains to consider, what could have been the possible source or basis of its formation. Now I believe that we have sufficient evidence to show that the idea of super-man is colored by that of father or paternal first cause in all most primitive regions that are accessible to us, that this is in fact the "natural" origin of the notion of God.

To begin with Malakka, we have *abu-ta-peng*, "great father", as the equivalent of *kari-ple*, thunder-fruit, and at least equally ancient. In the Andamans *puluga* is distinctly an *abu*, *abe*, *apai*, a father in the sky, though he is also thunder. In Ceylon *kande-yaka* is an all-bestowing *mahap-pa* (*ammāt*), or father above, in the Philippines *anito* is probably an *a-ma*, father, though with less security. In Borneo it is quite certain that *aba-lingo-ama-ka* lies at the root of such forms as *amei*, *balingo*, etc., the Malakkan *peng* reappearing in *penya*, *penya-long*, father, master, while *amei-tingei* is the formula of invocation,—our-high-father. In Celebes *pa-lingo* is father-in-heaven while in Amboina *a-ma-ka* appears pure, as great-father. The same of *abu-da*, ancient father, in the Aru islands, and perhaps for *awona-kawa* in New Guinea. In Australia *baiame* is certainly a father, whatever be his etymology, and the high gods are commonly called *papang*, with the same sense. Crossing over to Africa, we have *abe-yehu* as our-father, and in Brazil *aba-angui* as father-above. Derivations or combinations with *mu* appear very early. Thus we have *mu-untu*, or *muntu-untu* in Celebes for highest-one, *mungan-ngaua* in Australia for our-father, *mungu* and *abe-yehu-mulungu* in Africa for our-father-in-heaven, while *aba-angui-papa-kamushini* represents a Brazilian combination for which there is good evidence,—father-in-heaven-father-of-shining-light.

But quite apart from the linguistic data, in which the root *ab* or *am* is so conspicuous, the most cursory perusal of our earliest legends will show how prominently the "Our Father" figures in the mind of the natives. This is most strong in the East-Indies and Australia, precisely the regions of greatest antiquity, and this suggests that it is a primary concept.

AND ONE FOUNDED ON LOVE RATHER THAN FEAR

For just as the notion of earthly father conjures up to the mind the vision of tender affection, so the transfer of the attribute of paternity from man to super-man brings out the feeling of love as a primary element. Moreover the father-god is universal, while the thunder-god is only local and this and the above data seem to me very difficult to explain, unless we suppose that the father-notion is the first one. (See the analysis on pp. 30, 122, 511ff.) Apart from the influx of the supernatural, for which we must always be prepared, this is obviously the easiest method for ascending from nature to the Supreme Cause of the world.

COUNTER-CRITICISM

AND REFLECTED IN THE MORALITY OF THE NATIVES

This is brought into further prominence by the attested morality of those who ostensibly profess the belief, even if in shattered and occasionally corrupted form.

"They are most peaceful, affectionate, and faithful, both to their family and friends, and never make war on each other or go in for any sort of inter-tribal fighting. Murder is exceedingly rare, theft equally so, divorce is extremely rare, the punishment for adultery is death. None of these races are cannibals, and there is no proof at all of past cannibalism". (General statement for the Malay Peninsula and very generally applicable).

"The sick and the afflicted invariably fair better than their more fortunate brethren. Cannibalism and infanticide are alike unknown" (Andaman Islands).

"The Vedda's constancy to their wives is a very remarkable trait in their character. The Hennebeddas have retained their old virtues of truthfulness, chastity, and courtesy. They are affectionate parents" (Ceylon).

"Murder is so rare as to be almost unknown, the negrito is peaceable" (Philippines).

"The Land-Dayaks are amiable, honest, grateful, moral, and hospitable. The Bakatans are very mild savages, they are not head-hunters, do not keep slaves, are generous to one another, and probably never do any injury by making a false statement. They are very fond of their children and kind to the women. The Bakatans are not cannibals" (Borneo).

"The Kurnai men carry their wives about the country when too old or too sick to walk. There was no cannibalism Tasmania" (Australian region).

"Among the Negrillos, a man's wife is his and his only. The sentiment of shame is universal. Theft, slander, and calumny are alike reprov'd" (Africa).

"The Botocudos have a high regard for their women and infidelity is punished with blows. In their natural state they are harmless and peaceable" (Brazil).*

AN "ASCENDING" SYLLOGISM

The earliest logic of the human race is therefore a simple one. Man looks up into the heavens and says,—“I see power, beauty, law, order, symmetry, bountiful provision, everywhere I gaze”. Atqui,—“That which causes all this power, beauty, symmetry, and provision, must be at least as perfect as I am; nay, he must be a far more wonderful being than I, whose highest title is father, and who certainly never made these things; he must be an immense, an infinite father, an All-Father”. Therefore—“I see the All-Father in the heavens”. The problem of evil finds an equally simple solution. “There would be no death if all men were good”,—it is sin that has upset the universe. Thus with all our modern philosophising, we have not advanced in any essential upon the early theology of man.

* See the moral statistics on p. XXXVff. and under each section, beginning with p. 4.

COUNTER-CRITICISM

The position taken up by Westermarck is difficult to estimate. He says:—

“Generally speaking then, it seems that the All-Father, supreme Being, or high god of savage belief may be traced to several different sources. When not a “loan-god” of foreign extraction, he may be a mythical ancestor or headman, or a deification of the sky or some large or remote object of nature, like the sun, or a personification or personified cause of the mysteries or forces of nature. The argument that a belief in such a being is irreducible because it prevails among savages who worship neither ancestors nor nature, can carry no weight in consideration of the fact that he himself, as a general rule, is no object of worship”.⁵

Does it not seem as if the writer was here, unconsciously perhaps, evading the main question. He is a loan-god and yet the ancestor, a sky-god, and yet the headman, a personality, and yet unworshipped, and this not always, but only “as a general rule”(!). It is to be feared that the author is endeavoring to catch the unwary by a disjunctive argument, an apparent dilemma, a favorite device. If A is not B, then it may be C, or it may be D, or it may be E, F, and so on,—but never A is equal to B. C. or D, definitely. But what if these qualities,—divine, personal, worship-producing,—be all united in the same being to the exclusion of the opposite series? Can the same conclusions be drawn in that case? Now this is precisely the condition of affairs with the great majority of the All-Fathers. They can be proved to be original, (admitted by W. “in various instances”), personal (also admitted, they are “personifications”, “sky-fathers”), and worshipful in the best sense, (admitted “in some cases”, even if exceptions to the “general rule”),—from which in their united force it is possible to draw conclusions of solid scientific value. As to the opposite qualities,—cosmic, astral, impersonal,—they are either not found at all, (*Kari-Amaka-Mungan-ngaua-Waka*), or they can easily be separated as a later accretion, due to the totem-culture, as explained above.

This is a good illustration of the way this subject is handled by some modern writers, who, however proficient in other respects, show a gross want of schooling in the scientific ethnology of particular districts. Recently the tone has become more serious, and shows promise of better results.⁶

For those, in fact, who wish to pursue this subject to its last issues a good deal of modern technical reading is essential. The above is merely the skeleton of the argument for an original one-God belief, not its complete or absolutely exhaustive form.

⁵ Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of Moral Ideas*, (1908), II. p. 685.

⁶ Compare the Transactions of the third International Congress of Religions, at Oxford, (1908): E. S. Hartland, on the “Relatively Supreme Being”, p. 21-32. Clodd, on Pre-animistic Religion, p. 33f. Marett, on “Mana”, Jevons, on “Magic” etc. Also IV. Intern. Congr. at Louvain, (1912): Articles by Schmidt, Pinard, Bros, Hestermann, Bouvier, LeRoy, Lemonnier, etc.—all excellent. But only Schmidt and Hestermann handle the subject culturally and sociologically. Quite recently W. Sollas, in *Ancient Hunters*, (1915), has come out boldly for a primitive monotheistic belief, (p. 261). See p. 533 above.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PRIMITIVE AGE

What then are the conclusions to which an impartial examination of the earliest beliefs of mankind would seem to lead us?

Quite apart from the dogma of a monotheistic revelation, it should be borne in mind that this matter is one of illustration rather than of dogmatic definition. It is not a question of the creation, elevation, and supernatural equipment of man, for of these truths we are certain on entirely independent grounds, they are part of the deposit of faith. It is rather an attempt to shed some light on the *modus operandi* by which the Heavenly Father has revealed Himself to His creatures in the earliest ages of man as yet known to us. It is not for us to decide, *how* the Creator is to train the human race,—whether by creative miracle, or by slow process of development,—both are equally supernatural—, but that He *has* done so in the past, is only too evident, and the question of the *how* admits of valuable illustration from the preceding material.

A FINAL SURVEY

From the beginning we find an intimate relation between man and his Maker. He is no far-off mystery, He is a living reality. Though He “cannot be seen with the eyes but only with the heart of man”, though He is “of supernatural size and invisible”, He is nevertheless pictured under human forms, He is a Father, who lives in the skies, whose voice is heard in the thunder, whose shafts are seen in the lightning, but of whose inner nature there is as yet no consciousness,—He is simply a supernatural *Person*. This being is believed to have made all things “by his breath”, either directly, or by means of a creating demiurge, his “sons” and “daughters” being the winds of heaven, the first intimation of an angelic hierarchy. In no case is He a married divinity in the earliest stream of tradition; He is sexless and wifeless,—a superhuman being. Opposed to Him are a legion of rebellious ones, whose origin is not quite clear, but whose dependent position is in most cases well established. Heaven and earth, light and darkness, sun, moon, and stars, and finally man,—all issue at His command, they are His “servants”. In the formation of the first human couple, it is He alone that “inspires the soul” of man, whatever be his bodily origin. He places them in the paradise of fruits or the “rising land”, where there is no death or sickness, and where there is “such an abundance of well-water that it brings forth seven lakes.” Here He teaches them the first arts and industries, and institutes the first sacrifice of abstention,—the command to abstain from certain fruits during certain seasons, and this under penalty of death, a tradition that comes to us from the far-eastern archipelago. This throws a valuable sidelight on the biblical narrative,—it is the mystery of the *first prohibition*. Whence came it?

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PRIMITIVE AGE

In nearly every case in which a fall of man is mentioned, it is connected, directly or indirectly, with the breach of a divine command, and quite commonly with the violation of a taboo, with a contravention against the laws of fasting, with the eating of a forbidden fruit. Man has lost immortality through a moral rebellion, he is now the enemy of heaven; but he can still be reconciled by penitential actions, by keeping the laws and sacred customs, by offering to his Father that which he prizes most dearly,—the first-fruits of the field, and the firstling of the flock,—the vegetable and the animal creation. In the second great catastrophe to man,—the deluge—, it is again the sins of humanity, the violation of the food-precept, the neglect of the couvade, the growing adultery, blasphemy, sacrilege, that rouses the anger of heaven and destroys the whole of humanity with the exception of the righteous few, who repeople the earth and inaugurate a new posterity.

It will be noted that throughout his dealings with man, the divinity acts as a person, and moreover in the singular number,—there is only *one* Father in heaven, though his messengers are innumerable. There is thus a vivid consciousness that mankind has been created, elevated, proved, punished, destroyed, and re-instated, in very remote times by a personal Creator and Judge, and it seems difficult to account for this persuasion, for a “talking”, “commanding”, and “instituting” God, unless we suppose that He has revealed his will in a special, and probably supernatural manner.

This institutional aspect of religion is generally known as the *divine positive law*. It embraces a series of precepts, which, unlike those of the natural law, are not in themselves, mediately or immediately, evident, but require a definite external proclamation in order to make themselves known. We have no means of ascertaining what the first laws and divine institutions of humanity really were; but it seems quite certain that they included certain ceremonial and sacrificial observances, which, though not prescribed in detail by the Almighty, were the means of salvation *for that age*, the external signs through which faith in a future Redeemer was visibly, though confusedly expressed. (S. Thom. III. qu. 61, art. 3. ad sec. Comp. III. qu. 70, art. 2. ad prim.)

Among these the custom of consecrating a child from its infancy by bringing it under the “paradise-tree” and naming it in honor of one of the trees that grew in the garden of pleasure is suggestive enough of “christening”, and even the water may have some symbolic meaning, if we regard the numerous lustrations as indicative of religious rather than utilitarian notions, for which, as we have seen, there is considerable evidence. It is a solemn moment,—it means dedication.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PRIMITIVE AGE

Still more distinctive is the antediluvian custom by which the father retires from the world for at least a week, abstains from all foods and drinks which he thinks will endanger the life of his child, so intense is his consciousness that father and son are in some sense a vital unit, that the virtues of the father will pass on to the son, that the child is his and his only, in a special sense his own creation. It is the neglect of the *couvade* which is a frequent cause of divine visitations.

The initiation-ceremony tells a similar story. The youth is put through a fasting-test, during which he is instructed in all the essentials of a religion, in the divine commandments, in the tribal customs, in the sacred mysteries. These consist of the first-fruit sacrifice, followed by their festive consumption,—the first adumbration of a communion-rite.

Has he strayed from the path of virtue, he can still procure pardon by acts of penance, by an open proclamation of guilt, by fasting and sacrifice. Does he wish to invoke the blessing of heaven upon his married-life, he will present his partner with a "birth-bamboo", a token that the union will be both fruitful, and pleasing to the Almighty. Is he finally summoned to appear before His throne, he will be signed with red ochre and laid to rest with the firm confidence, that if he has lived a good life, he will enter the heavenly fruit-palace, if a bad one, he will go to the land of darkness there to be punished or purged in proportion to the gravity of his crimes.

From beginning to end we have a continuous drama of divine interventions, a complete theological system. It is not a dry, theoretical, but a living, practical religion,—a sacramental religion, which culminates in the unbloody sacrifice of the first-fruits of the earth, accompanied by fasting and abstinence. This in its more vivid form passes over into the mystical sacrifice of human blood,—"*Blood! I throw you up to heaven!*",—the first intimation that the fruit-sacrifice is not sufficiently powerful, it must be supplemented by something more precious. It is only through the shedding of human blood that the holy of holies can ever be re-entered.

The question arises whether this vivid consciousness of a divine law-giver can be accounted for on purely naturalistic and psychological lines or whether it demands a more realistic and external method of communication, a direct manifestation of the divine will by supernatural agencies. We have seen that although the idea of God might well have arisen spontaneously, by a simple reflexion on the facts of consciousness, an intervening and commanding God is something that cannot be evolved out of a mere "speculation", it is something in which the recipient is largely passive,—it demands some kind of "illumination."

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PRIMITIVE AGE

How then did the All-Father reveal himself to his creatures? If these ideas were confined to the broad dictates of natural theology, to a vague belief in a "supreme being", with or without an external cult, there would be no difficulty in deriving them from the essential constitution of human nature, from the natural desire of union with the divine. But when we come to a divine *legislator*,—prescribing definite rites and customs to be carried out under penalty of the fire and brimstone of heaven,—we are standing upon a different footing. These things cannot be surmised, nor can they be allowed to bind under such terrific sanctions without some clearly-revealed decree. On the other hand anything like a decree, divine rule, or "theocracy", presupposes the divine positive law, and this is hardly conceivable without a direct, personal, supernatural revelation.

But how are we to picture such a revelation to have been effected? "And the Lord God walked in the garden of Eden in the cool of the day". An anthropomorphic role is here suggested. He who cannot be seen with mortal eyes shows Himself in the form of a man,—He discourses with them, He tries them, He punishes them. We are here in presence of something out of the ordinary, something beyond the normal, something of the nature of a divine vision,—a theophany. It is not my purpose from the existing evidence to assert that such is the only method, that the All-Father-Law-giver necessitates ipso facto a miraculous vision. Nevertheless a re-examination of the earlier traditions will bring the conviction more and more to the front, that some such divine action,—personal, direct, sense-affecting—, is the only form of communication that will satisfy the existing data with anything like completeness. The creation-legends alone show a marvellous uniformity and are realistic in the extreme. The same is true, to a greater degree, of the paradise and the flood-legends. But whatever be the form of communication, it is enough for the present to have established the fact that some such communication has been made, that God has "spoken" to man in the very earliest epoch of his earthly existence.

The main results of this investigation are therefore as follows:—*There is in the earliest ages of man a distinct consciousness of a supreme, personal, and supernatural Being,—a comparatively high theology, with a correspondingly pure morality,—and although this thesis is undoubtedly capable of further elucidation, the onus probandi will rest upon those who deny it.*

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

A COMPARISON OF THE PRIMITIVE
WITH THE LATER PHASES OF BELIEF

If then we find a comparatively lofty notion of divinity in the earliest times, the question that will arise and suggest itself as a possible difficulty is this:—Given a high grade of belief in the most primitive period of the race, how was the belief corrupted? how was the idea lost?,—or was it ever entirely lost? To answer this question with anything like satisfaction, a few statistics from the later pages of religious history are essential. The following points will therefore be of assistance in estimating the character of these beliefs, the nature of their partial deterioration, and the probable causes of this deterioration.

A REVIEW OF THE TOTEMIC PERIOD

THE CONCEPT OF DEITY

The four typical divinities for this age have already been sufficiently analysed. They are,—*Sin-Bonga* for Central India, *Mulunga* for East Africa, *Altjira-Tukura* for Central Australia, and *Wakanda* for North-America.

Now in re-examining the data that have so far been accumulated, we shall find that the ancient concept of a personal Creator, though in most cases faded, may be generally recognised in the background,—He is there in vague outline. On the other hand, He has been so mixed up, if not identified, with His own creation, that His personal features are often difficult to trace.

Thus *Sin-Bonga* (61) is described as the ever-benevolent god of gods, the author of the world, the maker of all the bongas, apparently the judge of man, and the object of prayer and rice-sacrifice. At the same time, he is sun-spirit, or light-month (?), he “hatches” the world by solar power, he is *Marang-Buru*, or Great Mystery, and the idea of metempsychosis is well developed, showing a possible transmigration of souls into at least 339 clan-totems.

Again *Mulungu* (67) is also a sky-lord, who is believed to be the author of the world and of all that is therein. But although his name is invoked in parts, it is more often and very generally forgotten, and *mulungu* is simply the generic designation for a *buru* or nature-power, whose essence is incomprehensible, but not necessarily personal. He is simply taboo, totem, mystery, and the reincarnation of the dead in the form of serpents and hyaenas shows that the idea of a direct personal judge has largely been lost. Here also long-distance magic takes precedence of direct supplication,—it is the sun—and thunder-men that are in supreme control of the cult.

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

Again, *Altjira-Tukura* (71) is an "eternal" being, who lives in the heavens, and is apparently "good" or benevolent. But though he is pictured as a man, he and his family have emu- or dog's feet, he is not the creator of the world, which is eternal, and he is neither feared nor loved. He is but one of the innumerable *inkara* or *inter-intera*, out of which, as out of shapeless masses, the whole universe was evolved. All things were fashioned by lizard-gods from the bosom of nature, there is strong sun-, rain-, or fertilisation-magic, and each soul is the reincarnation of some totemic ancestor, to which he may return at the hour of death.

