

THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

PART I.—TOTEMS AND TOTEMISM.

Few traditions respecting the primitive condition of mankind are more remarkable, and perhaps none are more ancient, than those that have been preserved by Sanchoniatho; or rather, we should say, that are to be found in the fragments ascribed to that writer by Eusebius. They present us with an outline of the earlier stages of human progress in religious speculation, which is shown by the results of modern inquiry to be wonderfully correct. They tell us for instance that "the first men consecrated the plants shooting out of the earth, and judged them gods, and worshipped them upon whom they themselves lived, and all their posterity, and all before them, and to these they made their meat and drink offerings." They further tell us that the first men believed the heavenly bodies to be animals, only differently shaped and circumstanced from any on the earth. "There were certain animals which had no sense, out of which were begotten intelligent animals . . . and they were formed alike in the shape of an egg. Thus shone out Môt [the luminous vault of heaven?], the sun, and the moon, and the less and the greater stars." Next they relate, in an account of the successive generations of men, that in the first generation the way was found out of taking food from trees; that, in the second, men, having suffered from droughts, began to worship the Sun—the Lord of heaven; that in the third, Light, Fire, and Flame [conceived as persons] were begotten; that in the fourth giants appeared; while in the fifth "men were named from their mothers" because of the uncertainty of male parentage, this generation being distinguished also by the introduction of "pillar" worship. It was not till the twelfth generation that the gods appeared that figure most in the old mythologies, such as Kronos, Dagon, Zeus, Belus, Apollo, and Typhon; and then the queen of them all was the Bull-headed Astarte. The sum of the statements is, that men first worshipped plants; next the heavenly bodies, supposed to be animals; then "pillars" (the emblems of the Procreator); and, last of all, the anthropomorphic gods. Not the least remarkable statement is, that in primitive times there was kinship through mothers only, owing to the uncertainty of fatherhood.¹

In the inquiry we are entering upon we shall have to contemplate,

(1) Sanchoniatho's "Phœnician History," by the Right Rev. R. Cumberland. London, 1720, pp. 2, 3, 23 *et seq.* Eusebius, *Præpar. Evangel. Lib. i. cap. 10.*

more or less closely, all the stages of evolution above specified. The subjects of the inquiry are Totems and Totem-gods, or, speaking generally, animal and vegetable gods; and the order of the exposition is as follows:—First, we shall explain with some detail what Totems are, and what are their usual concomitants; showing how far they have, or have recently had, a place among existing tribes of men; and we shall throw what light we can on the intellectual condition of men in, what we may call, the Totem stage of development. Next we shall examine the evidence which goes to show that the ancient nations came, in pre-historic times, through the Totem stage, having animals and plants, and the heavenly bodies conceived as animals, for gods before the anthropomorphic gods appeared, and shall consider the explanations that have been offered of that evidence. The conclusion we shall reach is that the hypothesis that the ancient nations came through the Totem stage, satisfies all the conditions of a sound hypothesis.¹

TOTEMS.—The first thing to be explained is the Totem. The word has come into use from its being the name given by certain tribes of American Indians to the animal or plant which, from time immemorial, each of the tribes has had as its sacred or consecrated animal or plant. A proper understanding, however, of what the Totem is cannot be conveyed in a sentence, or reached otherwise than by studying the accounts we have of Totems among different tribes of men; and, therefore, for behoof of those who are not familiar with these accounts, we must go somewhat into details. Unfortunately, Totems have not yet been studied with much care. They have been regarded as being curious rather than important; and, in consequence, some points relating to them are unexplained.

(1) While the materials we have bearing on this subject are deemed worthy of being submitted for consideration, the investigation is yet far from being complete, and its completion will demand the co-operation of many. In the inquiry as here exhibited, it will be seen that several persons have given assistance. Did our hypothesis not *seem* sound, we should not propound it; but, be it understood, it is submitted as an hypothesis only, in the hope that it may be tested by others better qualified for such investigations. The ancient mythologies have been so often crossed upon one another, interfused, and in appearance confounded with the intermixtures, intercommunications, and varying developments of the tribes of men who initiated them and modified them in successive generations, that it may appear a hopeless task to endeavour to throw new light upon them, still more hopeless to trace them to their beginnings. The only chance of dealing with them successfully, however, is to make them the subject of an hypothesis; and though some may think the chance too small to justify the labour—that this species of inquiry should be excluded from human endeavour—we do not at all agree with them. Their opinion is opposed by the lessons taught by the history of scientific discovery. These show that the inquirer who has facts to go upon should never despair; that in such a case as the present even a failure is a step of progress as demonstrating a line along which the truth does *not* lie—one more key on the bunch to be labelled as unsuited to the lock. A negative result may forward an investigation. Whether we have hit the truth or not, we trust we have at least been preparing the way for those who in the fulness of time will reach it.

As it is, we know that they prevail among two distinct groups of tribes—the American Indians, already mentioned, and the aborigines of Australia. Many more instances of their prevalence, it may be believed, will yet be brought to light. In the meantime it is some compensation for the incompleteness of the accounts that we can thoroughly trust them, as the Totem has not till now got itself mixed up with speculations, and accordingly the observers have been unbiassed.

1. *Totems or Kobongs in Australia.*—We have an account of these from the pen of Sir George Grey, who says the natives represent their family names as having been derived from some vegetable or animal common in the district they inhabited. Each family adopts as its sign, or *Kobong*—a word which is the equivalent of Totem, and means, literally, a *friend* or *protector*—the animal or vegetable after which it is named. The families here referred to are not families in our sense of the word, but stock-tribes, or tribes of descent, as appears from the following statement:—

“The natives are divided into certain great families, all the members of which bear the same name as a family or second name. The principal branches of these families, so far as I have been able to ascertain, are the Ballaroke, Tdon-darup, Ngotak, Nagarnook, Nogonyuk, Mongalung, and Narrangur. But in different districts the members of these families give a local name to the one to which they belong, which is understood in that district to indicate some particular branch of the principal family. The most common local names are Didaroke, Gwerrinjoke, Maleoke, Waddaroke, Djekoke, Kotejumen, Namyungo, Yungaree. These family names are common over a great portion of the continent; for instance, on the western coast, in a tract of country extending between four and five hundred miles in latitude, members of all these families are found. . . . The family names are perpetuated and spread through the country by the operation of two remarkable laws: 1st, that children (boys as well as girls) always take the family name of their mother; 2nd, that a man cannot marry a woman of his own family name.”

Sir George Grey elsewhere says that “the whole race is divided into tribes, more or less numerous according to circumstances, and designated from the localities they inhabit, for though universally a wandering race with respect to places of habitation, their wanderings are circumscribed by certain well defined limits.” He further notices as “a most remarkable law,” that “which obliges families connected by blood on the female side to join for the purposes of defence and avenging crimes.”¹

From this statement it appears that we have in Australia certain great family or stock names, represented by persons in various local tribes; that the marriage law prevents any local tribe coming to consist entirely of persons of one name or stock; while the law of mutual defence and blood feud combines into what we may call

(1) Grey's "Travels in North-Western and Western Australia," vol. ii. pp. 225 *et seq.*; and p. 230.

gentes, within the local tribes, all who have the same Totem and are of the same stock. This is clear from what follows immediately after the words last quoted, namely: "All their laws are principally made up of sets of obligations due from members of the same great family towards one another—which obligations of family names are much stronger than those of blood." There are not only *gentes* within the local tribes, but the gentile bond is such as to constitute, in effect, a stock-tribe of all the *gentes* of the same family name, Totem, or Kobong, wherever they are situated.

In the work just quoted, Sir George Grey refers to his "Vocabulary of the Dialects of South-Western Australia," as giving under each family name its derivations, as far as he could collect them from the statements of the natives. Unfortunately, he seems to have been able to collect the *meaning* in eight cases only, and we have been unable to enlarge the list.¹ Subjoined are the derivations in the eight cases:—

1. *Ballaroke*. Ballar-wak, Ballar, is given in the vocabulary as a very small species of *Opossum*, with this note: "Some natives say that the Ballaroke family derive their name from having in former times subsisted principally on this little animal." Balla-ga-ra is also a species of opossum.