Again, *Wakanda* (75) is reported to be the "best of beings, the creator and preserver of all things, and the fountain of mystic medicine". Omniscience, omnipresence and vast powers are attributed to him, and he is supposed to afflict mankind with sickness and other calamities for their evil deeds. But he is also the sun,—the Wakanda, the Great Mystery,—he can be controlled by rain-magic,—in the sun-dance—, he appears under animal forms,—as totemic medicine—, and the dead return into these forms, or are absorbed in the Great Wakanda. If to this be added the mysterious figure of the California divinity, who is supposed to be good, supreme, and benevolent, but whose worshippers believe that "they came from certain trees, rocks, or animals", it may be regarded as fairly certain that all these *wakans*, *mulungus*, *buru-bongas*, and *altjira-inkaras*, are connected together, that they are but different expressions for the same underlying concept, for a single, though vague, and multiform divinity.

Now it is evident that we are here in presence of a more complex line of thought than in the preceding period. Had the All-Father-God been all too simple a concept to withstand the encroachments of a growing knowledge of nature and man, He was at least in his own sphere a unique personality, He had no relation to the lower creation other than that of its lord and master, He was in every sense a transcendent being. Here, however, we seem to trace the beginnings of a cosmic theology, which in its first attempt to pierce into the mystery of things, to gain a wider knowledge of the *whence* and *how* of creation, was of necessity forced to expose the ancient concept to the risk of a confusion with nature, to a more or less one-sided naturalistic development. At the very outset there is a growing estrangement between the transcendent and the immanent God, till finally the doctrine of immanence becomes all-important, it is nature herself, and only nature, that merits the attention and the worship of man. While the common sense of the race never carries an erroneous notion to its logical issue, the confusion of God and nature is here so marked as to suggest that we are living in a double-sided theological atmosphere.

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

WHAT IS THE NATURE OF THE TOTEM-GOD?

From what has been so far accessible in the line of evidence, it would seem that this divinity has been clearly evolved out of the ancient Heaven-God, whose All-Father character may still be traced in remote outline. He is "good", "wise", "beneficent", "omniscient", "omnipresent", in some cases he is still the "maker of all", and even the "judge of all". The surprising thing is that the All-Father has been fused with an entirely different notion,—the idea, namely, that all things are of one substance, that God, man, universe and devil are but so many parts of one universal and impersonal essence, that the highest is the lowest, the beginning is the end, the top is the bottom; there is no law and order in this "dream-time"; every grain of sand is a *mulungu*, a *wakan*, every blade of grass an *inkara*, an immortal one. The different medicines or totems are no mere channels or mediators between God and man, they are themselves the divinity; they contain within themselves the power to effect all cures, to operate all wonders. Hence the magical rain-making and fructification-rites, which take the place of the simple invocations to the Father of all. It is hopeless to expect consistency in this system; it is a pantheistic monism, in which time and eternity, the material and the spiritual, the finite and the infinite, have been jumbled together in one huge mass of *orenda*, *wakan*, *kaluk*, *manitoo*,—leaving a Great Mystery, if you will, but casting Him down from his throne in heaven, making him cosmic, commonplace, impersonal.

HAS THE IDEA OF TRANSCENDENCE BEEN LOST?

Yet with all the strong evidence we possess for a gradually intruding nature-worship, we must beware of one-sided interpretations. I believe that sufficient material has been given in the preceding pages to show that in nearly every case a supreme personality may be vaguely discerned in the offing, and that much of the "nature-worship" is of a mystical or symbolic character, which does not exclude but rather expands the notion of deity by making the Creator more all-pervading in His activity than was possibly ever recognised in the consciousness of early man.

THIS REPRESENTS IN PART AN UPWARD DEVELOPMENT,

for by keeping the divinity free from the nature-entanglement, and at the same time recognising his universal presence and power in every plant or pebble in creation, a distinctly deeper notion is gained of the divine operations than is possible with a more simple theology. To what extent this has been the case in the present instance, I will endeavor to illustrate.

PREHISTORIC RELIGION

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

PRINCIPLES OF THE TOTEMIC THEOLOGY

At the beginning a mysterious figure is recognised as the cause of existence. This being retains the outlines of a great personality, whether as the Father of Heaven in India, the Ancient of Days in Africa, the Aboriginal One in Australia, or the Man Above in North America. In each case there is sufficient evidence to prove that *in some instances* at least He is recognised as above and distinct from the creation, a unique being. Compare the above data, and this will be sufficiently evident. Though he is occasionally disfigured by sexual and unworthy notions, his human can be separated from his cosmic and animal traits, and in this sense his nature is identical with that of the old Heaven-God, he is an eternal, omniscient, and omnipotent Father.

THE NOTION OF CREATION HAS BEEN LARGELY MODIFIED

But it is in the act of creation that we begin to note the first striking difference. While the old deity produces the world "by his breath" and without the marriage relation, the newer deity has wife and family, he pro-creates his sons and daughters, and he hatches the world by means of his solar power quite after the manner of the brooding process in nature. Thus the *bongas* of India, the *mulungus* of Africa, the *altjiras* of Australia, and the *wakans* of North America, in so far as they are still recognised as personal, are *genealogically connected* with the supreme totem; they cannot be called his children except in a lower anthropomorphic sense, they are hardly "angels". While this is not always directly provable, it may be inferred from the fact that in nearly every instance in which a "sonship" is mentioned, it is taken in a procreative sense, and if the immediate entourage of the deity is of this nature, it is to be presumed that the minor spirits are of such a nature also. Then again, in the production of things there is no clear evidence of anteriority on the part of the divine being, the expressions "eternal" and "self-existing" are applied with equal force to sun, moon, and other celestial phenomena, and we have already seen that even in India, which possesses the most well-rounded creation-legend, there is no clear proof that the world is not co-eternal with its supposed maker, though glimpses of such a notion are occasionally revealed.

To put the matter briefly, it is important to distinguish between the human and the cosmic picture of divinity. In so far as he is a "superman" he is a personal Creator, with a legion of dependent children; in so far as he is sun, plant, or animal, he partakes of the nature of an indefinable essence, which is simply the moving or genetic power of the universe.

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

The cosmic aspect of this subject is well illustrated by the current notions of creation as we actually find them. The world is made up of *primaeval* potencies or monads,—*buru*, *mulungu*, *inkara*, *inter-intera*—, which cannot be further defined than as “mysteries”, but which are recognised as the concrete source of all life, of all existence. These entities are neither material nor spiritual, personal or impersonal, formed or unformed, they are simply the common basis of all being, the sun being the nearest approach to the original ancestor. But though they defy all further analysis, they have marvellous power, they can develop into anything, they are high potentials. Among these are certain objects, animals, or plants, that have this power in a special degree, the greatest *buru* being generally the sun, followed by the corn, the grass-seed, or the *bhelva*-tree, these again by the snake, the serpent, and the lizard, and these by the bear, the buffalo, the emu, and the *hyaena*,—all of which are peculiarly sacred, they are *taboo*. Thus all things are derived out of the material sun by *spontaneous generation*, and even man himself is no exception to this rule. In India he slips out of the swan’s egg, in Africa he is the offspring of snakes, in America he claims special kinship with the bear and the buffalo, in Australia he is directly descended from the *inter-intera*, the shapeless monsters that lived in “dream-time”, the *alcheringa* or paradise of the ancestors. Of creation in the proper sense there is here not a vestige. It is an enormous system of immanent evolutionism, in which the lower gives birth to the higher without any influx of the higher, or any intimation that a higher power existed from the beginning,—thus anticipating many of the monistic systems of modern times.

Now it is important to take note that these ideas exist side by side with the more ancient notion of a personal Creator. In many cases he is called the “father of all the totems” and as such his alliance with the new wave of immanentism is susceptible of a possible though cautious interpretation. Even if evolution were an established fact, which it is far from being, no consequence against the doctrine of creation would arise, because evolution would then be the mode of creating, and not a substitute-idea at all. The *rationes seminales* of St. Thomas have nothing in common with the above notions; they admit of germinal units only in a strictly limited sense, that is, when informed or inspired by the direct action of the Creator. But while some of these ideas may illustrate the *modus operandi* of creation when coupled with a transcendent Being, they are the source of equally baneful aberrations wherever such a belief is wanting. That this was destined to be the case in many instances, has been sufficiently illustrated above. (See under Creation, pp. 151-160, 189 ff, 190 ff.)

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

THE HISTORICAL ASPECT IS MORE VAGUE

Coming to the personal relations between the totem-god and his creatures, only in India have we anything like a homogeneous account of his dealings with man. The old paradise-legend survives, though in faded form. Immortality and innocence have been lost through eating the ili, or rice-fruit, though this is not distinctly stated, the ili being a stimulant rather than a forbidden food. (Paradise, 209). In later ages, humanity was destroyed by a rain of fire owing to their rebellion against the laws of the sun-god. In all other regions these legends have simmered down to vague recollections of a state of deathlessness, brought to an end by the moral depravity of man, and the subsequent punishment of the race by some sort of catastrophe, diluvial or otherwise (210-212, 227. Retribution, 431ff.)

TOTEMIC BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

(1) BIRTH CEREMONIES

As all these peoples believe themselves to be descended from their totems, birth-ceremonies are naturally of some importance. Among tribes where patrilinear descent is in vogue, which is the prevailing form as against the class-culture, the child inherits the totem of the father and is named after it. He is marked with the totem-sign (in oil), and dedicated.

Bear, Wolf, Buffalo, Hyæna.—may Sun-god protect you! (349, 391).

Charm-bamboos and birth-sticks are here once more in evidence, but as they are habitually connected with the lower creation and not with the Sky-father, they have lost much of their religious value, they are mere good-luck amulets. The Couvade survives in parts, as well as the soul-bird, but they are more rarely connected with a personal deity.

(2) INITIATION

Maturity-customs show a more complex as well as a more sanguinary character. In place of the simple abstention-rite, prolonged and sometimes terrible fasts are sustained in order to procure the "guardian" or special totem that watches over the individual's welfare. In most of the Old-World regions circumcision is the passport to manhood, with the formula—

Sun-boy, I circumcise you! Snake-girl, I cut you with this flint! (392).

This in Australia is supplemented by subincision, a ghastly practice, whose moral import is not quite clear. In all these functions, however, strong moral lessons are sought to be inculcated, courage, bravery, loyalty to the tribal customs, observance of the laws of marriage, the latter being regarded as specially binding. Wherever the initiation is still practiced, it has a semi-religious significance, it prepares the youth for the duties of life.

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

(3) THE MYSTERIES

The sacrifice of the first-fruits of the earth may still be traced in the numerous taboos on food, which are even more pronounced in this age than in any previous one. Among these the corn and rice-oblations of India are perhaps the most distinctive and the least tarnished with magical elements. Before every meal a small quantity of rice is set aside and offered to the deity as an act of thanksgiving, and this directly to Him, not to the *buru-bongas* or nature-spirits, unless we call the sun-god himself a *buru*, which in a certain sense he is. But as to these buru-mysteries themselves, I have not been able to find any proof that they are more than wonder rituals, whose object is to increase the fertility of nature by more or less occult agencies. Such are among others the *Soso-Bonga* ceremonies of India, and the *Intichiuma* ceremonies of Australia, paralleled by the North-American and African corn and rain-making rites, and culminating in the famous Sun-dance. Invocations are here and there to be found—

O Sin-Bonga, save us! O Mulungu, mercy! O Altjira, help! O Wakanda, pity! (349-357.)

I have already considered the case of the totemic "sacrament", in which the taboo is suddenly taken off, and the worshipper consumes that which is most sacred, that which he may not touch, in order to share the wonder-working power of the totem, to become one with his ancestor. Such a "communion-rite" proves at the most that the communicant becomes one with the totem, not one with the deity, unless we suppose that the deity is concealed in the totem, of which there is some evidence, but no certain proof. Thus, when the medicine-man sings the praises of *Sin Bonga*, consecrates the Bhelva-tree with rice, and then consumes the egg, which is typical of the world-egg, out of which *Sin-Bonga* made mankind to issue, the entire action suggests that the God of heaven is believed to operate through some suggestive medium, that in some mysterious manner He imparts his strength in the sacred herb or egg, which contains the elixir of life (65, 349).

We have evidence of similar banquetting rites in Africa (351), America (356), and Australia (353), but no certain evidence that they are connected with a supreme Personality. When the Omaha sings,—"*Hail, mysterious power, thou who art the sun!*"—, if he is addressing the "power that moves" as the "Man above", it is not impossible that the Creator of all may pity His poor client, who thus worships Him under the mistaken form of the sacred corn, the bear, or the buffalo, and which action is in a special sense, "the Great Mystery", the culminating act of religion. But these cases are few and far between. The *wakan* or the *mulungu* is primarily a mystery-force, a magical multiplication-formula (Sacrifice, 394).

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

(4) EXPIATION

Personal expiations for sin as a condition of moral and physical healing have become more prolonged as well as more terrifying. It is no longer the gentle taps with the palm-branch and a few abstentions that are able to reconcile the sinner, he must be rubbed with oil, have his veins opened, run in the boiling sun, or even allow his skull to be trepanned, in order to rid himself of the evil magic of the bone-wizard. Concomitantly a declaration of innocence on the part of the patient is often demanded, and is forced out of the penitent by what may be called a third-degree rite, by occasional physical torture. It remains to be seen how far the words--

I absolve you—I take away your sins! (352)

can be proved to be a really genuine formula; it is so far reported, by our own Catholic missionaries, only for Central Africa. But the continuity of some form of manifestation of guilt, accompanied by an assurance of pardon, is on the face of it very probable, and is certainly the practice in North America, (358, 401).

(5) PRIESTHOOD

In the mean time the family "father" of the old days has become the professional "medicine-man", whose office is independent and requires considerable compensation. The *patti* is thus distinguished from the *mati* or "ghost-finder" (India), from the "healer" (Africa), from the "bone-wizard" (Australia), and from the "mystery-doctor" (North-America), although the genuine *patti* or father-priest quite frequently rises to the highest position, (350, 406). He is appointed by the reigning headman and may be his son.

The Pat-Munda gives you the pagri as the emblem of your office! (350).

In these words is described the snake-shaped head-dress, which in India is given to the village *pahans* when they succeed to the supreme authority. (Roy, 401, 402). In other cases the feather-crown, the prayer-stick, the nose-quill, or the magic crystal, represent the chief priestly insignia (406).

(6) MATRIMONY

Whatever be the nature of the *Marang Buru*, or Great Deity, it is quite certain that he has an intimate relation to matrimony, to that union by which physical life is handed down from generation to generation. The doctrine of a personal descent from lower and even lifeless forms of existence, has produced such a strong feeling of consanguinity between a man and his "guardian" that he is not allowed to marry a woman of his own totem under penalty of death. In India again we find an apparently edifying form—

May our hands remain clasped for ever! (350),

the parties being sprinkled with rice, and even anointed with oil.

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

However extreme such a doctrine may appear to us, it had the advantage of checking or preventing too close a union of blood-allies for which we cannot be sufficiently grateful. The institution of monogamy survives, but polygamy is also sanctioned, it is a recognised matrimonial state. And this, with the growing practice of divorce and of marriage by purchase and capture, must be pronounced to be the most striking feature of the age. It is precisely on the sex-question that the totem-culture reveals its greatest weakness (409).

(7) DEATH AND THE FUTURE LIFE

In the matter of eschatology, again, we find the most glaring differences from the earlier beliefs. Not only is the simple earth-grave supplemented by platform and tree-burial, with occasional mummification and even cremation of the corpse, but there is no immediate trial at the court of divine justice, at most an indirect reward or punishment by its reappearance under higher or lower forms of life respectively.

You are going back to the buffalos, you are going back to your ancestors!

While this is a typical formula for most of these regions (350, 404ff.) there are occasional glimpses of a better fate. Some reappear as perfect men, others return to the Ancient of Days, while still others are absorbed in the Great Wakanda. Yet even with these more hopeful promises, it cannot be questioned that the doctrine of retribution is by comparison vague. Now it is precisely this vagueness, this want of a strong moral sanction for human conduct, that makes the totem-god a comparatively weak figure. The so-called "beatific vision" obtained by superhuman fasts is certainly an inspiring title; but it is altogether exceptional, its nature is very mysterious, and only the few are ever believed to attain it. Reincarnation is the only outlook for the great majority of the human race (471-478).

PRACTICAL ASPECT OF TOTEMIC RELIGION

To appreciate the nature of these beliefs with greater force, the social and moral side of the question is one which we cannot ignore. While the essential moral constitution of man remains practically the same in all ages, while nobility and even sanctity are no doubt always to be found wherever we look for them, there are certain broad tendencies which when found in sufficient abundance must perforce color our verdict on the general morality of the times. Though nothing is more deceptive than "moral statistics", the growing corruption of this age is hardly deniable, and the following data will illustrate some of its less pleasing aspects taken as they are from standard and recognised authorities on the social condition of four continents:—

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

A FEW ILLUSTRATIONS

(a) Among the Mundas of India the sakam, or *divorce*, is openly recognised, and the most prominent vices are a love of drink and the *sexual liberty of the unmarried*. The ondoka, or human sacrifice is still practiced in secret.¹

(b) At the time of circumcision the Wa-gogo of East-Africa indulge in much abusive language, the women especially *lose all sense of modesty*, and the country becomes a mighty bedlam.²

(c) Among the Aruntas of Central Australia monogamy is the rule, but polygamy is equally sanctioned, and there is a very wide license at the corroborees, or sacred dances, when *wife-loaning is commonly practiced*.³

(d) Among the North-American Indians monogamy is found to be the prevalent form of marriage throughout the continent. The economic factor is everywhere potent, but an actual purchase is not uncommon. *The marriage-bond is loose, and may with few exceptions be dissolved by the wife as well as the husband*.⁴

This, of course, is only one side of the picture, but it shows that wherever we find a strong totem-cult there are considerable moral irregularities. Even allowing that cannibalism, head-hunting, and human sacrifice, have no direct connection with the cult, they are here *beginning* to assert themselves, and the laxity of marriage-tie is notorious. Again we find the growing practice of tribal warfare and individual blood-revenge, and the decidedly cruel and unnatural initiations, such as the mica-operation, or "subincision", of Australia, and the prolonged starvation, sweating, bleeding, boiling, and shivering-ceremonies of Australia, Africa, and North-America,—all of which possess no doubt a deep religious significance, but reveal the inroads of a more cruel, more barbarous, more blood-thirsty civilisation.

TWO SIDES TO THE QUESTION

At the same time it would be short-sighted as well as unfair not to recognise the important services that the institution of totemism has rendered to the human race in more than one aspect. It has preserved the race from the dangers of close breeding, it has raised the animal world to its true dignity, and it has painted the face of nature in magic colors,—it has become the nursing-mother of fine art and of natural subjects,—as witness the Magdalenian and Bushman paintings. Indeed, if the apotheosis of nature be looked upon as a by-product, it is in many respects an advance upon the simple and crude beginnings of early man. Unfortunately it has cultivated the notion of guardian to such an extreme as to lose sight of the Creator.

¹ Roy, *op. cit.* 455, 542, 488. ² H. Cole, Notes on the Wa-gogo of German East-Africa, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* XXXII (1912), p. 307. ³ Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes*, p. 133ff. ⁴ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. I. p. 809.

TOTEMIC INTERPRETATION

AN ESTIMATE OF DR. FRAZER'S THEORY OF PRIMITIVE TOTEMISM
AS A PRE-RELIGIOUS STATE OF MANKIND

"The theory that in the history of mankind religion has been preceded by magic is confirmed inductively by the observation that among the aborigines of Australia, the rudest savages of whom we possess accurate information, magic is universally practiced, whereas religion in the sense of a propitiation or conciliation of the higher powers seems to be nearly unknown".⁵ In these words of Prof. Frazer he clearly insinuates that there was a pre-religious age of humanity in which magic and impersonal forces alone were recognised. After the exhaustive studies of all the more recent anthropologists, who have discovered a *decaying* religion in Australia, and a *living* personal religion among far "ruder" savages, it is needless to say that the above theory falls to the ground. The Aruntas are not primitive savages, and moreover they have some form of theistic belief.⁶

But as to the author's additional surmise that the beginnings and therefore the essence of totemism are to be found in the savage ignorance of the power of procreation, all we can say is that this may have been a pathological feature accompanying the cult, but that it is certainly not a universally safe criterion upon which a broad definition of totemism can be founded.⁷ Whatever be the proximate cause of this decadent philosophy, it seems far better to define it in terms that are more easily and universally verified, as follows:—

Totemism is that form of religious belief, in which certain natural objects, animals, or plants, are recognised as genetically related to man, in such sense that he comes out of his "totem" and returns to it at death, with a consequent prohibition of marriage to those of the same totem.

This definition is not only supported by Prof. Wilken⁸ and Dr. Theal,⁹ two eminent specialists, but it seems that the doctrine of metempsychosis is the only direct criterion by which the *identity* of a man and his totem can be infallibly recognised. In any case, it is the invariable concomitant of the totemic matrimonial taboo, wherever we have been able to trace it, and this points to a close, an essential alliance between totemism and transmigration. If the latter is occasionally found without the former, as in modern Brahminism, we must remember that Brahminism represents a fusion with the old Indian totemism, and a survival of the doctrine is only to be expected. Metempsychosis and matrimonial interdict seem alike essential to the concept.¹⁰

⁵ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, (1910), Vol. I. p. 141. ⁶ See p. 493, 546 above.
⁷ Frazer, IV. 61. ⁸ G. A. Wilken, *Het Animisme*, in *De Indische Gids* (1884), p. 997. ⁹ G. McCall Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, Vol. VII. p. 404ff. ¹⁰ Re-examine the pure totem-areas, and the conclusion seems irresistible.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE TOTEMIC AGE

But whatever be the final solution of this difficult question, the following general conclusions will, I think, appear to be justified:—

There is throughout this period a more vivid consciousness of the genetic relation of things on the material side than we find in the earlier days of humanity. While a supreme Personality still directs the destinies of man in the abstract, in practice his worship is less direct, more mysterious, more occult, more magical, more mixed up with lifeless and impersonal agencies. In this we discern a mental tendency which is never without danger, the desire to know too much of the origins of things, to trace the divine operations in every shining crystal, in every living cell. It was impossible to make this experiment without the risk of a one-sided development, of degenerating into a vague mystery-cult, which is frankly nature-worship. Yet side by side we find the definition of deity as "*The Great Mystery*", and the occasional glimpses of a "Man beyond", of a "Father" of all the totems, suggest at least that some of these practices may be interpreted in a higher and better sense. Thus:—

CONTRAST IS THE KEYNOTE OF THE PERIOD,

there is a wider view of the divine activity; but like all tentative movements it was destined to bring forth many unfortunate secondary symptoms,—a confusion of the world with its Maker, and a more dim realisation of the direct moral responsibility of man.

THE "MIDDLE AGES" OF HUMANITY

The combined evidence inclines me more and more to the opinion, that in this "mediaeval" period of the race there is evidence of a mental and moral dualism, of a splitting of belief and practice into two opposite channels, the one conservative, monotheistic, and monogamous, the other associated more or less with a vague, pantheistic nature-cult, in which the primitive ideas of matrimonial chastity have been in great part lost. Father Schmidt's assertion that totemism has no relation to theology, is one which I have not been able to verify. It is true that in India, the possible cradle of the movement, we have a well-closed theological system, but in the more advanced regions of Australia, Africa, and North-America, there is an endless confusion of ideas,—theistic, pantheistic, palingenetic or "theosophic",—which in practice amounts to a new religion, though a Father of all is still visible in the rift. In fact it may yet be within the power of proof to affirm that at no period of humanity has the cult of the All-Father been entirely lost, though its greater or less corruptions are only too evident.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

OR

NEOLITHIC DEVELOPMENT

With the dawn of the second stone age we enter into an entirely different era of thought. The bearers of this culture are for the most part the Caucasian or white races, though its influences can be felt in every quarter, it embraces the globe. It has been seen that the most striking characteristic of this age is the development of the idea of "spirit-power" as distinct from that of "genetic relation",—the notion, namely, that each unit of being is strong enough to be self-subsistent, an independent center of spiritistic activity which has no immediate connection with higher or lower forms of existence. This idea, collectively known as *mana*, but individually as the *manes*, or disembodied spirit, has converted the old totems into personal, independent divinities, it has peopled the earth with a multitude of "gods". What is the nature of these gods, and to what extent are they subject to a supreme God? This is the object of the following survey, together with a few items of a social or ethical interest.

ANALYSIS OF DEITY

For the early neolithic and lacustrian period we have amongst others the proto-Caucasians, Sumerian, Egyptian, Semitic, or Aryan, whose fundamental ideas have already been analysed in the preceding chapters. By combining this material with the Polynesian and Cordilleran data, we obtain the following picture for the entire area:—

(1) THE NOTION OF SUPREMACY

(N, 1) *Anu*, the "Heavenly One", is apparently supreme, singular, and unique. Existing evidence and the antiquity of the symbol point to a divine unity, though *En-il* and *En-ki* seem to contest it from the earliest times (83).

(N, 2) *Osiris*, "All-seeing-One", is indefinitely ancient as a hieroglyph, but is preceded by *Tum-Ra-Nun*, analogous to the Babyl. *mummu* (91).

(N, 3) *Ashur*, "Heavenly King", is decidedly prominent but late (97). The same of *ilu* as an appellative, or of *el* or *ilut* as proper names. *Jahwe* is unique (101).

(N, 5) *Ahura*, "Life-Spirit", is practically supreme, as the evil spirit, though eternal, is destined to be vanquished. But what is his age? (105).

(N, 6) *Batara* is "Lord" of all, but opposed by a *Batara* of the shades (111).

(N, 6) *Rangi* is the Polynesian "Sun", but husband of *Papa*, Earth (114).

(N, 7) *Awona-Tirawa* is evidently transcendent, though all the powers of nature are also invoked. (Typical for North-American Neolithic 115).

(N, 7) *Pachacamac* is the Peruvian "World-Soul", but the evidence seems to show that he was formerly an elemental deity. (South-American Bronze 119).

(2) THE IDEA OF CREATOR

(N, 1) *Anu* creates in the person of *Bel-Marduk*, demiurge. The creation-epic however insinuates a (former) evolution of gods out of natural forces, *mummu*. The seven tablets reveal progressive periods of creative activity (161).

(N, 2) *Osiris* inherits the attributes of *Atum-Ra*, the creator of the heavens, the maker of all existences. But the earliest triad, *Atum-Shu-Tafnut*, (*Father-Air-Dew*) suggest a parallelism with nature, a concatenation (167).

(N, 3) *Ashur* in his present form is a strong creator, the self-begotten, the fashioner of the heavens,—pictured as the winged orb of heaven (169).

(N, 4) *Jahwe-Elohim* creates by His Word. He is the Lord-God, the Great I AM (172).

(N, 5) *Ahura* creates by his seven spirits, but *Angra-Mainyu* does likewise (176).

(N, 6) *Batara* is maker of all, but *Pulang-Gana* perhaps his equal (178).

(N, 7) *Awona* has evolved things by "thinking himself outward in space" (180).

(N, 7) *Tirawa* is the power above that moves the world (181).

(N, 7) *Pachacamac* is the World-Soul, who advances the sun far above all the stars of heaven, implying a pre-mundane being (181).

(3) THE IDEA OF LAWGIVER AND THE QUESTION OF PERSONALITY

(N, 1) *Anu* is invoked as the god of heaven as early 3100 B. C. He is "king of the lands", and prayer, sacrifice, and temple-worship are here implied (83).

(N, 2) *Osiris*, like all the Egyptian gods, is strongly human, if clothed in animal symbols. He is the father of Egypt, the ideal Pharaoh (91).

(N, 3) *Ashur* is a very similar deity of military character, a "war-lord" (97).

(N, 4) *Jahwe-Elohim* is the ideal Lawgiver, the Author of the *Torah*, the supreme Person *par excellence* (101).

(N, 5) *Ahura-Mazda* is Creator-Lord, the author of *Kshathra*, law, dominion (105).

(N, 6) *Batara* is the lord and master of mankind, with a developed ritual (111).

(N, 6) *Rangi* is the Father of the human race, the teacher of his people (114).

(N, 7) *Awona* is the All-Father with an elaborate worship (115).

(N, 7) *Tirawa* is Spirit-Father, and Our-Father-in-all-places (116).

(N, 7) *Pachacamac*, though a world-soul, is moved by prayers and petitions,—“they worshipped Him in their hearts”—, implying a filial relation (119).

An inspection of this table will show that the idea of unity and transcendence is fairly conspicuous. Only under N, 5, 6, is a possible dualism implied. But as to personality, the test of worship requires it. All these beings are invoked or petitioned as fathers, pharaohs, kings, lords, or masters, they are super-human beings.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

NATURE OF THE NEOLITHIC DIVINITY

From a re-examination of this material a tolerably safe conclusion may be arrived at on the subject of the nature of this newer divinity.

(1) CONTINUITY WITH THE PAST

There is no necessity for postulating a break in the continuous tradition of the All-Father cult. The above data show that this notion has been preserved in its essentials from the earliest times. ("*Anu, my beloved father*"). Moreover it can be traced right through the totem-belt down to the primitive zone, (East Indies). The neolithic "god" is still the one true God of primitive tradition, he has the attributes of transcendence and personality that distinguish him from all totems or taboos, however sacred. Nevertheless he has undoubtedly been tainted by the naturalistic undergrowth, the conception of his operations shows signs of a

(2) DISENTANGLEMENT FROM THE NATURE-CONNEXION

This reveals itself in the fact that in nearly every case the ancient hieroglyph has a cosmic, astral, or animal motif, that astrology and divination are strongly developed, that the existing cosmogonies of Egypt and Babylonia are suspiciously suggestive of a generation of gods, of a theogony, that half-animal ideas have lingered on far into historic times. The Sphinx of Giza and the Assyrian Cherubim will tell their own stories in the matter. Again the existing Polynesian mythology shows a vivid personification of sun, moon, and stars, which notions can be traced far into the Cordilleran region, where they obtain a more perfect astronomical setting, but are still of the essence of theological thinking,—Pueblo, Aztec, or Inca. All this shows that the "High God" has not completely severed his connexion with nature, that he is to some extent a *deus ex machina*, a machine-made divinity, a half-naturalised god.

(3) CONTACT WITH THE ANIMISTIC PLANE

On the other hand there are signs of a new power which is destined to modify not inconsiderably the notion of God. It is the power of *mana*, that spiritual and imponderable essence, which acts in and through all being, and manifests itself in a thousand different centers, making them sacred and inviolable, taboo. It is more than magic; it is an advanced system of *spiritism*, in which the whole world is peopled with ghosts and fairies, with psychic centers, with "bruwas". The whole of creation is alive, everything is spirit. The chief divinity is now defined as the "Great Spirit", but he is surrounded by a host of minor *antus*, who are quite often malignant. They are hungry ghosts, crying for food, thirsty for human blood.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

(4) ELUCIDATION OF "MANA"

The following definitions may help to illustrate these tendencies:—

"That invisible power", writes Dr. Codrington, "which is believed to cause all such effects as transcend their conception of the regular course of nature, and to reside in spiritual beings, whether in the spiritual part of living men, or in the ghosts of the dead, is that generally known as *mana*".

"This power, though in itself impersonal, is *always connected with some person, who directs it*. All spirits have it, ghosts generally, and some men". "No man however has this power of his own. All that he does is done by the aid of *personal beings, ghosts, or spirits*, and it essentially belongs to *personal beings to originate it*".¹¹

It is therefore important to realise that this power differs from magic in that it proceeds or originates from *persons*, it differs from primitive theism in that the persons operating it are possessed of a secret power by which they control the patient by more or less *occult agencies*,—the essence of telepathy. There is now an opinion among experts, that a distinction must be made between manistic animism and impersonal magic. While the latter appears very early, animistic or spirit-magic is comparatively late, and both are preceded by the simple concept of *personality*, one which holds its own throughout the history of man, and is here once more brought into bold relief by the doctrine of a personal spiritual power which is more than an mystery-force on the one hand, or a simple commanding divinity on the other. "*What we have in the beginning*", says Father Schmidt, "*is personality, not animism. Animism begins when souls are attributed to lifeless objects*".¹² But what is a person without a soul? Precisely the "I blow", "I shine", "I give", of the earliest theology, regardless of what the "I" consists of, it is simply a moral self-consciousness, and nothing more. Here however the idea of soul as a telepathic substance is elaborately worked out. It is not simply the case of "I shine", but "I shine with *Universal Life*".¹³

Now although *mana* as a technical term is confined to the Oceanic portion of the neolithic belt, we have seen that the same idea can be traced to the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates, and it is here quite probably that we have its originating source. "As in Egypt, so in Babylonia, animism was the earliest shape assumed by religion, and it was through animism that the Sumerian formed his conception of the divine".¹⁴

¹¹ H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, (Oxford, 1891), pp. 119, 191. ¹² W. Schmidt, *Mythologie der Australonesischen Völker*, (Vienna, 1910), p. 139. ¹³ Compare Prof. W. Wilken, *Het Animisme, Indische Gids* (1884), p. 136. "The whole of nature is animated, even lifeless stones are the object of this anthropopathic concept". ¹⁴ A. H. Sayce, *The Religious of ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (1903), p. 276.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

PRINCIPLES OF THE ANIMISTIC THEOLOGY

It is the flowering reed,—symbolic of the tree of life—, which is here for the first time applied in a more generic sense to the concept of life as such, and above all things to self-conscious existence as acting through a subtle and rare medium, a refined or ethereal substance,—the fundamental notion of spiritism. From the beginning there are gradations in this concept. There is the material or ghastly self, known as the *ka* in Egypt and the *lilu* in Babylonia,—frankly an apparition—, and there is the invisible *khu*, the Mesopotamian *zi*, which expresses the interior consciousness of man, the imperishable, the unchangeable ego. (89, 95). These notions are paralleled in part by the Assyrian *kabittu*, (*lebit*), which as heart or liver expresses the “soul” or interior of being (100), by the Iranian *manah* (*mainyu*), (108), and above all things by the Hebrew-Palestinian *ruach*, which as the “breath” of existence has no definite philosophical value, but is vaguely indicative of subtlety, of spirituality (102). If to these be added the *mana* of the far East (113), and the *manitoo* of the far West,—the latter of uncertain etymology, but attested in the sense of “spirit-person” at least in one instance (116)—, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that, with so many similarities in mythology and general culture, there is not some distant equation of values between *zi*, *khu*, *kabittu*, *ruach*, *bruwa*, *rawa*, *manah*, *mana*, *manitoo*, which is more than of a descriptive nature, and which stands for a somewhat different line of thought than that of the preceding series,—*buru*, *mulungu*, *altjira*, *inkara*, *kaluk*, *wakan*, *wakanda*, *orenda*, etc. While the latter are taken vaguely for mysteries, personal and impersonal forces alike, the former are initiated only by personal and self-conscious beings, living or dead spirits; they are personal agencies.

EXPANDING POWER OF THE ANIMISTIC CONCEPT

Now in applying this new system to the old totem-god, it was destined to broaden and deepen the concept of divinity by no inconsiderable degrees. *Anu* (*Bel-Enlil-Ea*) is the god of heaven, the king of the lands, the lord of the deep, and the lord of life (*en-ti*), and it is “by the life of the gods”, “by the life of heaven and earth” (*zi-an-ki*), that the conjuration-formulas reach their climax (359). Similarly *Atum-Ra* and *Osiris* are symbolised by the eye, they are “all-seeing ones”, *ka-ho-tep*, “shining spirit” (95), *Ashur* is king of heaven, “lord of our fate” (99), *Jahwe-Elohim* is “life” itself (I AM), and *ruach* or “pure spirit” (102), *Ahura-Mazda* is *vohu-manah*, “holy spirit”, *Batara* is lord of the *antu*, *Quat-Marawa* lord of the *vui*, *Rangi* supreme *mana*, *Awona-Tirawa*, father of spirits (*rawa*), *Kitchi Manitoo* the “Great Spirit” etc.,—throughout there is a decided tendency to read more into the term than we find in the primitive folklore of humanity.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

AN EXPLICIT DEVELOPMENT OF A FORMERLY IMPLICIT IDEA

I do not pretend that this notion of "spirit-power" is an entirely novel one. The definition of God as the "breath" or "wind" of existence goes back to the earliest Oceanic belt, as we have seen. But while the nature of deity other than that of "father" is left unconsciously vague, being simply "invisible"; He is here explicitly identified with a definite philosophical concept, He is a spiritual or ethereal essence, having analogies with the soul of man, and indeed with all living things, but clearly marked off from the "ghost" by His attributes of transcendence and ubiquity, however much He may have been confused with the family ancestor in individual instances. The extent of this spiritistic movement has been fully discussed in the preceding pages. It is not sufficiently all-absorbing to compromise the statement that none of the fairies, vampires, or hobgoblins have ever taken the place of the King of Heaven, the Lord of the Lands, the All-seeing One, who, however corrupted in parts, shows his benignity, power, wisdom, and goodness in the records that have been preserved of his action in the realm of nature and man. This is a renaissance rather than a new invention.

THE IDEA OF CREATION, THOUGH TAINTED, IS MORE FULLY DEVELOPED

But the god of animism has had to shake off the fetters that bound him too closely to the world of nature, to the lifeless universe. In nearly every case the act of creation shows the marks of a preceding nature-worship which is too strong to be entirely effaced, it colors the whole of the cosmogony. *Anu* is derived from *mummu*, as *Osiris* is derived from *nunu*, two suspicious parallels, if both are authentic and stand for "water-chaos" the "mother of them all" (Creation, 161, 167). To what extent these are personalities or personifications, it is impossible to say, but they seem to be the survivals of an age of cosmic evolutionism and are yet traceable in many of Brahministic, Polynesian, and Pan-American world-systems. Apart from this the supreme divinity is a creator, he is "father of all the gods", as in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and under the form of *Bel-Marduk* in Babylon he slays the world-typhon, from which he makes heaven and earth, sea and land, sun, moon and stars, plants and animals, and finally man, the latter by the cutting off of his head and mixing the blood with the slime of the earth. This may serve as a type for many of the cosmogonies of this period; but there are two that tower head and shoulders above the others, the Hebrew and the Iranian. Both are free from the weeds of naturalism, and in the former Elohim creates "by His Word", while in the latter *Ahura-Mazda* creates by his "seven spirits", a beautiful, though probably late form of theological speculation.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

THE HISTORICAL ASPECT IS ONCE MORE RECOGNISED

Thus the idea of creation is more vivid and clear-cut than in the preceding period, where it is far more vague, in some cases absent. This is further illustrated by the paradise-legends, in which the leading actors stand out in historical perspective, there is a definite drama of the fall (Paradise, 228). Outlines of the ancient tradition are preserved in many of the Western-Asiatic versions, there is a garden with a tree of life, in some cases a serpent, with hints of a temptation and fall,—but in none have the ancient ideas been handed with anything like moral completeness save only in the Jewish-Palestinian version, in which creation, paradise, deluge and dispersion of humanity are singularly free from mythological accretions, and in which a Redeemer is clearly promised, an idea which finds its deficient counterpart in the savior-gods of Babylonia (Redemption, 271). “Sacrifice is the navel of the world”, it is only through the shedding of blood that the divinity can now be appeased, he requires a steadily increasing toll of life. Reconciliation can only be effected by sanguinary means, but once obtained, it is a passport to life eternal, it admits the bearer to a peaceful though unpromising land of shades.