2. *Djin-be-nong-era*, a species of duck. "The Ngo-taks formerly belonged to this class of birds, before they were changed into men."

3. *Karbunga*, a species of water-fowl; the mountain duck. "The No-go-nyuks are said to be these birds transformed into men."

4. *Kij-jin-broon*, a species of water-fowl. "The Didaroke family, a branch of the Ngo-taks, are said to be these birds transformed into men."

5. *Koo-la-ma*, a species of water-fowl. "The Dtondarups (the second name in the list of family names) are said by the natives to be these birds transformed into men."

6. *Kul-jak*, a species of swan. "The family of the Ballar-waks are said to owe their origin to the transformation of these birds into men."

7. *Nag-koom*, a species of small fish. "From subsisting in former times principally on this fish, the Nagarnook family are said to have obtained their name."

8. *Nam-yum-go*; an emu, the local name for the Dtondarup family in the Varse district.

In this imperfect list we have eight families, or branches of families, derived from beasts, birds, or fishes; and in five cases the statement that the tribesmen believe themselves to be of the stock of the bird or beast, and that their progenitors had been trans-

(1) The linguists of the United States Exploring Expedition seem not to have paid attention to this subject.

formed into men. We have an Opossum tribe, an Emu tribe, a Swan tribe, a Duck tribe, a Fish tribe, and three water-fowl tribes; and along with them, we have the general statement that all the tribes have Kobongs or *Totems*, animal or vegetable, after which they are named. The Opossums are bound together by what may be called a common faith and numerous mutual rights and obligations thence derived; so are the Emus, Ducks, and Swans; the stock names being thereby perpetuated, while the persons having them are diffused throughout the country by the law which makes it incest for an Opossum to marry an Opossum, a Duck a Duck, and so on.

No one has yet taken the trouble of making the inquiry, but our persuasion is that this *Totemism*, as it has been called, will be found to prevail, or have prevailed, through the whole of Oceania. It is mentioned in the Report of the United States Exploring Expedition¹ that the great Deity of the Tahitians, Taaroa, is named from the Taro-plant; and a legend is given which connects the Marquesan and Tahitian traditions, in explanation of the fact of—as we infer—the prevalence of vegetable names (presumably as tribal) both in Marquesas and Tahiti. The legend is, that the eponymous Oataia “named his children from the various plants which he brought with him from Vavau.” The first king on the Tahitian list is Owatea, who is identified with Oataia of the Marquesans. His wife, in either case, is Papa—“mother of the islands”—and is the same with the wife of the great god Taaroa.² The Royal line is named from the Taro plant in this way: Owatea and Papa had a deformed child whom they buried: from it sprang the Taro plant, whose stalk is called *haloa*, which name they gave to their son and heir. This we must regard as a sample of the legends which are formed on an advance from Totemism taking place, in explanation of its origin or

(1) Vol. vi. p. 133.

(2) This *Papa* appears in the New Zealand mythology as the mother of all beings. She is the earth; her husband, Rangi, the heavens. The two clave together during 1000 divisions of time, each division a *being* called Po; and their children, who “were ever thinking” what the difference might be between darkness and light, after meditating their murder, resolved at last to rend them apart. In the family were the following gods: the father of forests, birds, insects, and all things that are in woods; the father of winds and storms; the father of cultivated food; the father of fish and reptiles; the father of uncultivated food; and the father of fierce human beings. They all, in turn—except the father of storms—essay to rend their parents apart. Success at last attends the efforts of Tane-Mahuta, father of forests, who, with his head planted on his mother and feet against his father, thrusting, separated them. “Far beneath he pierces down the earth; far above he thrusts up the sky.” On the separation multitudes of human beings were discovered that had been begotten by Rangi and Papa, and lay concealed between their bodies. What follows introduces new gods, and explains the war of the elements. The whole of this mythology is *scientific* in this sense, that it is a series of hypotheses to explain phenomena. The part assigned to the forest god illustrates this. It may be believed the tree god was highly esteemed considering how much was due to him.—Grey’s “Polynesian Mythology.”

relics. Names taken from vegetables appear to prevail in the Sandwich Islands.