PRACTICAL APPLICATION

Such are the main features of the newer belief in the Great Spirit in so far as it represents an advance upon the previous notions. It will be interesting to see how these principles are applied in practice.

(1) BIRTH CUSTOMS

Purification with water and oil is a conspicuous feature in the earliest Sumerian-Babylonian practice, as may be inferred from the numerous traditions which associate these elements with a preternatural healing-power. It is Gilgamesh who is cleansed of his leprosy in the “waters of life”, and in the Adapa-legend it is the Ocean-god who prompts the hero to ask of Anu “clothing and oil”, a more utilitarian and moreover a fatal request, but showing the importance of oil in the religious conscience of the nation. But simple water seems to have been in use on all the greatest occasions:—

“With pure sparkling water, with bright shimmering water, seven times, and again seven times, besprinkle, cleanse, purify!” (359).

This Babylonian formula may be paralleled to some extent in Egypt (365), in Persia (373), and in fact throughout the more recent Orient, though not of course with verbal identity (377ff.) We cannot say how far this “sprinkling” was also an infancy-rite, though all the evidence points in this direction. The Jewish “circumcision”, on the other hand, is clearly the seal of a special divine pact, a unique Covenant (369).

RECENT INTERPRETATION

(2) MATURITY RITES

On the other hand the old tribal initiation has apparently disappeared except in the wilder regions of this cultural zone. The *Maklu*-ritual of Babylonia represents, however, a very similar idea. It is a kind of secondary exorcism, an advanced initiation-rite. But instead of burning the candidate, it is the demons that are burned in effigy with the words:—

*I will raise the torch, I will consume your effigies.
May the strangulating Fire-god strengthen my hands!* (359).

On other occasions the *sangu* heals or “confirms” the patient by invoking the Chaldean triad, by pouring on water and oil, and above all by applying the *tigillu*, or sacred herb, distantly connected with the *gesh-tin* or tree of life, which shows the essentially symbolic nature of the ceremony. If the magical thunder-shaman and the spirit-hunter are also well-represented in this region, it may be put down as the result of a spiritistic interpretation of the *zi*, which as the manistic worship of the *lilu* or departed ancestor substituted the ghost for the invisible Spirit, and was distinctly baneful in its mental and moral results. This growing degeneration with its tendency to phallic fertilisation-magic has already been made due allowance for. It characterises the whole of the more advanced agrarian belt of the later neolithic age, and is accompanied by a more bloodthirsty ritual,—firewalking, skull-cult, and human sacrifice. This conflict between the spiritual and the spiritistic has left its footprints as far as Oceania and South America, where we have a dignified dedication-rite side by side with the “ghost-society”, with its firebrands, its hypnotic swoons, and its phallic secrets.

(3) THE MYSTERIES

It is in the matter of sacrifice that we meet with the greatest extremes of practice,—a surprisingly lofty “feast of the gods” on the one hand, and the wholesale offering up of women on the funeral pyres of their husbands, the mowing down of countless thousands by the irresistible Juggernaut car, on the other. This reveals what is only to be expected from the general dualistic movement of the period, the survival of many primitive notions of innocence and unbloody propitiation of the divine, together with the growing consciousness that the sins of man are sufficiently terrible to merit an equally terrible satisfaction. As it is inconceivable that a good God can habitually desire the destruction of man, it seems impossible to trace this custom except to the growing influence of demonism, to a perverted aspect of the divine nature. No person on earth would offer up his daughter to be consumed in the flames unless he felt that he was *too sinful to live*, that either he or his offspring would have to make a supreme atonement.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

Among the unbloody alimentary rites those of Babylonia take the precedence. As early as the fourth millennium before Christ we find the *patesis* pouring out libations to their patrons, generally *Anu* and *Ishtar*, the oldest male and female members of the pantheon. Lugal-Tarsi builds the great temple of Kish in their honor, Ur-Nina owes his name to the goddess, Lugal-Zaggizi is the high-priest of Anu, and offers to En-lil, the god of Nippur an "oblation of bread" and "pure water", while Gudea attests that

In this food is contained the abundance of the gods (360)

They are generally of the number of twelve, they are unleavened or frequently sweetened, they are placed on the "table" of the gods, and to the accompaniment of instrumental music and the burning of aromatic substances they are solemnly offered to the divinity with the following words:—

Receive the banquet of all the great gods! (361)

This is the heavenly banquet as such, the supposed "*impanation*" of the divine. The existence of similar offerings in Egypt and ancient Persia, the feeding of *Osiris* with the corn-fruit of the lower Nile (366), the propitiation of *Ahura-Mazda* by the oblation of the sacred soma (374), not to speak of the contemporary Hindoo, Polynesian and North-American "corn-mysteries",—all are so many manifestations that the first-fruit sacrifice has not been forgotten, it exists in a more developed, more complicated, more ritualistic form (377-386). As illustrations take the following benedictory invocations:—

Praise unto thee Osiris, thou son of heaven! (Egyptian Corn-god)

I am Haoma the Holy, the driving death afar! (Persian Soma).

I am the fourfold-containing womb of life! (American Mother-Corn).

Even the manna of the Jews is linguistically a *mincha*, a divine gift:—

This is the bread which the Lord hath given you to eat! (370),

though here the monotheistic setting of the Jahwe-worship is the distinctive feature. The fact that some of the breads are invariably eaten shows that the sacrifice is also a sacrament, a communion-rite.

The sacrificial nature of the banquet in the sense of a destruction of the victim is more forcibly brought out in the *niku* or bloody sacrifice. Here it is not only the gift (*kištu*), the ox, the hog, or the lamb—, but the pouring out of the blood (*niku*), that alone can appease the offended divinity. This, with the partial consumption of the shew-bread would seem to indicate that external destruction was regarded as necessary to all sacrifice in the propitiatory as distinct from the latreutic sense. But the whole subject of "immolation" has been amply discussed above, (see under Sacrifice, p. 398-400).

RECENT INTERPRETATION

(4) EXPIATION OR RECONCILIATION

The subjective acts on the part of the worshipper include a very moderate fast, an abstinence from certain taboos, a public and sometimes a priestly accusation of faults, and above all the practice of vocal prayer, the recitation of "litanies" which are here more prominent and prolonged than perhaps in any preceding age. Sufficient examples have been given to show that these are genuine exhibitions of sorrow, and in the Babylonian *shiptu-rites* three or four distinct acts seem to be traceable:—

Has he blasphemed his God? dishonored his father? spoken a lie?—

O Lord, my transgressions are many, great are my sins? (Accusation).

Come to deliver us, thou son of justice, release the ban! (Absolution).

Lord of the land, return, look down upon thy city! (Satisfaction).

It is impossible to say how far these different actions can be said to constitute a strictly continuous moral function analogous to the sacrament of penance. But we have seen that all these ceremonies are grossly polytheistic and thaumaturgic,—the *Sangu* delivers his patient from charms of sorcery, not from a personal rebellion against the God of Heaven,—it is merely an *absolution from witchcraft* (363, 406). In Palestine the whole confession is summary, but is made directly to the great Jehovah:—

Pardon, O Lord, pardon thy people, and be not angry with us for ever!

(372), but the nature of the *kappora* on the Day of Atonement is very mysterious. We have noted, however, that the examination of conscience was no trivial ordeal, whether in Palestine, Egypt, or Babylonia, and the early Vedic and Avestic lawbooks show that the custom of self-accusation of sin may well have been at one time universal in Western Asia (376ff.), as it was certainly a recognised institution among the Aztecs of North America (386).

(5) PRIESTHOOD

One of the most distinctive marks of the recent period is the separation of the offices of physical and moral healer, of the spiritual *sangu* from the old medicine-man. The title of "father", once universal, is now confined to the ruling priest-king, the head of the hierarchy. We have traced its evolution, from the root *ab* as follows:—*pa, papa, peng, penglima, pahan, pat, patesi*, the latter being the title of the Sumerian rulers (363). Even *Ab-ram* is the "father of light" and *Ab-raham* the "father of power", the *rabbi* being at least a "great-one", a father-master. The Egyptian pharaohs, the Persian paitish, and the Polynesian and Peruvian "popes" correspond to some extent to the Babylonian *patesi*, who as the *sanga-mahu* or High-Priest is the equivalent of the Jewish *rabbi-kohen*, with solemn mitre and mace.

Thou art the living form on earth of thy father Atum! (368).

These words express the cult of the age to the anointed son-of-heaven, (406).

RECENT INTERPRETATION

(6) MATRIMONY

The union of the sexes is now no longer determined by a mythical descent from certain animals or objects. The totemic crests, wherever preserved, have become the family emblems, the royal coat-of-arms, the symbols of leadership. The rule of exogamy is still applied, but it has lost much of its old severity. In its place there is a growing practice of endogamy, a tendency to place the ruling power in the hands of a few families, an hereditary aristocracy, sometimes with maternal, but more often with paternal descent. Monogamy prevails, but polygamy and even polyandry are quite frequently sanctioned, there is no uniformity in the relations of sex. We have noted, however, that in most cases a *primitive monogamy* precedes the degenerate practices of later times, and that a clasping of hands in presence of the priest is regarded in some instances as essential to its validity. In the Aryan countries especially the sacerdotal union survives.

By this faith which I utter, receive ye the life of the Good Mind! (376). This and the Roman *confarreatio* points to a high regard for the bond, in which a complete divorce does not seem to have been originally recognised. The legal and religious equality of men and women is no less striking, though it took some centuries to mature, and in the Vestal Virgins of Rome we have the first premonition of better things to come, a prophetic light amid the surrounding darkness (380). Taking it as a whole, the position of women, though surrounded by terrible pitfalls, is decidedly better than in the days of the buffalo-hunt. She is reasserting her primitive rights to equality, to a mutually constant affection in the tie (409).

(7) DEATH AND THE FUTURE LIFE

The doctrine of universal metempsychosis can no longer be found except in certain isolated areas, where a contact with the totem-peoples was a strong factor for its survival, as in parts of India, Egypt, and North America. The conversion into wild beasts is more of the nature of a punishment than of a normal destiny for the soul, it is a prehistoric "hell". But the distinctive note of the more recent eschatology is its greater hopefulness and more direct judgment. Even the body seems to count for something, there is a careful tomb-burial, more rarely exposition or cremation of the corpse. The soul descends to the land of shades, but there is often a brighter vision:

Be clean as heaven, be clean as earth, shine like the innermost heaven! (482). *I come unto thee, O my God! I draw near to see thine excellences! I am pure, I am pure!* (483). *Pity me, Sun! You have seen my life, you know that I am pure!* (490). *We see ourselves living with Tirawa!* (490).

We have noted, however, how far all this is removed from a Beatific Vision in the full supernatural sense in which we understand it (500).

RECENT INTERPRETATION

THE SOCIAL AND ETHICAL DATA IN THEIR RELATION TO THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF

If the social and moral element be taken once more as a test, we shall find that a twofold current of thought is paralleled by a twofold system of morals revealing enormous extremes, the one surprisingly edifying, the other showing a depth and degradation almost indescribable.

ONCE MORE A DUALISM

(1) As against the matriarchal systems of the late-glacial and transitional period, the patriarchy is once more re-established, there is stability in the family, law and order with an historic succession in the state. Kingship, aristocracy, and priesthoods take the place of the tribal chief, the council of elders, the medicine-man. They become a definite class, fixed more or less by the laws of heredity, by primogeniture. (Compare the Sumerian patesis with the Polynesian and Aztec priest-kings). Then again, we have noted the comparatively high regard for women, and the gradual evolution of higher female rights, culminating in the idea of virginity as an ideal state of womanhood, however defectively realised. Tacitus says, "they would rather fall on the sword of the enemy than lose their chastity".

(2) On the other hand, the brutality and corruption of this age are no less conspicuous. We have only to recall the steadily increasing custom of rape and infanticide, of child or wife-purchase, of the practice of slavery, of the *lex talionis*, of the wager of battle,—we have only to picture the corrupted temple "devotee", and above all the more and more sanguinary character of religious worship, which reaches its climax in the human sacrifice, in the offering up of innocent maidenhood to some terrible Moloch,—a practice which seems to have been particularly strong in South America,—and the combined impression that presents itself is far from ideal, it reveals an intense consciousness of sin, of growing social and moral degeneration. Such an antithesis of right and wrong, of god and demon, is only to be expected. It is completely in harmony with the mental development, which is also difficult to analyse, but which shows symptoms of a deep internal struggle, the desire to preserve intact the ancient tradition, to keep the God of Heaven untarnished, and at the same time to satisfy the demand for a more popular theology, for a multitude of guardian-spirits, which shall be the immediate helpers of man,—in itself a legitimate concept, but liable to abuse by "divinisation". To what extent such a divinisation has been carried by substituting the ghost and the phallic demon for the living God of Heaven, has been abundantly illustrated in the preceding chapters. Though never entirely obscured, it may be said with some confidence, that the pure image of the Creator has been largely blurred, if not directly soiled, by these deplorable practices.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

UNITY VERSUS PLURALITY

With this epoch begins the great battle between the divine Unity on the one hand, and manistic pluralism on the other. Had the old totem-worship tended to split the divinity into many forms, the newer faith in universal spiritism has driven the wedge still further, it has produced a deep cleavage between the transcendent and the immanent God, two ideas that should never be separated, if by immanence be understood the ubiquitous, the all-penetrating activity of the Creator. Thus it has come to pass that while the great God of Heaven still holds his own, He is in each case threatened with a formidable rival, with a multitude of lesser gods. (Compare the mythologies *passim*). I do not assert that these deities are the necessary result of the animistic movement. In so far as they are mere *teraphim* or house-hold-gods, they are harmless enough,—have we not our own patron-saints? Nor is a pronounced ancestor-worship with spirit-feeding inconsistent with loyalty to a supreme taboo, a world-soul, an *anima mundi*. It may even help to expand an all too narrow concept of the divine action, of the divine nature. But it can hardly be doubted that with this universal life-philosophy there has come a strong pluralistic tendency. The totems have become personal “gods” and if not held together by a World-Soul as identified with a good Creator, they have sunk to the level of cruel, blood-thirsty, and exacting divinities, they are mere demons. (Compare *Bel* of Nippur with *Baal* of Canaan).

THE TRIUMPH OF UNITY

If, then, the totemic age was tinctured with pantheism, the neolithic age has been productive of polytheism, the doctrine namely, that the difference between the Creator and his creatures is one of degree rather than kind, that all are equally divine, even though one be the greatest, the “father” of the pantheon. Thus there are gods innumerable and lords innumerable. Yet in spite of this there is a distinct undercurrent of monotheistic thought, the All-Father is still to be recognised, He is still invoked, He is still implored, even if by a narrower circle, the priesthood,—the first theologians of the race. In their battle for the divine Unity, they have raised the figures of *Anu*, *Ashur*, *Ahura*, *Batara*, *Awona*, *Pachacamac*, to their true dignity, they have preserved the ancient cult of the Father of Heaven from extinction, at the same time bringing it up to a higher standard, a broader mentality, a more complex civilisation. Their theology is best described as a

RECONSTRUCTED MONOTHEISM

This is sometimes called “Henotheism”, as insinuating that *one* divinity has been singled out and made to be the controlling power of all the others, at the same time recognising the others as separate divine hypostases.

RECENT INTERPRETATION

ANIMISM NOT NECESSARILY ANTI-THEISTIC

If, then, the point be urged with renewed emphasis that animism is the key that will unlock all mysteries, that the "spiritualisation" of nature will account for the Great Spirit, such an assertion can only be justified in the sense that a definite mental attitude will naturally color our views of the divine Being as a philosophical "essence", not that it will account for the origin of the idea or for any of its deeper theological ramifications. As well might it be said that totemism will account for the Great Mystery in the sense of an incomprehensible Power, a unique personal Guardian. We have seen that the idea of a *ubiquitous Person* antedates the above notions, that before man began to speculate on the nature of the divine Being, he had the consciousness of a supreme Personality, the Author of all existence, the Father of the human race. Upon the truth of this statement must of course depend the entire weight of the argument, but a re-examination of the evidence on this head will, I think, convince any fair-minded person that the All-Father notion is prior to the animistic, and a fortiori to the spiritualistic tendencies of human thought. Long before the sun-ancestor and the ghost-god has assumed a position of supreme importance, the Father in Heaven was invoked, or at least recognised, by a simple though suggestive ritual. The continuity of this idea is perhaps equally striking, and in its animistic phase it has simply defined the Creator in terms of the current philosophy, He is the "Immanence of Life".

THE "MODERN" PERIOD OF HUMANITY

This being the last of the great prehistoric cycles of humanity, it may be conveniently called the modern age of the race, the period in which the broad foundations of the higher historic civilisations were definitely laid. What has been its influence on the religious history of man?

It must be admitted that the evidence on this subject is not as universally clear as might have been desired. Palaeontology is practically dumb, archaeology speaks with a hesitating voice, hieratic literature throws some light on the subject, but modern ethnology seems to confirm what the former are distinctly hinting at. If, therefore, the living survivals be compared with the buried civilisations as far as known to us, their combined testimony is surely of some value. They have revealed the fact that the worship of the supreme Being has never been entirely lost, the Father-above is still with his children. The nature of this influence is best appreciated by taking a brief birds-eye view of the preceding developments and noting their manifest tendencies.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PREHISTORIC AGE

In the earliest epoch of humanity we find an extremely simple culture associated with an equally simple religious belief. The exaggerated notions of a material paradise, of a state of extraordinary material and cultural refinement, from which mankind has fallen as the result of original sin, belong to those later speculations on a purely material millennium, to the perversion known as "chiliasm". It is hardly necessary at this hour to repeat that the elevation and fall of man is a *supernatural*, not a natural process, that the infusion of grace is primarily a *moral* act, it is physical only in the sense that the intellectual and appetitive faculties of man are given that degree of supernatural stimulus which is necessary for the attainment of their supernatural end,—the direct vision of the All-Father face to face. All other effects are secondary and problematical, even if they can be called "congruous". The all-knowledge of Adam is a sublime theological truth, but it gains nothing by being applied to the purely secular interests of life. "And they were both naked, the man and the woman, and were not ashamed". This high state of perfection is *too all-absorbing* to be coupled with the trivial and the merely superfluous, and this makes the supernatural order stand out in all the bolder perspective. The knowledge of God has nothing to do with the art of building, even if the first man possessed all the arts and sciences in a single vision. And so, in the primitive picture of man as presented to us *after* the fall, we find a material blank side by side with the remains of a supernatural fulness. Nature is his only clothing, the palm leaf his only protection, the wild fruits of the earth his only nourishment. Yet he sees the All-Father in the lightning, he hears His voice in the thunder, he accepts His peace-message in the rainbow. For him the cathedral of God is the tropical forest, the aisles are the lofty cedars, the organ is the great Monsoon, that tunes the forest to a deep monotone, the lights are the fire-flies, the incense the delicious perfumes of the ginger-worts and the magnolias. This is the aftermath of a once gigantic fact,—that God, man, and nature were at one time the all-sufficient reality.

With the gradual adolescence of man he becomes more curious of the *whence* and *how* of existence. It is not enough to invoke the heavenly Father; there must be a more proximate, more visible source of human life, and nature was ready at hand to suggest such a source. The origin of fertility now becomes the absorbing subject, it commands the chief attention of man, with the consequence that he is gradually weaned away from the Creator and seeks in creation itself the solution of his own existence.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PREHISTORIC AGE

His genealogy is traced to the sacred baboon, then to the tiger, the bear and the buffalo, then to the emu, the carpet-snake, the lizard, the grass-seed and the red earth,—and finally to the sun, the “original source of all totems”, the first attempt at a system of evolution. In this movement the Creator is defined as the “Great Mystery”, present in the sacramental totem, or perhaps He is simply the Great Unknown, the indefinable basis of all existence. In so far as He is still personal, this represents an advance, in so far as He is impersonal, an equally pronounced degeneration. Man is now capable of multiplying entities by sun-magic, which in connection with a personal God becomes the great Sun-Mystery, the source of all life, but which without this connection dwindles down to a mere nature-worship, it is a vague occultism in which sympathetic forces alone are recognised. Man has advanced, mentally and materially, but it has been at the expense of a double morality, inclining in a higher or a lower direction, according the prevalent philosophy of the times.

This upward and downward tendency becomes more and more accentuated with the growing age of the race. In the recent or riper period of humanity, there has been a social and religious development which is out of all proportion to its comparative brevity. It is almost like an upheaval. In place of the old mystery-cult, we have the definition of divinity as Life, Spirit, Goodness, Love, which, though implicitly recognised from the earliest times, is now brought out in all its philosophical fulness, it is pre-eminently the “essence” of God. The manistic or animistic power vested in the personal medium, living or dead, and terminating in the entire creation, is now transferred to the Father in Heaven, He is the “Great Spirit”, the septessence of all the minor spirits,—*mana* raised to the infinite power. Side by side we have the ghost-god, the discarnate double, the spirit of the woods, a necessary by-product of the animistic movement. To these two notions corresponds a twofold tendency in the social sphere, one towards a centralised theocracy with a priest-kingship, the *patesi* being the “vicar” of God; the other towards a more or less independent shamanism, in which the thaumaturge and the spirit-hunter play the leading role. Man is now in possession of more perfect tools. He rears huge temples to the “Lord of the Lands”, he offers the unbloody sacrifice with the sculptured pomp and vested ritual of which he is capable. At the same time astrology and divination have become a fine art, the deity requires more and more hecatombs, until finally human life is offered up as the only reparation for the shameful prostitution-rites with which that same temple has been desecrated. It is truly an age of mental and moral contrasts,—an age of paradox.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PREHISTORIC AGE

To sum up then, the combined religious picture for the prehistoric era may be said to reveal a development which seems to be traceable in at least three broad stages of mental and social evolution. These stages may be described as follows:—

I. FOR THE PRIMITIVE PERIOD

Here the divinity is supreme, personal, and worshipful in the best sense by prayer and mild sacrifice,—without cruel rites. He is strictly *super-natural*, not involved or confused with nature, but rather a *super-human* being, a *super-man*,—infinitely big, and so on. He creates directly, or by means of a demiurge, the whole universe and man, his sons being in each case dependent, in no case the result of sex-union, with lower creatures, the few exceptions being later intrusions, fully discussed above. He is supreme Lawgiver of the race, and His character reveals itself in a relatively clean morality, a comparatively innocent manner of life.

THIS IS THE MONOTHEISTIC AGE OF HUMANITY,

in which the idea of transcendence is apparently uppermost. He is the only One, but He is all in all,—*Amaka*—, the universal Father. As yet there is no consciousness of the nature or essence of things. He is simply the All-Father, revealing Himself to his children in childlike form.

II. FOR THE TOTEMIC OR GLACIAL PERIOD

This ancient divinity can still be traced in his main features. All the above qualities apply here with equal force, they can be sifted out. Nevertheless the idea of *genesis* beginnings to attract the attention of man. Where did he come from? Is he not intimately related to nature? Is he not her direct offspring? By degrees the notion is formed that nature is nearer to man than the Heavenly Father, later that she herself is divine, nay the only divinity, and finally that all thinkable beings are of one substance, that the All-Father is but the last link in an endless chain of development, that He and all things are contained in the lowest forms of lifeless matter, in the *inkaras*, or world-units of dream-time. While *Altjira* still sits on his throne, he is forgotten, his universe is self-developing.

THIS IS THE AGE OF PANTHEISTIC MONISM,

in which the notion of immanence becomes all-important, it is nature herself which is the All. And yet the idea of a unique being has not been entirely lost, the *Wakanda* is still "The Great Mystery", "the Creator of heaven and earth, the Fountain of Mystic Medicine". Among the righteous the totem is a blessing, the growing knowledge of nature has but deepened their love for the Creator.

CONCLUSIONS FOR THE PREHISTORIC AGE

III. FOR THE NEOLITHIC AND RECENT PERIOD

The second stone age marks in many respects a reform, a revival of the primitive notions. The Wakanda has been disentangled from nature, he is no longer connected with the lower creation, he has become an *Awonawilona*, a "Father of All", once more emphatically a supreme Person. What then has become of the totems? Have they disappeared? By no means. They have ceased to be mere connecting-links with the red earth, it is true; but they are more than mere mysteries in germ, mere "medicines". They are no longer guardian-things, or guardian-animals; they have become guardian-spirits, endowed with *mana*, great personalities, who act on the lower creation by their secret power, focussing their influence on certain objects, making them inviolable or sacrosanct,—*taboo*. A neolithic *tabu* is therefore more than a totem. It is the abode of a *person*, and as there are many *tabus*, so there are *many persons* operating the *tabu*, not excluding a supreme *Tabu*, who thus becomes the head of the pantheon.

THIS IS THE AGE OF POLYTHEISTIC SYNCRETISM,

in which the "Great Spirit" is surrounded by a host of minor spirits of the same nature, who are frequently co-eternal and who contest his authority. But this is not the invariable rule. The great *Awona* is still behind, the *tabu*, willing to make it the instrument of his power, his own exclusive possession. In this case his alliance with the new wave of animism has served to deepen the concept of his activity, it has filled the world with his "spirit", it has broadened the idea of his nature, it has defined his essence.

AN EXPANDED MONOTHEISM HAS BEEN THE RESULT,

a system which is larger, broader, and deeper, in every way more whole-souled, than any of its predecessors. It is not simply a case of *Amakalanghi*, "Our Father in Heaven", but of *A-ti-us-ta-ka-wa*, "Our Father in all places".

What then are the conclusions to which the combined weight of the evidence would seem to incline us? It must be admitted that this evidence cannot in the nature of the case be exhaustive. A heavy pall of obscurity must for ever hang upon many pages of the prehistoric past. Nevertheless the existing material has been sifted with sufficient care and completeness to justify the assertion that, allowing for many contrary and degenerate tendencies, *there has been on the whole a gradual and progressive revelation of the divine nature from the dawn of humanity,—first as "Paternity", second as "Fecundity," and finally as "Spirituality"—*, these three notions corresponding in their main developments to three great epochs in the evolution of the race.

THE DIVINE TRADITION

A FEW CONSIDERATIONS ON THE "FAITH ONCE DELIVERED"

It is impossible to close this chapter without calling attention to the unique significance of the divine names in the Old and New Testaments as expressive of the earliest and purest tradition of the All-Father cult. If the contemporary divinities of the Amarna age were one and all clothed with the nature-symbolism of the day, if they were connected, however remotely, with star, ram, fish, or ocean, with solar orb, or with lunar sickle, it is all the more surprising to find in the revealed God of Judaism a concept of the divine, which is as far in advance of the times as it is closely modelled on the simple theology of early man. If the *Ruach Elohim*, the "Spirit of God" is a relatively advanced notion, it reminds us in many respects the earliest tradition of the All-Father as the "Breath" of existence, as in some respects unpicturable, indefinable, inexpressible. Coupled with *Jahwe-Adonai*, the revealing "Lord", the great "I AM", it recalls no less forcibly the primitive picture of the "Great Master", the "Only One", whose voice is the thunder and whose shafts the lightning, who issues His decrees to the accompaniment of burning bush or smoking volcano, who destroys the wicked and saves the just in the great deluge of his wrath, who sets His rainbow in the clouds "as the sign of a Covenant" between Himself and the earth. He is in every sense *El Shaddai*, the Almighty, *El Elyon*, the Most High, and, in a more particular sense, *El Sabbaoth*, the Lord of Hosts, but this only in a later age, as the national God of the Jewish armies. All this shows that the divine tradition is firmly anchored in the prehistoric past, that it descends to the earliest ages of man, before the stars and emus had attracted his attention, before he had begun to philosophise, for the expressions "power" and "subsistence" in the latter sense can hardly be applied in their full force to the simple and untutored consciousness of early man.

But even this was not to be the climax of God's dealings with man. It was reserved for the Messiah, the root of Jesse, the "bright, the morning star", to revive the All-Father worship in all its splendor, to proclaim a unique, divine Sonship, to reveal for the first time the inner fecundity of God as the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*,—a profound but a beautiful mystery. In this Sonship, physical for the Redeemer, but moral for all His creatures, the whole of humanity has a share. "*For you have not received the spirit of bondage unto fear, but you have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. For the Spirit itself beareth testimony to our spirit, that we are the children of God*". (Rom. 8, 15).

Let us develop this subject with a few final reflections.

UNICITY OF DIVINE FAITH

If faith is an "assent to revealed truth on the authority of God the Revealer", it will stand to reason that one of its first notes must be that of separation from all contrary forms of assent by the attribute of unicity or logical exclusiveness,—it must of its very nature be opposed to all that is false, fragmentary, naturalistic, or problematical. For as in the human sciences it is necessary to distinguish the facts from the fancies, that which is demonstrated from that which is clearly "exploded", so in matters of religious faith it cannot be a matter of indifference to know, whether God is one or many, personal or impersonal, spiritual or material, moral or mechanical. Any person that would now presume to doubt the existence of the solar system or the rotundity of the earth's surface would be putting himself outside the pale of normal humanity. He is no longer free to believe that the earth is flat, that the sky is solid, that the stars are punctures in the vault of heaven. The fact is that *every fresh discovery in the realm of science diminishes his liberty of thinking the opposite*, for it has become a *scientific dogma*, and as such is no longer open to question.

In like manner it is essential to separate the purity of the All-Father cult from the corruptions and excrescences that have ever grown around it. It is marked off from fetchism, because the All-Father is invisible, from magic, because He is personal, from totemism because He is transcendent. It is clearly distinguished from spiritism, because He is the Lord of spirits, from animism, because He is the Lord of life, from polytheism, because He is the Lord of gods. In each case the primitive theology has been forced to battle with new aspects of the divine nature which she has either assimilated, when useful, or rejected, when baneful, the new aspects very often springing out of her own inner consciousness, not forced upon her from the outside. She has recognised mystery long before magic, guardians long before totemism, angels long before animism. In so far as the latter have drifted away from her controlling hand, they are *heretical movements*, but in so far as they are auxiliary philosophies, they have their value. Thus unicity, or exclusiveness, is an essential mark of all truth, and the man who sees no difference between *bel* and *baal* is on a level with the man who cannot distinguish whales from fishes, or paste from diamonds. *To throw over a divine dogma is to disregard the laws of gravity*, and in affirming the truth of one proposition, I am ipso facto condemning its opposite, I am fighting for its defeat, I have become an inquisitor. The bigotry of "Romanism" is but another name for intellectual subtlety. If God is Father, He cannot at the same time be non-Father, though He may be infinitely more.

SIMPLICITY OF DIVINE FAITH

And this leads us to an aspect of religious faith which is not often realised,—its simplicity or perspicuity. "If God had given a revelation to man, He would have written the message in the skies". This shallow demand of the rationalist conscience, though meant with sinister purpose, contains an important element of truth, if applied to the external criteria by which a true religion may be recognised, and not to its inner mysteries. For if a definite system of belief, like a definite medicine, is essential to the salvation of man, such a system must not be so abstruse or difficult of perception that it can only be discerned by the learned few, the special favorites of heaven. It must be simple and clear enough to appeal to the savage no less than the sage, to the child no less than the philosopher, in default of which it becomes a private opinion, it ceases to be a Catholic truth. In other words, *the message must be clear enough to appeal to humanity at large*, though the inner content of the message, as conversant with mysteries, may, and indeed must be, the subject of learned and laborious investigation.

Now this is precisely that quality of belief which seems so characteristic of the unsophisticated child of nature. For him, as for the simple-hearted of all ages, "the message of God is written in the skies", he does not have to be a mathematician to discover law, a biologist to discover life, an anatomist to discover wisdom. All these things are mirrored in nature and the conclusion is easily read,—"I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth"—, for him as clear as the daylight. From this proposition as from a major premise the whole of his theology is derived, and if the same subjects are also mysteries, we must remember that he is looking for mystery and would be gravely disappointed if he did not find it. *There is no God without mystery, as there is no science without marvels*. Creation, fall, redemption, sacrifice, retribution in the world to come,—all are accepted as facts, though he cannot fully explain them. Can the optician fully explain the rainbow? Hence there is no contradiction in saying that faith is simple and certain, and at the same time dark and obscure, for the light shines nowhere so brilliantly as it does in the darkness, and it is through the darkness that the supernatural light is revealed. By this light it has been possible for the mystics of all ages to work out the higher problems of faith, to attempt a philosophy of religion, to show the rationality of that which has been delivered. But in regard to the formal object of faith, divine authority, saint and savage are on the same level, for—"*whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall in no wise enter therein*". (Lk. 18, 17). Thus simplicity is at the bottom of every religious assent.

CERTAINTY OF DIVINE FAITH

Needless to say, such an assent must also be certain, it must exclude all vacillation of the intellect; for without firmness of mind there is no firmness of morals, there is no transcendent motive for conduct. This certainty may be natural or supernatural, metaphysical, physical, or moral.

As to the *natural* certainty of a religious conviction, it is not commonly understood that it *precedes* the act of faith and is independent of it. I must first know that God has spoken before I can obey his message, otherwise my faith is "blind," I become a traditionalist, I sink into "fideism". It is, therefore, essential to realise that quite apart from a supernatural illumination the savage is capable of arriving at a knowledge of God with a certainty which is "reductively metaphysical", equivalent to the truth that two and two makes four. The main steps in this simple logic have already been described (125, 538). It is based on what we now call the principle of sufficient reason, and though it has been dubbed as "horse-sense", it is an equestrian philosophy which cannot be superseded. Here in brief is its scientific form:—

"A maximum potential requires a maximum actual for its realisation".

Atqui, "the universe is replete with potential perfection".

Therefore it requires a maximum perfect for its realisation.

In this syllogism is implicitly contained the argument from motion,—for we are speaking of potencies—, the argument from contingency,—for no potency exists by necessity—, the argument from design,—for the maximum perfect is seen to act with orderly purpose—, and the argument from morality,—because it takes an infinite Person to keep the conscience, an *All-Father*. In like manner the immortality of the soul as a simple substance, and its reward or punishment in the life to come (491), all is part of a "natural theology", which elicits various degrees of mental assent among all primitive peoples.

But as to a *supernatural* certainty, it has always been felt that anything like a revelation of the divine will above and beyond that of the natural law requires its manifestation by means of supernatural agencies,—commonly known as miracles and prophecies. It is by his "visions" that the inspired prophet of old sees his God as it were "in a cloud" and accepts His message with a certainty which far surpasses that of discursive reasoning. It is of course a question how far such visions were granted to other mortals; but if accompanied by the usual criteria of mental and moral illumination, they *may* be authentic, the subject may be in possession of a higher supernatural light. This is indeed far removed from those attested supernatural wonders which accompanied the historic revelation of God in the fulness of time, but it seems sufficient to account for the facts of prehistoric "illumination" as we may possibly find them.

OBSCURITY OF DIVINE FAITH

And with these words we have indicated the essential obscurity of the act of faith viewed as the instrument for assimilating the supernatural. This would seem to be in opposition to its simplicity, to its intellectual facility,—but only apparently so. For although the message itself is clear and simple, as indeed it must be, the full import of the message, dealing as it does with the infinite, must of its nature be dark and obscure,—though its apprehension is easy, its comprehension is difficult, though initiated in mind, it terminates in mystery, though the telegram can be read by all, the full interpretation of its secrets baffles even the operator. All science terminates in obscurity,—but why balk at obscurity? I may say without the fear of any contradiction that *obscurity is the accompaniment of many a great truth*, that a thing is grand, noble, efficient, awe-inspiring, epoch-making, and truly marvelous, precisely in that proportion in which it is mysterious, in which it dazzles our finite powers of comprehension. Are the wonderful properties of radium easy to understand? Is the speed of the electric spark imaginable, the “infinite” ether comprehensible? Can the differential equations of Laplace, with their positive and negative infinities, and their “vanishing quantities”, be said to be easily thinkable, let alone picturable? And yet they have given us the solar system and the electric light, the two greatest discoveries of man. If now we go one step farther, and say that God is mysterious, though He is the Light of the world, we are simply uttering a truism long since known to the savage. It is precisely this ultra-mysteriousness of divine truth which makes my assent to it a *free* and *meritorious* act, for I can quarrel with mystery, though I cannot quarrel with equations.

And this brings us to the subject of external authority as the normal vehicle of supernatural truth. For if its scientific basis is so abstruse that it can only be assimilated by the few, it will follow that only the few are capable of guarding it, and in this sense religion is aristocratic and monarchical, it requires a priesthood and a professional papacy, well developed from the earliest times. Let no one call this a despotism; it is a blessing to mankind. It is only an Enoch and Elias that ascends to the skies, only a Peter that keeps the keys, only Paul that is caught up to the heavens, only a John that sees in a vision “the mystery the seven stars”. These men have pierced the veil of obscurity, they have worked out the higher mathematics of faith, and as such they are as far above the average of humanity as a Newton is above a first-grade school-boy; they have dispelled the darkness,—“*I will utter things concealed from the foundation of the world*”. The Master implies that there is a hidden wisdom in all revealed truth, that it is essentially an “apocalypse” of things obscure.

SANCTITY OF DIVINE FAITH

From the simple unique character of the divine message there follows its separation from all that is profane and commonplace,—its sanctity. To guard the message from corruption is to guard the magnetic needle from corrosion, it must be preserved in a glass case and cannot be touched,—it is taboo. Hence the penalties that follow the sin of sacrilege are thunder and lightning, fire and water-flood, the earliest reminders that His name is holy, that His commands cannot be trifled with. Hence also the prohibition of even pronouncing His name, whether as the "Our Father" of the jungle-folk, or as the great "I AM" of Israel. In each case the divine name is too sacred to utter, it is a mortal sin to pronounce it, it must be transcribed for common use; He must be known as "Thunder-Power" to the world without,—*Kari-Balingo-Elohim*—, as "Lord and Master" to the inner circle,—*Pengulu-Adonai*—, but as "All-Father-I-AM" only at solemn initiations or in the sacred mysteries,—*Aba-langi-Amaka-Ya-langi-Ye-howah*. In this way the Jewish tetragram is seen to have many analogies in the prehistoric past, though the idea of fatherhood is more pronounced than that of personal subsistence.