2. *Totems in America*.—Of these we have pretty full accounts. One is to be found in Dr. Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," contained in the "Archæologia Americana." He says:—

"Independent of political or geographical divisions [*i.e.*, of divisions of the native races into local tribes or nations], that into families or clans has been established from time immemorial. . . . At present, or till very lately, every nation was divided into a number of clans varying in the several nations from three to eight or ten, the members of which respectively were dispersed indiscriminately throughout the whole nation. It has been fully ascertained that the inviolable regulations by which those clans were perpetuated amongst the southern nations, were, first that no man could marry in his own clan; ¹ secondly, *that every child belongs to his or her mother's clan*. Among the Choctaws, there are two great divisions, each of which is subdivided into four clans; and no man can marry in any of the four clans belonging to his division. Amongst the Cherokees, the Creeks, and the Natches, the restriction does not extend beyond the clan to which the man belongs.

"There are sufficient proofs that the same division into clans, commonly called tribes, exists amongst all the other Indian nations [*i.e.*, all the others as well as the southern Indians east of the Mississippi, of whom he is writing]. But it is not so clear that they are subject to the same regulations. According to Charlevoix, most nations are divided into three families or tribes. One of them is considered the first, and has a kind of pre-eminence. Those tribes are mixed without being confounded. *Each tribe has the name of an animal*. Among the Hurons, the first tribe is that of the Bear; the two others, of the Wolf and the Turtle. The Iroquois nation has the same divisions, only the Turtle family is divided into two, the Great and the Little.

"The accounts are not so explicit with respect to the Lenape tribes. Mr. Heckewelder, indeed, says that the Delawares were divided into three tribes, but one of them, *the Wolf, or Minsi, had altogether separated from the others, and was a distinct nation or tribe* [not ceasing, however, to be a clan in the sense now under consideration]. According to Mr. Johnston, the Shawnoes have four tribes: the Chillicothe, the Piqua, the Kiskapocoke, and the Mequachake. The first two, from having given names to distinct towns, would seem to be living in separate places; but the fact that the Mequachake can alone perform *the religious ceremonies of the nation* gives it the character of a clan. Whether the *Totem* or family name of the Chippeways descends in a regular manner has not been clearly explained. But Dr. James informs us that no man is allowed to change his Totem, *which descends to all the children a man may have*, and that the restraint on intermarriage it imposes is scrupulously regarded. The Chippeways and kindred tribes are much more subdivided than the other Indians are into clans. Dr. James gives a catalogue of eighteen Totems, and says many more might be enumerated."²

The Totems, and the restraints they impose, are found with the Iroquois as with the Delawares and Sioux tribes. The Omahaws (among the Sioux) are in two great tribes, the one divided into eight, the other into five bands.

"Each of these bands derives its name from some animal, part of an animal, or other substance, which is considered as the peculiar sacred object, or *Medicine*,

(1) What is called the *Clan* here is identical with the Australian family, as will presently appear.

(2) "Archæologia Americana," vol. ii. p. 109.

as the Canadians call it, of the band. The most ancient is that of the red maize ; the most powerful, that of the *Wasc-ishta* ("Male-deer"). The Puncas are divided into similar hands."¹

We have made these long citations because they show us the Totems or Kobongs, as in Australia, descending as a general rule under the same system of kinship (through mothers only), and attended by the same law of intermarriage, namely exogamy, leading to the interfusion of the stock tribes throughout the country ; and the constitution into Gentes in the local tribes of all persons having the same Totem. The laws of blood-feud, of mutual rights and obligations between those of the same stock, constitute stock-tribes of all having the same Totem.² And we can see in the account cited how, at a stage considerably in advance of the Australian, the solidarity of the Gentes in the local tribes has under these laws become so great as to enable the Gentes, in some cases, to withdraw from the local tribes, in which they were developed, and stand, like the Wolves of the Delawares, by themselves, in local tribes of one stock. On a change of kinship, which would permit the Totem to descend from the father instead of the mother—as it is said to do among the Chippeways—the Gentes would, even supposing exogamy to continue in force, become permanent homogeneous groups after their segregation.

Let us obtain a list of the American Totems.