But the most persuasive note of every true philosophy must ever remain its immediate effect in the moral order, its power to regulate human life by standards and practices that instinctively elicit the universal approval of mankind. For any faith that can make me truthful rather than tricky, generous rather than mean, chaste rather than dissolute, merciful rather than cruel, charitable rather than extortionate, all-loving rather than self-seeking,—such a faith carries persuasion in its very act, it *must* be true in a natural though not in a supernatural sense,—for we require miracles as well. Now although all forms of faith reflect these virtues to a certain degree, *it is only where the All-Father-cult exists in its greatest purity that we find a correspondingly flawless moral development*. Contrast the simplicity, and comparative innocence of the early ages of man with the innumerable corruptions of those that followed them, and the thesis is sufficiently proved; nature-worship cannot long coexist with moral innocence, with ethical integrity. In other words, *All-Father-I-AM is the direct source of purity in the moral no less than the mental sphere*, and wherever He is lost or obscured we find a corresponding weakening of the moral standard, a growing invasion of rape, infanticide, theft, murder, adultery, promiscuity, and general animalism. This is a strong statement to make, but it is absolutely provable, though of course with different degrees. No nation has ever entirely rejected the cult, but whenever the certainty of this faith collapses, the ideals are invariably lowered (Compare the later Roman empire).. "*Men do not gather grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. Therefore by their fruits ye shall know them*".

CATHOLICITY OF DIVINE FAITH

From the moral necessity of faith there follows again its catholicity or universality. For if God "sincerely desires the salvation of all men, even the most obdurate", it is clear that He must give all men the means for attaining it, there must be no monopoly in a matter which is so essential to his welfare. Perhaps there are more popular misconceptions on this head than on any other. People will seriously ask you how a religion can be universal and yet exclusive, catholic and yet wanting in universal territorial acknowledgement. Moreover, is it fair, they say, for the Creator to single out certain individuals, nay, even entire nations, and make them His special favorites, the special recipients of his supernatural graces?

Now these conclusions overlap their premises. For in the first place there is the Catholic doctrine of the *universality of grace*. This means that every human being, in every age and under any clime, is given sufficient supernatural power to prepare his soul for the influx of a higher light, for embracing the Faith. What truths man must know as a preliminary step, we have already discussed, and shall revert to presently. But can it be said that such a possibility resides in the East-Indian savage, in the Hindoo sage, in the Mohammedan dervish, in the Chinese bonze, in the Egyptian fellah, in the North-American bison-hunter, not to speak of the modern Jew, Turk, infidel, heretic, apostate, rationist, or agnostic? Undoubtedly it can. *It was Alexander VIII. who condemned the proposition that "Pagans, Jews, heretics, and the like receive no influx at all from Jesus Christ"* (Decr.S.Off.Dec.1690). The fact is that every created soul is a Catholic in so far as he inherits the common prehistoric deposit of faith, in so far as he thinks or wills with the "soul" of the Church; he is a heretic only in so far as he rejects the deposit, or wilfully rejects the full supernatural deposit when sufficiently evidenced.

In the second place, the existing divisions and separations of faiths in so far as they are contradictory or mutually exclusive, are without a question the result of a *gigantic apostacy*. If the One True Faith is not territorially universal, though it ever tends to be such, it is because from the dawn of humanity even unto the present day, there have been a series of moral landslides, which have split humanity into opposing camps. It is man that has broken the unity of faith, and not the Creator. Yet even in our present sad plight, is not the universality of Rome a living miracle? Can anybody measure her boundless dominion? And how comes it that her soothing rites find such a quick response in the heart of the primitive child of nature, precisely those nearest to the days of original innocence, of primitive integrity?

CONTINUITY OF DIVINE FAITH

And this brings us to the allied subject of continuity or unbroken tradition of the true faith. For if salvific grace is as boundless as the air we breathe, it does not follow that a correspondence to grace is equally universal; the air may be infected with germs which afflict the patient with a mortal disease, germs caused by his own disregard for the laws of sanitation. Nevertheless the air remains, it can be purified or disinfected, you cannot abolish the essential requisite of life, it must be continuous. How far can such a continuity be shown to exist?

We have seen that the combined traditions of the human race point with a daily increasing certainty to some past or primitive revelation, by the help of which man attained to truths not only of a natural but, as we also discovered, of a supernatural order. Nay more, we have found that *certain central dogmas hold their own throughout the history of man*, they seem to be traceable in nearly every form of religious belief. Such among others are the broad doctrines of a supreme personal Power as the cause of creation, His moral relation to man as the beginning and end of his destiny, and what is still more important, His legal relation to man as the institutor of certain definite rites and ceremonies, which culminate in the idea and the practice of sacrifice. However much beclouded, stifled, obscured, or even perverted, we have shown that even in the darkest periods of the race, *this old theology has never been entirely lost*, and to this extent we can speak of a continuous transmission of the divine deposit of faith.

On the other hand, those who see in the pagan and savage beliefs an unadulterated chain of religious dogmas are going too far, they are again wanting in the power of discrimination. For while we have the doctrine of original innocence, we have also the doctrine of original sin, and *original sin has contaminated the whole of mankind, there is no such thing as an unadulterated original*. We have done our best to show that while certain very early peoples have preserved the tradition with comparative purity, none can be called "absolute" primitives, and none are without some flaws at least, whether in faith or practice. This becomes far more pronounced in the later ages of man, where we find the Persian soma-cult side by side with the Hindoo juggernaut-car, and *never* a faith without serious blemishes. In other words, there is but one Tree of Truth, with one and the same sap; but in sprouting into maturity many of the branches have not been treated with care, they have not been pruned, they have fallen into decay. It took the Messiah to "cure" the tree from the ravages of the white ant, and now we see its fruits and blossoms in all their majestic glory. The air is indeed continuous, though a large part of mankind has been afflicted with "consumption."

AUTHORITY OF DIVINE FAITH

But what is truth without the following of truth, of what use the grandest philosophy, if it does not stir, nay, if it does not *command* me to live up to its exalted precepts? It is but a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal, it is a hollow platitude. And so, as a final aspect of this subject, the authority or the coercive power of faith should claim our attention.

"If a supreme Person has spoken, he must be obeyed." This short statement focusses the moral side of the Lawgiver in the briefest terms. It is the "categorical imperative", which even Kant found to be a necessity of practical reason. Applying it to our prehistoric data, we have furnished sufficient evidence to show that *the major truths of religious faith cannot be ignored without grave culpability, that the laws of the Heaven-God bind under severe penalties*. This is revealed in part by the universal theism underlying all corrupt phases of belief, with its correspondingly strong sanctions and safeguards for moral conduct, in part by the fact that a fall in religious faith is invariably accompanied by a fall in morals,—showing the essential connexion between faith and conduct. We have given abundant examples of this in our preceding pages. This proves that there is a *consciousness of guilt* in ignoring the Creator, in rebelling against the laws of Heaven. Hence there is no excuse for the normally developed man to say that he "does not know", that "he cannot see". He does know and he can see, and if he refuses to follow the light, he is condemned as much by the voice of humanity as he is by the supreme Person whom he has insulted.

So much for internal authority. As to external authority, we have already intimated that, although the message is clear, its full interpretation is so difficult, dealing as it does with the supernatural and the mysterious, that *a professional priesthood and a hierarchy are absolutely essential for its guardianship and its perpetual transmission. They are the custodians of truth*. When a man is battling with a serious disease, he does not attempt to cure himself, he sends for a professional doctor, and follows the latter's prescription, in neglect of which he cannot recuperate. This is what we find in all the ages of man. It is only the few that grasp the deeper meanings of things, it is only the "father" or "medicine-man" that heals, only the "mystery-doctor" that understands, and from this point of view religion is an *absolute monarchy*, it can brook no interference from the voice of the mob. Thus it is the Institutional Church of all ages, whether as patriarchate, primacy, or historic papacy, which alone possesses the keys, which reflects the Papacy of the Father Above. "*Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine. He that hearth you, heareth me*".

POSITIVE CONTENT OF DIVINE FAITH

Coming more specially to the material object of faith, the actual content of the divine message as such, it is worth while to make a broad survey of the religious facts with a view of elucidating their inner meaning and tendency, to discover, if possible, a philosophy of faith. Needless to say, such a philosophy can only at present be tentative, it must be confined to the barest essentials of religious belief; it cannot pretend to discuss each article of faith in all its philosophical fulness, for this is the province of dogmatic theology,—again higher mathematics. The following summary is therefore merely a final attempt to group the religious phenomena in such a way that a *definite system* of belief may be revealed in their general spirit and meaning and as the result of a sufficiently complete analysis.

(1) THE DOCTRINE OF PERSONAL TRANSCENDENCE

The first truth to be mastered in this connection is that of the unicity or transcendence of the divine being. Without this as our major premise, the most beautiful philosophy will collapse like a house of cards. It is the "maximum actual" which forms the starting-point of the wild man of the woods no less than of every sane metaphysician, that initial "warm" feeling which is in such violent contrast to the sordid vacuum of a mere potential. The separation of the All-Father from everything that is ordinary, finite, commonplace, or imperfect is one of the most distinctive features in the early consciousness of man, even if He is pictured, as at times He is, in crude and anthropomorphic form. This serves but to emphasize His personal character, the fact that He is father, not simply force. And what is this persuasion founded upon? Apart from our elaborate and learned disputations, which appeal primarily to the man of drilled intellect, the professional reasoner, its main premises are as unshakeable as the pyramids. You cannot get a maximum perfect out of a potency, an immovable out of a moved, an infinite out of a finite, a necessary out of a contingent, an infinitely wise designer out of a demiurge, a supreme keeper of conscience out of a mere sky-prophet. In each case you are bound to transcend the series and land in the infinite, in default of which you get an infinite series of finite causes, an unthinkable contradiction. Regnon, in his "Meta-physique des Causes", has worked this out to a nicety, and it represents the last word on the subject from the modern standpoint. Those who cannot see the force of this argument are to be pitied rather than censured; they had better get at their books and review their logic. To the majority of primitive savages this truth is sufficiently clear. Even the growing child realises that nothing on earth *can* be exactly like the Father above, that He is too big to be put on canvas.

POSITIVE CONTENT OF DIVINE FAITH

But if God is so immeasurably beyond all that we can ever imagine or even comprehend, can He be said to be a desirable object of knowledge, let alone love? Persons who take this line of thought, if such it be called, are more conspicuous for their superficiality than for their mental earnestness. Is it necessary to comprehend the workings of a galvanic battery in order to appreciate the wonderful blessings that it has brought upon mankind? Do I have to understand a thing in order to know it, to fully comprehend a thing in order to love it? Is it not a fact, that my awe and admiration for a person is on the contrary in proportion to his immense superiority, to his elevation above everything that is trivial and commonplace? Of all the shallow objections to theism, this is one of the most unpardonable. Distance, majesty, mystery, unapproachableness, these are of the very essence of nobility and grandeur, the highest motive power of our moral life. Fortunately we have many analogies in nature to help us. There is the electric ether, infinitely dense, yet infinitely rare; there is the flowering plant with its power of life, and its immanent action; there is above all things the human soul, with its marvelous faculty of reflex thought of transcending the categories of space and time, of soaring out into the infinite. Can anybody say that these things are easily imagined? And yet they are facts,—it would be dangerous folly to deny them.

Turning then to the mind of the primitive, we see that his first impressions of an infinite being seem to have been precisely of this nature. Though pictured as man, He is far removed from earthly necessities, from temporal or spatial limitations, He is All-Father-Light,—a “photosphere”, diffusing His rays in the form of a cross, the nearest analogue to the human form. He is not the world, nor is He the sun, nor is He confused with any object. He simply shines through creation as an Infinite Person, and He shines in dark places, being thus distinguished from the orb of heaven. From this being all things derive their existence, and moreover as persons,—there is wind-and-water, tree-and-earth, sun-and-star-spirit,—all hypostatized and pictured as points of light, or as magic waves and crosses—, angelic, though hardly animistic beings. But He is a commanding and instituting God. He has written His law in the heart of man,—nothing more nor less than the decalogue—, and he has raised him to a higher plane, which he has forfeited through a rebellion. He can now only be approached by prayer, penance, and sacrifice and to those who follow His light, He promises reward, and to those who refuse it, punishment. Such in the main is the primitive creed of mankind, the foundation upon which the higher faiths have been built, and which, as we have seen, is partly of natural, partly of supernatural origin.

(2) THE DOCTRINE OF PHYSICAL IMMANENCE

But is this not a stagnant, an immovable, an unpicturable God? What about His relation to the physical universe? Man looks up into the heavens and says,—the heavens *are* God, this light which I see is the light of God, this air which I breathe is the breath of God—, perhaps the divinity is nearer than I had imagined, perhaps He is in these things in such a manner that they can be called His substance, part and parcel of His nature. This feeling of an intimate presence is the most natural of human experiences. Can anybody deny the beauty of motion, of the harmony of the heavens, of the “music of the spheres”, of the change of seasons, of the daily succession of light and darkness, of dawn and sunset, of the rise and fall of the tides? Why look for a deity beyond His visible manifestation? Is not variety the spice of life? Perhaps God *is* motion, and I am beginning to feel that He is dynamic rather than static, better represented by the spiral whorl than by the peaceful and monotonous cross. I have discovered in fact a new philosophy,—God is *tendency* rather than *terminus*, His very essence is change, and without change there is no really experienced life.

Now in the development of every great and eternal truth, there is always the danger of mistaking expansion for falsehood, a more profound knowledge of the divine nature for an actual drifting away from our primitive moorings. For it is possible to emphasise the divine remoteness to such an extreme as to lose sight of His physical ubiquity, of the fact that He is “in all, and with all, and through all”. Not that this notion cannot be ferreted out of transcendence. An infinite being must of his nature be all-pervading to satisfy his own definition as pure act. The fact is, God is physically immanent in all things, there is nothing I can see, hear or feel, which is not directly supported by Him, which is not an imitation of His own essence,—He is throbbing in every sight or sound. And so in the later developments of theology there has been a desire to make the totem-god a universal cosmic force symbolized by the spiral, to realise more fully that the absolute static *is* the dynamic, that He is the source of change no less than of rest. To see God *in* motion, that is the ideal,—and to this extent the totem-philosophy is something of a help. But the opposite danger of identifying the one Creator with His own creation is far more insidious. The doctrine of universal immanence, unless checked by the old theology, has given us all the shallow pantheism of our modern life. If God is nothing but change, He will give you the *delirium tremens*, if the rainbow is nothing but quivering molecules, it is no longer symbolical of a higher truth.

POSITIVE CONTENT OF DIVINE FAITH

(3) THE DOCTRINE OF VITAL IMMANENCE

If then it is essential to realise the universal cosmic activity of the divine being, and at the same time keep Him clear from the nature-entanglement, it is still more important to recognise His universal vital activity. Life being defined as "immanent action", it is more than a transient push of one atom upon another, it is that mysterious kind of motion which begins and terminates in the same subject, which differentiates the plant from the crystal. Again it is asked,—is not this godlike power sufficiently marvelous to be itself the divinity? Are not the functions of generation, growth, and decay sufficiently eloquent of mystery without the help of a greater? Do I not see God in the protoplasm, in the living cell, in the budding flower, and above all in that marvellous organism of the human body, of the human brain, which contains, as it were, the whole of the universe in a miniature? Surely I do not have to go out of creation to find the cause, it is here before my eyes,—God *is* life, when you are looking into the rose, you are looking into his essence.

Here again we cannot proceed without great caution. It is of course eternally true, that the divinity is operating in every blade of grass, diffusing His odor of sweetness in every flower, pulsating in every throb of the heart of man. Who can look into that sun without saying,—thou art not only the light but the life of the world; where thou shinest; there is joy, beauty, splendor, happiness; where thou hidest thy face, there is death, darkness, misery, vacuum. But what about the scorching heat of the desert, the poisonous fumes of the jungle? Has not man developed at his highest in the bleaker and more temperate regions of the world, nay, in those very parts where physical life is at its lowest? This is a plain proof that God is *more* than physical life, He cannot be expressed in terms of a biological formula,—God *is* Life—, but a vitality of such a nature, that He transcends every conceivable form of life by infinites. We have seen that this is the main thought of animism, which in picturing the divinity under the flaming sun or the flowering reed has given us a distinctly deeper view of the divine activity than we find in the earlier days of the world. He is not simply the Immanence of Light, and the Immanence of Nature, but, within His own Essence, the Immanence of Life, the Lord and Giver of Life,—the Divine Immanence par excellence. We are therefore in the same plight as before. Wherever the initial note of an all-transcending Power has been preserved, there we find the happiest application of the newer animistic cult; wherever it has been lost, there spiritism and mohatma-worship tell their own stories of mental degeneration.

POSITIVE CONTENT OF DIVINE FAITH

(4) THE DOCTRINE OF SYMBOLIC MANIFESTATION

Thus we see that the human intellect is alternately wavering between God and nature, between All-Father-Life and the spectral double. The question arises whether any of these nature-philosophies are entirely satisfactory, whether the full concept of deity is not better defined in terms that are less liable to abuse, to a conscious or unconscious perversion. For this purpose we will make a final attempt to delineate the main points of a system which shall combine all that is true and good in the preceding, and at the same time safeguard the divine message from a possible misinterpretation. We shall call it "the philosophy of symbolic manifestation", as conveying in the clearest possible language, that in every pure form of religion the supreme Deity is *distinct* from creation though He *manifests* His power by created or external symbols.

(a) AS REVEALED IN NATURE

A sacrament, in the broad sense, being defined as "an outward sign of something sacred", the sign is thereby clearly distinguished from the thing signified, and thus we are once for all delivered from the snares of pantheism. When I look into the heavens, I do not see God, but I see the symbolic face of God, the first mirror of the divine perfections, the first imitation of His essence. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth His handiwork",—a feeling as old as the ocean. But it is only the first mirror; I can tire of constellations, even the sublimest, though space and time give me the first revelation of His immensity, of His immeasurable eternity. Individual objects give me a more vivid picture of the divine. The splendor of the midday sun, with his pure rays of benevolence,—rays which no one may even look upon without the danger of being blinded,—this suggests at once the infinite majesty of God, the Light of the world, whom no one may approach without holy fear, without veiling his face. The stars have a similar message, they picture the angelic hierarchy, they remind us of the abode of the blest, they are like so many scintillating gems adorning the throne of the Most High, while the pure light of the evening star speaks to us of the Heavenly Mother,—"sinless and beautiful, star of the sea." All these objects are doubtless eloquent of mystery, of divine truth, even if only in a poetical sense, and in the living rose I smell the first scent of the odor of sanctity, of heavenly purity. In this way the whole of nature is a gigantic sacrament, a visible manifestation of the divine.

POSITIVE CONTENT OF DIVINE FAITH

(b) AS REVEALED IN RITUAL

But the beauties of nature are not simply to look at, they are also to use. Man being endowed with a double nature, material and spiritual, he cannot soar into the heavens with the speed of an electric spark, he cannot rush in where angels fear to tread. He requires an external stimulus to bring before him the internal substance. No person can feel God intimately, and at the same time be joking and laughing; there is an incompatibility of demeanor no less than of postures. In this respect even the natural law would seem to dictate the observance of holy customs, of putting ourselves in the presence of God, nay, of using certain objects as the natural expressions of His benign activity.

Now if there is one thing that impresses us in the religion of man as such, savage or civilised, it is that his religion is essentially ritualistic. For him the deity is not so far off and inaccessible that he cannot convey his power through visible instruments. The distinction between the Creator and the creation makes it possible for him to attach certain definite values to certain definite objects, and to no others; they are the channels of his power. Among these the element of water plays such a universal part in the purification-ritual of mankind that we cannot regard it as one of the major "specifics", as the most obvious and easily accessible purging-element in nature. In like manner the oil or the sacred herb, the palm-branch or the bamboo, the anointing, consuming, tapping, touching, breathing or blowing,—all these are not merely ceremonial but medicinal forms or actions; they heal, they feed, or they fortify the patient in a vivid though inadequate manner; they are believed to work by their own *physical* power, by the very fact that they are externally administered. We cannot of course determine how far such rites can be regarded as preliminary "purgings", as tending to bring the subject into a dim realisation of his higher destiny. None of the prehistoric "medicines" can be regarded as efficacious in such sense as to "dispose" the savage for those higher channels of grace that are known as the seven sacraments. He must be baptised with the Holy Ghost and with fire, the old medicine cannot even suggest it. But the principle underlying the rite remains essentially the same. It is the general consciousness that God acts through visible and material agencies, that He is sacramentally *felt*. And it is this which distinguishes the universal religion of man from all forms of rationalistic deism. To be in harmony with the faith of humanity means, *in the supernatural order*, to be signed with the sign of the cross, to be anointed with the chrism of salvation.

POSITIVE CONTENT OF DIVINE FAITH

(c) AS REVEALED IN SACRIFICE

Finally, we have the notion of oblation or immolation, the idea of sacrifice,—the supreme act of religion. The inherent nobility of self-sacrifice will hardly be questioned,—it is the measure of love. But by some universal instinct of human nature it has always been felt that a supreme act of devotion requires some form of externalisation, some visible and tangible proof that the worshipper is ready to part with what he holds most precious. A man may sympathise with another in a thousand different ways, but if he is never known to offer him a part of his substance, he is hardly a generous man, he is a half-hearted lover. Now it is this ineradicable desire of making some kind of external dedication, of offering up some sense-perceptible object, that we find to be such a widespread phenomenon throughout the length and breadth of the religious history of man. From the very infancy of the race we find the nomad hunters offering up their choicest game and vintage to the deity, the first and best products of the animal and vegetable creation. Nay more, the offerings are very commonly consumed in the fire, showing the necessity of some form of destruction or immolation in order to make the sacrifice more vivid, more realistic, more complete. Can this universal consciousness be explained on any other principle but that of a profound conviction that the Creator *requires* these tokens of love from his creatures, that the practice of external immolation is essential to all religion, engraven on the very tables of the natural law? How can we otherwise account for its marvelous uniformity, its continual reiteration in all the ages of man?

But there is another secret lurking behind these rites, and one which, with the revealed Mosaic ritual, is portentous of far-reaching theological consequences. It is the growing consciousness that the accumulated crimes of mankind cannot be atoned for by any ordinary means, that the simple *sadaka* of old must be supplemented by the hecatomb, and finally by the human sacrifice. Now it is this utter despair of ever paying the complete price of sin which is relieved by only one ray of brightness,—the mystical slaughter of Jehovah on the altar of holocausts and His presence in the Holy of Holies. Here alone do we find a supernatural light amid the surrounding darkness, a clear intimation that the One God of Heaven will some day be slaughtered in the court of the gentiles,—this world—, He will lay the foundations of the sanctuary and the altar of perfumes,—His Church—, and He will open the Holy of Holies to all mankind,—in Heaven. In other words, it is the hollowness of the pagan, and the prophetic character of the Jewish rites, which points with unmistakable emphasis to the altar of Calvary and the "Table of the Lord" as the one all sufficient sacrifice once offered. But with this we have entered the inner temple of faith,—we have opened the door of the tabernacle.

CONCLUSION

Such then is the united message that comes to us from the heart of humanity as far as we have been able to read it,—a message fragmentary at the best of times, but revealing the rich nugget of pure gold wrapped in the slimy ore of a corrupt tradition. The distinctive dogmas of the Christian religion are seen to have their deficient similars *everywhere*. their adequate source *nowhere* save only in Christ. These natural similars are seen to grow with the growing moral response that is made to them, they are stifled with the stifling of the moral conscience of those that reject their light, but they are raised to a strictly supernatural plane only in the historic incarnation of the Son of God and in the paradise of the living Church, founded upon the rock of ages. She only is the direct heir to the Kingdom, "a kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world". Here we have an institution that can trace its anticipative lineage to the gates of Eden, which, in so far as it has a natural counterpart, exists in the heart of the savage only as the shadow reflects the splendor of the substance, which exhibits a continuous though hidden life throughout the cycles of time,—“first the sheaf, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear”. To the soul of this society every human being belongs,—you cannot get rid of the light of heaven,—but it is all the sadder to think that some are born blind, that they cannot enjoy the light of day, that they seem indeed to be helpless. This, however, is only apparently so, for there is no disease that the Great Physician of souls cannot heal, no fatal impediment which He cannot remove. “*Young man, I say unto thee, arise!*” In these life-giving words is contained the everlasting answer to the everlasting complaint.

In looking back then upon the entire panorama of prehistoric truth and its accompanying error, we cannot resist the feeling that the main traits of the picture are decidedly reassuring, not to say inspiring. The study of genealogies is always interesting, and the genealogy of Christ is none the less exalted because some of His ancestors were not of the pure dye. What does it matter? “*Before Abraham was made, I AM!*” The Messiah is continually pointing beyond the narrow circle of later Jewish custom, to the era before Moses, to the days before the flood, nay to the innocent age of paradise,—for to the common Mosaic permission of divorce He opposes a pre-Mosaic practice which we have now seen to be provable,—“*From the beginning it was not so.*” Thus we have the best and most approved reasons for seeking the confirmations of faith far beyond the usual limits of written history, to ascend with Christ to the days when man was still dressed in the clothing of nature, to find with Him the relics of a golden age preserved in the shattered fragments of a once glorious past which He came to renew.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study may appear surprising to those who have been accustomed to look upon the remote history of man as the blackest night. Such was not the standpoint of a Paul or an Augustine, though it may be that of a diseased pessimism. "*Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you*". There is no such thing as an absolute break; for the gentiles are "*inexcusable*", they *must know something of God*, who "*has never left Himself without witness*", but "*in every nation he that feareth him as accepted of Him*". The message is universal, though its historic corruptions are only too plain. It is only the institutional Church has kept the pure message. But from the standpoint of modern science, it has taken us some time and no inconsiderable labor to realise the full import of this truth, and only in recent years have religious data been brought to light that have caused us to moderate some of our former misgivings on this head, and which shows how cautious we should be in accepting as final that which is largely fallacious, if not entirely false. There is one thing, however, that recent ethnology has taught us to do. It has taught us to "think in cycles", to put law and order into religious phenomena, and until we can master the principle of stratification, at least in its broader outlines, we are as hopelessly at sea as the mariner without a compass, the geologist without his pickaxe. Only in this way can we assign an approximate *date* to a belief, and follow its gradual historical development. This I have attempted to do, with what success, remains to be seen. The "ring of asteroids" cannot in my mind be explained by chance-coincidences.

To those, however, to whom the whole subject is too involved and obscure to be tangible or in any sense useful, we would say as a final word, that they have not studied the parable of the talents. There is nothing in this world got without much labor, without much patient toil. You will say—I do not like controversy—, who does? Argumentation is tiresome, litigation is painful, it would be much pleasanter to leave things as they are, to drift with the tides. This has hardly the ring of gospel-heroism. Anything that will give me a deeper knowledge of God and of His divine mysteries cannot be scouted as useless. The Gospel of St. John is heavy reading, but look at the pearls which it conceals. The epistles of St. Paul are not exactly novels. During our treatment of this subject, we have done much heavy digging, we have burnt much midnight oil, but our labors have not, we hope, been entirely in vain. If our investigations have done nothing more than to shed some light on the past dealings of God with man, and to note their harmony with those higher sources of revelation which we have learnt from our mother's knees, they will be worth the arduous labor that has been expended upon them.

THE TRANSCENDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

SOME CONCLUDING REFLEXIONS ON THE UNIQUENESS OF THE
CHRISTIAN DEPOSIT OF FAITH AND PRACTICE

We cannot allow this fascinating subject to disappear from our eyes without reverting once more to the opening lines of our Prolog with a view to appreciating in more complete and universal perspective how strongly corroborative of the Divinity of Christ has been the general trend of our collected material, how superlatively eloquent of the dignity and nobility of the human race. This may be considered, as we had then attempted to explain, from a twofold point of view,—natural and supernatural—, or from the standpoint of similarity and the standpoint of difference. In so far as the Christian religion has a naturalistic aspect, in so far as the instinctive yearnings of humanity and their higher supernatural satisfaction run to a certain extent on parallel lines, we can speak of our common religious inheritance as being immensely old,—nay as the primitive and undivided religion of mankind. But when we come to those higher illuminations that are beyond the circumference of reason as such, we have seen that by no possibility can they be derived out of a purely earthly logic, but that they are either the relics of a past revelation or they postulate the influx of the new,—there is no middle course. In this way we have come in contact with certain prehistoric “flashes” of heavenly light, which, in their intimate connection with the personality and the office of the Redeemer, are but so many glaring proofs of His super-human consciousness, of the fact that He regards Himself as existing timelessly throughout all the cycles of existence, not simply temporarily or in a transitory sense, as with some ordinary human prophet. It is therefore all-important to bring this majestic truth home to ourselves, and moreover to realise, that, however exalted these prophetic illuminations may have been in the past, however suggestive of a primitive and undiluted communication of God to man, they fall *infinitely short* of His historic revelation in the fulness of time, they are but miserable shadows that are preparing the way for the substance,—forerunners in a decidedly negative sense.

I. THE COMMON ELEMENTS OF RESEMBLANCE

In order to bring this more vividly before the mind, we cannot repeat too often that nothing is gained by throwing unnecessary mud on the pre-Christian conscience of mankind, but that on the contrary, the admission of occasionally grand and noble elements, even when partially corrupted, is an indirect proof of our thesis,—it shows the continuity of some form of moral, if not supernatural consciousness.

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If then we make one more appeal to the past records of the race by way of showing how essentially similar is the manifestation of the religious conscience in all the ages of man, it should make us feel more secure in the foundations of our own faith, more especially, because, as I say, that consciousness cannot be entirely accounted for on purely naturalistic lines, but presupposes some form of divine illumination, and thus reflects on the office of the Messiah. While these points of resemblance can of course be overdrawn to the point of the phantastic, the following seems to us to represent what we may call the "minimum", the broadest and most general basis of comparison.

PARALLELISMS IN FAITH

It should, for instance, be strongly conducive to a robust form of religious belief of any kind to know and to feel that the common pulse of humanity beats as a single stroke on the all-essential matter of a supreme, personal, invisible Cause of existence, however much that Cause may have been mixed up in certain cases with its effect, and thus partially fused with its own creation. The argument from the universal consent of humanity appeals strongly to certain minds, and the fact that some kind of supreme Power has always been recognised fills a void in the human heart which nothing else can replace,—it is the first and fundamental dogma of all religion. Furthermore, some would like to see in His triple manifestations some remote hint at a "trinity", some evidence that in the very dawn of creation, man was mysteriously conscious of a triune Personality in the Creator, an idea which can still be theologically defended, though it is by no means binding on the common conscience of Christianity as such. The same of the "six days" of creation, of which the savage seems to have a vague recollection, and still more of the "paradise-fruit" of which he is vividly, however remotely, conscious. It can surely be no matter of secondary interest to discover that a large body of this tradition has been preserved either on the lips or in the books of humanity, and it calls for some serious religious reflexions. Still more ennobling are those undoubted vestiges of a paradisaic promise, in which a "mother" of mankind is obscurely pictured as imploring a "father" in heaven to rescue his children from the sting of the serpent, and finally to bring forth the much-expected "son", one who shall crush the serpent's head. The same triumph of life over death is symbolised in the primitive sacrifice, where the paradise-fruit is offered to the "father" above. Finally we have undeniable relics of a great flood, coupled with a firm persuasion that the good shall in some way be rewarded in another world, while the wicked shall be punished or in some way purged for their moral perversities.

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PARALLELISMS IN PRACTICE

But if all these beliefs and traditions cannot but lend support to the conservative views of the better part of mankind on this subject, their external expression in ritual and in social and moral practice is perhaps still more portentous. So far from being surprised at the occasionally close resemblance between some of these practices and our own divine ceremonials, it would be difficult to see *how* they could be very different. There are only a certain number of ways in which water can be applied to the person, and that these dippings or sprinklings should be administered by the very obvious means of shells, bamboos, or even in complete "baptisteries", is indeed very natural. It is also in harmony with the universal instincts of human nature that in the offering up of gifts to the Creator some external posture of reverence should be assumed,—the fruits or the blossoms, the cakes or the vintage, are commonly "lifted up", and the use of music and incense, of prayers and of chants, of drums and of rattles, are dictated by the universal common sense humanity,—we would be surprised indeed if they were absent. This applies equally to those secondary objects of piety or religious devotion, which, whether as salt, oil, priedieus or prayer-beads, are the natural accessories of any religion that shall be worthy of the name. "*Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh*",—it would be the sheerest miracle if these instruments of devotion were constantly and universally lacking.

And when we come to the preternatural help that is supposed to be conveyed in these rites, we have seen that an all-merciful and providential Power may be readily conceded as operating upon the soul of the benighted gentile. For it is indeed inconceivable that a benevolent Creator should have permitted such an enormous section of humanity to embrace them except for some moral and providential purpose; we would be setting rather artificial limits to the divine wisdom. This does not apply simply to the Jewish Passover, of positive and divine institution, but concerns such purely instinctive ceremonies as the Persian soma-sacrifice. We may then both candidly and joyfully admit that such actions may confer an initial impetus to a higher life which, already symbolised by the aspersion of water, joins the Creator and creature into a still closer bond of mystical union. On the other hand, we must beware of going to unwarranted extremes in this matter, of seeing the higher sacraments of the New Law in any sense "foreshadowed" in any of these rites. The medicine-hut and the fire-house have absolutely nothing in common with the confessional, while the invocations to Mithras are about as far removed from a eucharistic cult as can well be conceived; they have their natural uses and they stop there. None of these functions postulate, in fact, the remotest analogy with the Christian sacramental system of grace.*

*Compare L. de Grandmaison, S. J. "The Study of Religions", being Vol. I. of the Lectures of the History of Religions, published by Herder, (St. Louis, 1910), p. 26ff. Also E. R. Hull, S. J. "Is Catholicism of Pagan Origin?" Catholic Mind, for Sept. 22, 1918, p. 449ff.

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PARALLELISMS IN THE GENERAL TONE OF MORAL AND RELIGIOUS DECENCY

Again, it is entirely unnecessary to the defence of the New Dispensation to draw an exaggerated picture of abominable and universal corruption in *all* the pre-Christian ages of man. While it is still a glaring and undeniable fact that the atmosphere of the Roman Caesars, and indeed of the later pagan world in general, was polluted from head to foot, we must always allow for many important and noble exceptions, and though these exceptions are seemingly rare during the age of the historic decadence, they become increasingly numerous when we ascend into the pre-classic, pre-dynastic era of these peoples. We have collected sufficient instances to show, that, however deplorable its later manifestations, the moral conscience of nearly all our modern civilised nations was *originally high*, that the position of women was respected, the marriage-tie regarded as sacred, and the general tone of private and public morality at least theoretically decent. And this also should occasion as little surprise as the comparatively edifying aspect of the religious worship, when we consider that a purer theology is bound to draw a purer morality in its trail, and that an amelioration, not a degeneration, is to be expected as we mount up into the past,—a relic perhaps of a better and purer state of mankind.

Be this as it may, a certain general regard for the sanctity of human life is a necessary accompaniment of any form of religious belief that has not been tainted at its very source, and inasmuch as there are many vestiges of a higher and more unadulterated cult of the divine, we may welcome these manifestations as an additional proof that purity in belief begets purity in morals. In this way a certain external analogy may be traced between the "testimony of a good conscience" as we understand it and that instinctive feeling of moral approval which follows any naturally good action as such. But what is of particular interest to us in the present place is the additional discovery that these ethical feelings for the fitness of things seem to become more pronounced in the very earliest stratum of human development. Passing over the "dark ages" of humanity,—when, as we have had occasion to note, there was a very wide defection from the primitive ideal—, the united force of the moral data for the earliest period of man cannot but reverse the very common impressions on this head. The days of "traveler's reports" are fortunately over, and the united testimony of men of science, including that of bishops, missionaries, monsignori, and others, have compelled us to recognise that the traditional doctrine of an age of comparative innocence has after all some foundation in fact.

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II. THE ELEMENTS OF DISTINCTIVE DIFFERENCE

So far, then, it would seem that a study of the combined folk-lore of the human race cannot but be strongly corroborative of the main doctrines of the Christian faith in so far as they stretch back into prehistoric times and presuppose some common and partly supernatural source as the original basis of the primitive religion of mankind. But as these "vestiges" are so commonly misinterpreted by many of our contemporary writers, as there is frequently not the smallest attempt to distinguish between a natural yearning and a supernatural illumination, as it quite frequently happens that the entire scheme of human development is looked upon as a purely spontaneous evolution out of the religious consciousness of man with Christianity as its "apex", it is of supreme importance to obtain a clear and correct orientation in this matter, and to realise more forcibly perhaps than ever before, that by no earthly means can the revealed content of the Christian religion be derived from any of its predecessors. For this purpose I cannot do better than refer the reader to a series of articles from the pen of a leading Catholic divine, who, as he is profoundly read in these subjects, enjoys the additional distinction of being one of the greatest metaphysicians of the day.*

THE DOCTRINE OF PURE PERSONALITY

"An idea of exceptional character and consequence", writes this author, "marks off the Christian doctrine of life from all others before or since. It is the idea of *personal* union with God in the world to come. Note the words well. They express an historical fact, a transcendent conception, a sublime idea, in the presence of which the resemblances to Christianity found in other religions all pale into insignificance". Then he continues: "Primitive peoples conceived God very personally, so much so, in fact, that cultured races, remembering the malignant fling of Xenophanes, that lions had as much right to consider God a lion, as man to imagine Him a person, grew ashamed of the mannish notions of their ancestors and went to the opposite extreme of depersonalizing the Divine". Here at once we have one of the principle points for which we have been contending, the fact, namely that the idea of personality, however crude, precedes the later speculations on the interior essence of God by immeasurable intervals of time. Nay more,—“religious progress consists in the progressive purification of this idea in the human understanding, and of this progress Christianity is the living witness and example”.

* Very Rev. Edmund T. Shanahan, S. T. D. "The originality of the Christian doctrine of Life", *Catholic World* for July, 1916, p. 464ff. See also the articles by the same writer, "What is Dogma?" (*ibid.* p. 300), "Cutting Truth in Two" (*ibid.* p. 775). Compare also P. J. Gannon, S. J. "Comparative Religion", *Irish Theological Quarterly*, (Oct. 1916), p. 369. D. A. Lord, S. J. "Shaw's Apologetics", *Catholic Mind*, for Dec. 8, 1916.