"Nearly all, if not all, of the Indian nations upon this continent," says Mr. Lewis H. Morgan, of Rochester, State of New York, "were anciently subdivided into *Tribes or Families*. These tribes, with a few exceptions, were named after animals. Many of them are now thus subdivided [so they have been advancing]. It is so with the Iroquois, Delawares, Iowas, Creeks, Mohaves, Wyandottes, Winnebagoes, Otoes, Kaws, Shawnees, Choctaws, Otawas, Objibewas, Potowottomies, &c. [We can supply from the "Archæologia Americana" the Cherokees, Natches, and Sioux.]

"The following tribes [*or families*] are known to exist, or to have existed, in the several Indian nations—the number ranging from three to eighteen in each. The Wolf, Bear, Beaver, Turtle, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk, Crane, Duck, Loon, Turkey, Musk-rat, Sable, Pike, Cat-fish, Sturgeon, Carp, Buffalo, Elk, Reindeer, Eagle, Hare, Rabbit, and Snake ; also the Reed-grass, Sand, Water, Rock, and Tobacco-plant."³

To this list we may add from the "Archæologia" and other sources, the Tortoise, the Turtle—in two divisions, the Great Turtle and the Little Turtle—the Red-Maize, the *Male* Deer, the Wind, the Tiger, the Bird, the Root, the Birch-rind, the Thick-wood, the Sheep, the Brush-wood, the Moose-deer, the Cat, the Trout, the Leaves, the Crow, the Sun, the Rising Sun, and the Grey Snow, the Sun and the Snow being regarded as *beings*. There are thus forty-eight Totems enumerated for American tribes, not counting the *Male* Deer or the Little Turtle, and we know there were others.

(1) "Archæologia Americana," vol. ii. p. 100.

(2) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 111.

(3) Circular letter issued by Mr. Morgan, quoted in the *Cambrian Journal* for 1860, p. 119.

The following quotation from the "Archæologia" illustrates the effect of these names on narratives respecting the tribes and the actings of the tribes-men or tribes-women:—

"Some superiority is everywhere ascribed to one of the clans:—to the Unamis ('the Tortoise') among the Delawares; to the Waso-ishta ('Male-deer') among the Omahaws; to the Bear tribe among the Hurons and five nations. Charlevoix says that when the Mohawks put to death Father Iogues, it was the work of the Bear [clan] alone, and notwithstanding all the efforts of the Wolf and the Turtle to save him!"¹

Of course the indefinite article would be employed, instead of the definite, in speaking of individuals. *The* Bear, is the tribe or clan; *a* Bear, a tribesman. In speaking of their marriages, it would be said, for instance, that "a Bear married a Wolf," and "a Turtle a Beaver." In cases of *nursing*, a man's foster-mother might be a She-Wolf, a She-Bear, or a Tigress.

3. *Relations between Men and Totems.*—Let us now see how those who have Totems regard them; and what, generally speaking, are their religious views. Grey says that "there is a mysterious connection between an Australian and his Kobong, be it animal or vegetable." It is his "friend" or "protector," and is thus much like the "genius" of the early Italian. If it is an animal, he will not kill one of the species to which it belongs, should he find it asleep; he always kills it reluctantly, and never without affording it a chance of escape. "The family belief," says Sir George, "is that some one individual of the species is their dearest friend, to kill whom would be a great crime. So a native who has a vegetable Kobong may not gather it under certain circumstances, and at a particular period of the year."² We previously saw that the belief, in certain cases at least, is that the family were of the species of the Totem before they were turned into men.

It may be asked, What are their views of the power by which these transformations were effected? We cannot answer this question; but one thing seems to be clear, that their speculations have not carried them as yet beyond the contemplation of the material terrestrial world they inhabit, and that in that world everything is to them at once material and spiritual, the animate and the inanimate being almost undistinguished. Like many races in Africa, they do not believe in death from natural causes, and think they would live for ever were it not for murderers and sorcerers. The latter they call *Boyl-as*. A *Boyl-a* gets powers over a man if he obtains possession of anything that is his.³ A *Boyl-a* may cause death in many ways; he may cause a man to be killed "by accident," or he may render himself invisible and come nightly and "feast" on his

(1) *Archæ. Amer.* vol. ii. p. 113.