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THE DOCTRINE OF SUPER-JURIDICAL PERSONALITY

But such a progress should not be understood as implying a mere transition from lower to higher forms in its realisation. "Yielding neither to primitive ignorance in conceiving God as mannish, nor to cultured pride in making the Divine impersonal, Christianity took a proportional view that avoided these extremes. God was not for the Christian the impersonal intelligent World-Soul imagined by the *élite* of Greece and Rome, but an independent Being subsisting in a rational nature as we subsist in ours without any of the deficiencies that cling to human selfhood and its powers of intelligence and will. The mannish notions of personality all fade away and cease to trouble, when the term is proportionally understood. The progress which the religion of Christ made in history over all the ancient religions resulted in no small measure from its purified reassertion of personality, both human and Divine". (Mark the expression, "reassertion"). "What the affirmation of human personality meant to society at large may be readily conjectured from the fact that in the Roman Law, it was only by the sufferance and condescension of the state,—by a *factio juris*, in other words—, that an individual might be called a person. The idea that he is an independent subject of right did not exist until Christianity proclaimed it".

THE DOCTRINE OF TRIPLE PERSONALITY, OR THE DIVINE TRINITY

If then the idea of absolute moral Subject, hazy at the best of times, was so phenomenally bedimmed during the time of the historic appearance of the Messiah, it is needless to remind ourselves how hopeless it is to search for any supposed "tri-unities" as even the most remote source for the greatest mystery in the Godhead. In the summaries of our first and fifth chapters, we had given the principal reasons why such a derivation must be for ever ruled out, however suggestive of a *past* revelation on this subject the so-called triads may be taken to be. Such a revelation, if indeed it was ever made in full and explicit form, had for ages been forgotten, and the Platonic "threes" of the philosophers have nothing in common with the entirely new revelation of three consubstantial Persons. It is this sublime mystery which cuts the trinitarian invocations to God clear from all the preceding rites, and which gives the one transcending element to the whole of the Christian ritual. If the formula is new and supernatural, the rites must be so also, and thus the various prehistoric medicines do not *give birth* to the Seven Sacraments, but are rather *superseded* by them. The fact is, their entire content has changed, even if forms are externally similar. No washings in the Jordan could of *their own accord* give the penitent the faculty of seeing God face to face, much less of sharing the life of the Blessed Trinity,—we are moving in a supernatural plane.

THE TRANSCENDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE DOCTRINE OF PERSONAL INCARNATION AND SACRIFICE

And when we came to the great central fact of human history, it is surely high time to realise, that the much-talked-of "incarnations" of deity are but clumsy fabrications of an aberrant mind, even if we must look upon the *idea* itself as ultimately traceable to a superhuman source. In the words of our author, "The disdain felt for primitive religious notions by the cultured folk of Greece and Rome accounts for the odd fact that the best of their philosophers never probed the idea of personality, never undertook to clear it up. Even those who spoke of God as person had no definite notion of what personality is. The Supreme Self-Conscious Intelligence meant to them self-consciousness at most. The relation existing between intelligence or self-consciousness on the one hand and personality on the other was never explicitly worked out." "Then as now, the pride of men prevented them from seeing that *a primitive religious idea might be right in principle, however much wrong and crude it may have been in the interpretations it received.* So far was this disdain of the primitive carried, so repugnant had the idea of a personal First Cause become, that *intermediaries of all sorts,—semi-divine beings or demiurges—, were invented, to whom the unseemly work of creating and providing was entrusted, while the Supreme Intelligence monopolized its beatific life, without a thought of mortals*". (The italics are ours.)

It would be difficult to propound this subject in more clear or emphatic terms than are here expressed. And while this applies primarily to the days of the Graeco-Roman decadence, we have seen that even Mithras of old was at most an "angel of light", while the *Memra* as applied to the Messiah was hardly more than a figurative "word". The same of the *logos* of Alexandria and the *asha* of Indo-Persia. They are one and all steeped in the naturalism of times to which they belong, and though undoubtedly illuminative and to some extent prophetic, there is an infinite gulf which separates these creatures of human fancy from the Savior of the world. *For the first time in all history, the human is assumed by the Divine, it is not merged into it.*

THE DOCTRINE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN THE DIVINE LIFE

And from this it will follow that the communication of the fruits of this sacrifice must by the same logic be consigned to a category far transcending that of any ordinary "giving" of the divine. The strange sensations acquired in the "love-feast", must be separated once and for all from that unique fruition of the Divine Presence which is in the exclusive gift of the Blessed Sacrament. While a mystical union with one or many divinities is for the most part provable, a direct personal union with the Author and Giver of Life, though ever desired, is ever mysteriously delayed,—the Soma is "*Mazda-made*", it is never *Mazda Himself!*

THE TRANSCENDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE ANALOGIES DISAPPEAR IN THE OVERWHELMING DIFFERENCES

And thus the natural similarities between all religions are drowned in the impassible ocean of the supernatural. "The transcendence of the Christian idea of union with God", continues our author, "is not surprising. We should be led to expect as much from the exceptional character of all the distinctively Christian ideas. No man can point out in the faith Christ taught a single religious conception that was not elevated and transformed by its contact with His person. Jewish Messianism, pagan ideas of union with the Divine, baptism, rebirth, penance, or what not else, received from His lips a meaning they had never known before." Again,—“A new religion, basing itself on the distinct, special, and revealed relation of man's union with God on the mutual plane of personality, raised to the dignity of friendship, would naturally repeat, in expressing itself, many of the rites, devotions, and practices of religions based on the general relation of creature to Creator. The expression of supernatural religion would thus result in resemblances to the natural religions it had transcended, transformed and overcome.” This is as plain a statement as can well be made of the mutual proportions of identity and difference to be expected in the two systems.

THE APOTHEOSIS

While it is evident that a complete treatment of this subject would exceed the limits of the present volume, the revealed picture of the divine life that is promised, should be our final criterion in estimating the impassable chasm that separates the Old from the New. To "be" or to "live" with the Father in heaven is indeed a very natural, however "mannish" desire among the most primitive peoples that we know of. It may even be traced in obscure outline in those later yearnings for the divine "friendship" which seem to be implied in some of the rituals. But it is a far cry from the hope to its realization. No pre-Christian cult, however exalted, ever possessed that supernatural impetus which *of its own power* could effect a direct vision of God face to face, the seeing of the Heavenly Father in His own incommunicable Glory. And it is this which is the final and transcending feature of the entire dispensation of grace. It is not simply to know and to love the Creator, but to be the personal sharers in His Divine Nature, to "*see Him even as He is*". In the words of the Apostle,—"*He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not. He came unto His own, and His own received Him not. But as many as received Him, He gave them power to become the sons of God, to them that believe in His name*". - - - "*And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we beheld His glory, even as the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth*". (John, 1, 10-14.)

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APPENDIX

A PROVISIONAL HIEROGLYPHIC TABLE

showing the origin of the primitive sign-language, its relation to the cursive and cyclographic patterns, and its phonetic transcriptions in the Neolithic dolmens and the Babylonian syllabaries.

MAIN SOURCES :

W. Hoffman, *The Beginnings of Writing* (New York, 1891). Th. Danzel, *Die Anfänge der Schrift* (Leipzig, 1910). C. O. Blagden, *A Comparative Vocabulary of Aboriginal Dialects*, apud Skeat, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* (London, 1906), Vol. II., pp. 379ff. S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and Their Country* (Calcutta, 1912), passim. Fr. Delitzsch, *Die Entstehung des ältesten Schriftsystems* (Leipzig, 1904). S. Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar* (Paris, 1911). G. A. Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing* (Leipzig-Baltimore, 1913).

NOTE:—This table can only be considered as tentative and should be looked upon as a mere frame-work for further and more comprehensive study. The exact meaning of many of the pictographs is still very obscure.

THE TWELVE PRIMITIVE SIGNS (TABOO - LANGUAGE)

THE TWELVE CYCLOGRAMS WITH DESCRIPTIVE SYMBOLS

LEITMOTIF: ROOT-NOTIONS
EXISTENCE | A **ONE**
YA I
YA AM
B 512, 525, 599, 637, 674, (R 448) ALL

PATERNITY + AB **FATHER**
BA MAKE
PA RULE
B 598, 599, 647, 536, (R 469) BLOOM

(CONVERTIBLE) ||
POWER X AD **GREAT**
DA MAN
TA BLOOD
B 548, 654, 673, 536, (R VI) STRONG

VITALITY ~ AH **LIVE**
HA BREATHE
HA BLOW
B 546, 512, 546, 616, (R VI) BLESS

PRODUCTION ↑ AK **MAKE**
KA EAT
CHA SPEAK
B 543, 651, 589, || 720, (R 397) CHEW

(CONVERTIBLE) ||
SEPARATION ↓ AG **CLEAVE**
GA CUT
GA GO
B 543, 569, 611, 617, 688, (R 387) GIVE

ILLUMINATION + AL **SHINE**
LA LIGHT
LA HIGH
B 707, 563, 648, 713, 644, (R XIII) HEAVEN

GENERATION * AM **MOVE**
MA BEAR
MA FLOW
B 545, 565, 663, 593, (R XXVI, 475) SEE

SUBLIMITY * AN **HEAVEN**
NA AIR
NA WIND
B 760, 616, 558, 845, (R 469) SOUL

ARIDITY △ AR **EARTH**
RA WORK
RA PLOUGH
B 575, 588, 537, 235 (R 371, 391) RULE

FECUNDITY ◇ AS **FIRE**
SA FRUIT
SA FLAME
B 605, 717, 849, 630, (R XXI) PASSION

PROFUNDITY ~ AW **WATER**
WA RIVER
WA SEA
B 751, 598, 522, 718, (R XIV &) SERPENT

TOTEM-SIGNS
YA-LAT
607

FIRE-FLAME
BURU
PA-HAN
598
(469)
FATHER-SUN

TABU
532
(506)

HALAG
649
FLYING LIZARD

KABU
550
BLUFFALO

AGAP
695
RHINOCEROS

ALABA
722
SPIDER-MOON

MURU
MAR-ANG
(469)
GREAT WHORL

(M)ANGA
702
720
SCORPION

ARA
588
(371, 391)
EARTH-YOKE

SINA
647
(XX)
FIRE-WHEEL

WULINKU
718
SIN
SERPENT

AIA AYER YA (YAM) YAI (JAI) YAR
512 733 637 603 522
599

FATHER WATER I-(ONE) FINGER FIRE-STICK
ABA BAI BANIT BATANG BU BURU BONGA
598 652 724 625 609
599 643 547
736

FATHER-MAKE-KNIFE STAFF-FATHER-FRUIT-FLOWER
ADJA-DJADIA DANG DJANG DO DARA TA TANAH
654 627 611 536 587
673 (VI) 598 742

AHA HAWA HA (KA) HANTU HUR HELANG
546 512 606 616 586
546

AKA KATI KAPA KAYU KAI KA CHA CHIP CHARAWA
543 643 629 704 737 606 534 738

AGA GALAK GARING GAGI (K) GA-GAR-GOR GAJA
543 643 524 611 688 591

ALO-LULAN-ALANG-LALAT LALI LANGKAP LA-LANGIT
563 575 724 648 852 11713
661 609 844

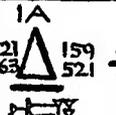
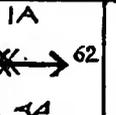
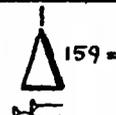
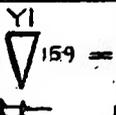
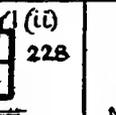
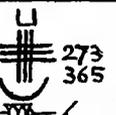
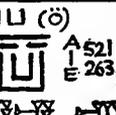
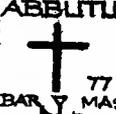
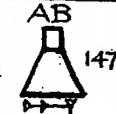
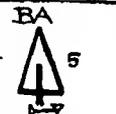
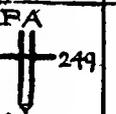
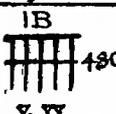
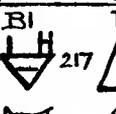
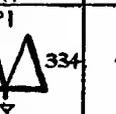
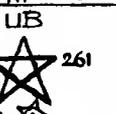
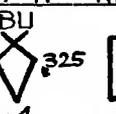
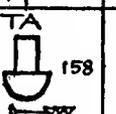
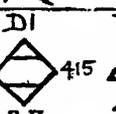
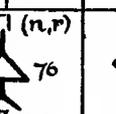
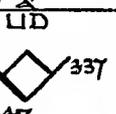
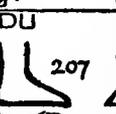
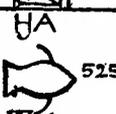
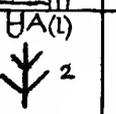
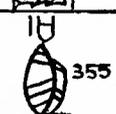
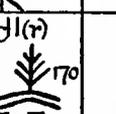
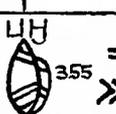
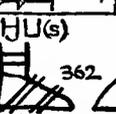
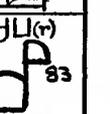
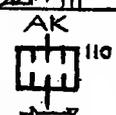
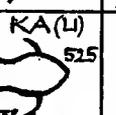
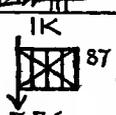
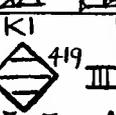
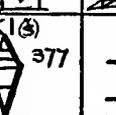
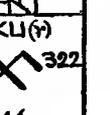
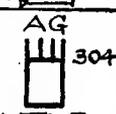
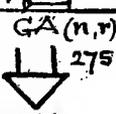
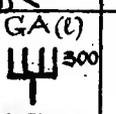
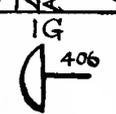
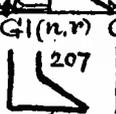
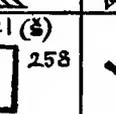
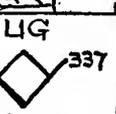
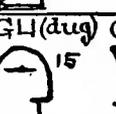
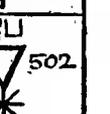
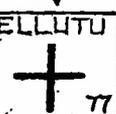
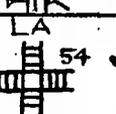
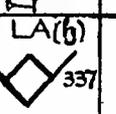
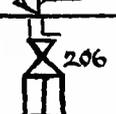
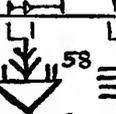
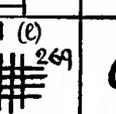
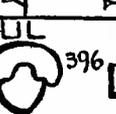
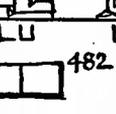
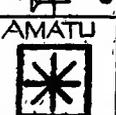
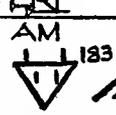
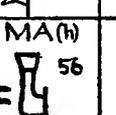
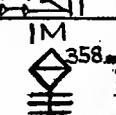
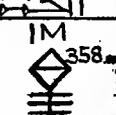
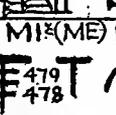
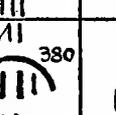
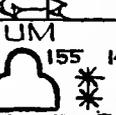
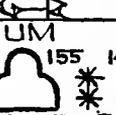
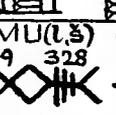
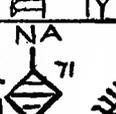
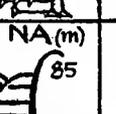
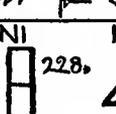
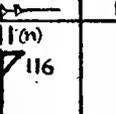
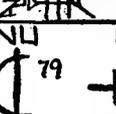
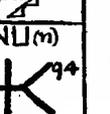
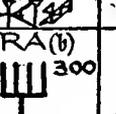
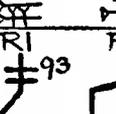
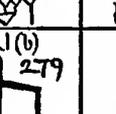
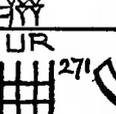
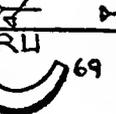
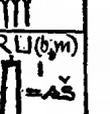
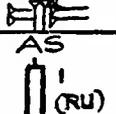
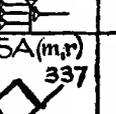
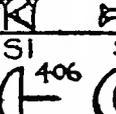
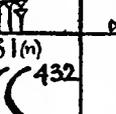
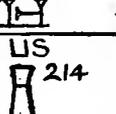
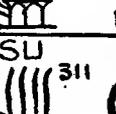
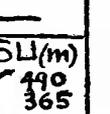
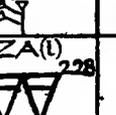
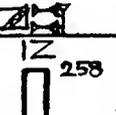
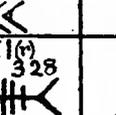
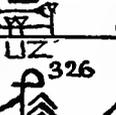
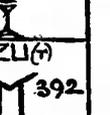
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545 613 593 853 565
643 (475)

ANTU ANLU ANAK ANGIN NA-NANA NENG NAFAS
851 558 760 617 669 545
849

ARA(I) DARAT GARH RAJA RA RAHU RUAH ROTANG
575 557 235 759 691
588 (VI)

ASA-ASAP ASAM SATI (HATI) SINA-SIN-SIANG SAMPA
605 849 630 647 718
717 (XX)

AWA AWAN (BULUH) WA WAU WONG ULAR-WULAR
751 598 522 601 704 751 718

THE TRI-SYLLABIC BABYLONIAN HIEROGLYPHS														
IDEAL FORM	CONVENTIONAL WITH CLINEIFORM TRANSCRIPTIONS													
AIATU  A(S) A(N)	A(E) IA  521  159  62	IA  159 =  159 =  228	U  273  365	IU (ö)  521 263	IU (ü) U E	AB  77 BAR MAS	BA  147	FA  5  249	IB  480	BI  217	PI  334	UB  261	BU  325	PU  460
ADATU  59 TAP PAP	AD  162	DA  294	TA  158	ID  293	DI  415	TI (n,r)  76	UD  337	DU  207	TU  57					
AHATU  523 HA ZA	AH  355	HA  525	HA(l)  2	IH  355	HI  353	HI(m)  170	IUH  355	HU(s)  362	HU(m)  83					
AKATU  6 KA YU	AK  110	KA  15	KA(l)  525	IK  87	KI  419	KI(s)  377	UK  150	KU  481	KU(m)  322					
AGATU  532 GA SA	AG  304	GA (n,r)  275	GA(l)  300	IG  406	GI (n,r)  207	GI(s)  258	LIG  337	GI(dug)  15	GU  502					
ELLUTU  77 LA LAH	AL  260	LA  54	LA(b)  337	IL  206	LI  58	LI(l)  269	UL  396	LU  482	LU(m)  289					
AMATU  444 AM ID	AM  183	MA (ME)  299	MA(m)  521  56	IM  358	MI (ME)  479  478	MI  380	UM  155	MU (L,S)  149  328	MU 62					
ANUTU  13 AN IL	AN (EN)  13  112	NA  71	NA(m)  85	IN  166	NI  228	NI(m)  116	UN  268	NU  79	NU(m)  94					
ARRATU  229 AR IR	AR  261	RA  287	RA(l)  300	IR  229	RI  93	RI(l)  279	UR  271	RU  69	RU(m)  1=AS					
ASSATU  500 AS DAN	AS  (RU)	SA (g,l,p)  340  497	SA(m,r)  337	IS  186	SI  406	SI(m)  432	US  214	SU  311	SU(m)  490 365					
AZAGTU  428 AZAG	AZ  151	ZA  523	ZA(l)  228	IZ  258	ZI  91	ZI(m)  328	UZ  326	ZU  6	ZU(m)  392					

THE FIGURES REFER TO BARTON'S IDEOGRAPHIC LIST