(2) Sir George Grey's *Travels*, l. c. vol. ii. p. 229.

(3) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 323.

victim's flesh. He can transport himself through the air at pleasure; and when he makes himself invisible, he can be seen only by other *Boyl-as*. He enters his victim like a piece of quartz, and as such may be drawn out of him by the enchantments of friendly *Boyl-as*. Pieces of quartz that have been so drawn out are preserved as the greatest curiosities. As *some one* is always the cause of death, the law is that when any one dies, some one else must be killed—the *Boyl-a*, or the murderer, or some relative of the one or the other. Of course the *Boyl-as* are objects of great dread. They consume the flesh of their victims slowly, as fire would;¹ they can hear from afar; they come “moving along in the sky;” and they can only be counteracted by other *Boyl-as*. Besides the *Boyl-as*, there is another object of terror—the *Wau-gul*. It is an aquatic monster, residing in fresh water, and has supernatural powers. It also can “consume” the natives like the *Boyl-as*; but it confines its attacks mostly to women, who pine away almost imperceptibly and die. Nightmare is caused by an evil spirit that may be driven away by muttering imprecations and twirling a burning brand. Shining stones or pieces of crystal, called “*Teyl*,” they respect almost to veneration. None but *Boyl-as* venture to touch them. They believe in ghosts; and on one occasion Sir George Grey was taken by an old lady to be the ghost of her son, who had lately died! Such is the creed of this primitive race. They have no God in the proper sense of the word; and the only benign beings they know are their Totems. The *Boyl-as* of course practise imposture,² but are probably self-deluded as well to a great extent. Speculation has not reached as yet among them to the heavens. Their supernaturals are all naturals, for even the *Wau-gul*—no doubt a convenient fiction of the *Boyl-as* for protection under the law of retaliation, and perhaps also in explanation to themselves of deaths they *know* they had nothing to do with—is a living creature, the tenant of a stream or lake. Even their ghosts may return to them, if precautions are not taken to secure them in their burying-places—their “houses,” as they are called, and in which, even after death, they are not incapable of action.³

It will have been seen that the Totems are, as we may say, religiously regarded by the Australians, and that the *Boyl-as* resemble the genii of the Arabian Nights, excepting that while they are genii they are also men. The *Wau-gul* might well grow into the water-

(1) Grey's Travels, vol. ii. p. 339.

(2) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 218. “The whole tendency of their superstitions is to deprive certain classes of benefits which are enjoyed by others.”

(3) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 336. “After burial, the dead man can insert a mysterious bone into each of three doctors, who sleep on the grave for the purpose. By means of this bone, the doctors can kill any one they wish by causing it to enter into his body.”

kelpie, water-horse or bull. It would be curious to know whether it is a fish or an aquatic kangaroo or opossum!

The American Indians, though they occupy a distinctly higher platform, have still much in common with the aborigines of Australia. Dr. Gay, who resided for several weeks among the Omahaws, states that among them the Totem of each band "is considered as the peculiar sacred object (*Medicine*, the Canadians call it) of the band,"¹ and all we know supports the view that in every case the Totem is religiously regarded. One author, Mr. Long, in a work published in 1791, describing the manners and customs of the North American Indians, holds *Totemism* to be a religious superstition, and says the Indian believes that his Totem, "or favourite spirit," watches over him. "The Totem," he says, "they conceive, assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal whose form they think the Totem bears."² In illustration of the truth of this, he relates what once befell an Indian whose Totem was the bear. The man dreamed he should find a herd of elks, moose, &c., at a certain place, if he went thither. Having a superstitious reverence for his dream, he went—unaccompanied, as he could get no one to go with him—saw the herd, fired, and shot a bear!" "Shocked at the transaction," says Mr. Long, "and dreading the displeasure of the Master of Life, whom he conceived he had offended, he fell down and lay senseless for some time." On recovering, and finding that nothing had befallen him, he hastened towards his home, when (according to his own report) he was met on the way by a large bear, who (he narrated) asked him what had induced him to kill his Totem. On explaining the circumstances and his misfortune, he was forgiven, but was dismissed with a caution to be communicated to the Indians, "that their Totems might be safe, and the Master of Life not angry with them." "As he entered my house," says Mr. Long, who writes as if he saw the man immediately after his accident, "he looked at me very earnestly, and pronounced these words in his own language, 'Beaver, my faith is lost; my Totem is angry; I shall never be able to hunt any more.'" Should one be surprised to find that admonitory bear of the man's imagination worshipped as a god further on in the history of Bear tribes advancing undisturbed by external influences, correlated with the Master of Life in the Olympus, or even preferred to, or identified with him? The Master of Life of this story, we infer from other passages in the

(1) *Archæ. Amer.* vol. ii. p. 112. The personification of inanimate objects, the *animism*, as Mr. Tylor calls it, of the Indians is nearly as complete as in Australia. See "*Archæ. Amer.*," vol. ii. pp. 25, 166, 169. No distinction between the animate and inanimate is made in the languages of the Esquimaux, the Choctaws, the Muskhogee, and the Caddo. Only the Iroquois, Cherokee, and the Algonkin Lenape have it, so far as is known, and with them it is partial.

(2) Long's *Voyages*, p. 86.

work quoted, is *Kitchu Manitoo*, a high rock in Lake Superior, which is worshipped as a god by the Chippeway Indians, and also by the *Mathangweessawauks*, whoever they may be.¹ Is *Kitchu Manitoo*, it may be asked, the commencement of pillar-worship, of Siva-ism? He is the Master of Life, and, in some tribes, the Great Spirit. The accounts of him are most vague, and show a faith shading up from the "great black man in the woods" of the Fuegians to the Master of Life, with a high rock for his representation, and thence to the Great Spirit—who had no representation—whose temple the Incas are said to have found standing and deserted on their arrival at Cuzco. In two cases only have we certain information of the ideas of God which the Indians entertained. (1) In Gookin's History of the "Christian Indians" is preserved a contract in the form of question and answer between them and our Government. It opens as follows: "*Qu.* 1. To worship the only true God, who made heaven and earth. *Ans.* We do desire to reverence the God of the English, because we see he doth better to the English than other gods do to others." (2) Of the Pawnees, whose "Great Spirit" is *Wahcondu*, Dr. Gallatin writes, "Like all other Indians, they put more faith in their dreams, omens, and jugglers, in the power of imaginary deities of their own creation, and of those consecrated relics (the Totems) to which the Canadians have given the singular appellation of *Medicine*."²

The American Indians, like the aborigines of Australia, regarded themselves, we have every reason to believe, as being of *the breed* of the Totem. We know this was the view of the Sun-tribes—which we shall notice presently—and of several Snake-tribes. That the Caribs were of the stock of the Serpent we learn from Mr. Brett.³ And on this point—the regular authorities being silent—we are entitled, we think, to found on evidence furnished by Mr. Fenimore Cooper. His view appears in "The Last of the Mohicans." Magua, a Fox, with a party of warriors, comprising a Beaver, happening to pass a colony of real beavers, the Beaver refused to pass without addressing his kinsfolk. "There would have been a species of profanity in the omission," says Mr. Cooper, "had this man passed so powerful a community of his fancied kinsmen without bestowing some evidence of regard. Accordingly, he paused and spoke in words as kind and friendly as if he were addressing more intelligent beings. He called the animals *his cousins*," and so on, concluding his address by begging them to bestow on his tribe "a portion of the

(1) Long, l. c. pp. 68 *et seq.*, and p. 139. In Long's opinion Totemism resembles the idea of Destiny, and he says it is not confined to savages, as "many instances might be adduced from history to prove." Very probably. The one instance he cites is that of a Jew banker, of the court of Louis XIV. of France, "who had a black hen, to which he thought his destiny attached." They died together.

(2) "Archæ. Amer.," vol. ii. p. 130.

(3) Brett's "Tribes of Guiana," pp. 390—393.

wisdom for which they were so renowned." Uncas, again, Mr. Cooper represents as claiming to be of the stock of the Tortoise, "that great-grandfather of all nations;" and, indeed, all his Indians appear to regard themselves, and one another, as inheritors of mental and physical qualities from their respective Totems.

One other and last relation between the Totem and its owners, both in America and Australia, remains to be noticed. Grey tells us that the Australians use the Totem as the family crest or ensign, and expresses the opinion that our heraldic bearings are traces of the Totem stage lingering in civilised nations. It is well known that the Totem was also used as an ensign by the American Indians, who tattooed the figure of it on their bodies, and, not content with this, painted and dressed themselves so as to resemble it. Every reader of stories about these Indians must be familiar with the fact. Magua, for example, in the beaver scene, from the account of which we have just quoted, wore "his ancient garb, bearing the outline of a fox on the dressed skin which formed his robe;" while the Beaver chief "carried the beaver as his peculiar symbol." The accounts we have of the old Mexicans in war show that they had similar badges: every chief having his sign—an animal, or animal's head, or a plant; and every company having a similar symbol on its standard.

4. *Traditions of Totems in Central Asia.*—The Totem stage appears to have been passed through by numerous tribes of Central Asia. MM. Valikhanof inform us that a heritage of the nomadic races in that part of the world is a profound regard for, and an abundance of traditions respecting old times, preserved by their elders in legends and ballads, and that these traditions refer the origin of their tribes to animals as progenitors.

"The story of the origin of the Dikokamenni Kirghiz," they say,¹ "from a red greyhound and a certain queen with her forty handmaidens is of ancient date. A characteristic feature in Central Asiatic traditions is the derivation of their origin from some animal. According to the testimony of Chinese history the Goa-qui (Kaotsché), otherwise known as the Tele or Chili people, sprang from a wolf and a beautiful Hun princess . . . who married the wolf. The Tugus (called the Dulgasses by Père Hyacinthe) professed to derive their origin from a she-wolf; and the Tufans (Thibetians) from a dog. The Chinese assert that Balachi, hereditary chief of the Mongol Khans, was the son of a blue wolf and a white hind."² [The authority cited for this is "*Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*," by Klaproth, p. 204.] . . . It is evident from these instances that this kind of tradition in Central Asia and America is the most ancient, and even seems to be regarded as a descent to be proud of. The out-spoken yet exalted tone of the Kirghiz legends, considered indecent by the present

(1) "The Russians in Central Asia." London, 1865. Translated by the Messrs. Michell.

(2) In the "*Archæologia Americana*," vol. ii. p. 112, it is noticed that among the Creeks the villages are divided into white and red, "distinguished from each other by poles of those respective colours." Query—Would a Deer in a white village be a *White Deer*, and a Wolf in a red village be a *Red Wolf*?

generation of Kirghiz, is a strong proof that they have descended in their original form. The tradition of the origin of the ninety-nine Kipebuk branches has been preserved among the Uzbeks and Kaisaks in such an indelicate shape that it is doubtful whether it will ever be possible to present it to the general reader."

It is accordingly not given; but surely the essence might have been, though not the shape. We learn from the same authorities that the genealogical tables of the Kaisaks, Uzbeks, and Nogais, show that "they are a medley of different Turkish and Mongol tribes." The names of several tribes are given, but none have been examined etymologically to ascertain whether they comprise the names of animals or plants. The interfusion, or "medley," of the tribes (we are without a statement of the origin of it, but nearly all these tribes *are* exogamous, that is, prohibit marriage within the clan), and the general statement (though it is feebly supported by details) that they draw their origin back to animals, make it probable that we have in the Kirghiz, Uzbeks, and Nogais a series of tribes that anciently passed through the Totem stage. This view is confirmed by what was recently stated at a meeting of the Geographical Society by Captain T. G. Montgomerie; namely, that round Cashmere, and among the aboriginal hill tribes on the Himalayan slopes, tribes of men are usually (or *frequently*, we have not the report before us), named, or we think he said "*nicknamed*," from animals *now*. If so, we may believe inquiry will bring to light a series of tribes in that quarter still existing in the Totem stage. The statement was made in support of the hypothesis that an Ant tribe had existed to the north of Cashmere, put forward in explanation of what Herodotus relates that the gold-fields there were worked by ants.

5. *The Sun as a Totem: hints of a Totem Olympus.*—We saw that in the local tribes or nations in America, some one of the tribes of descent had a superiority ascribed to it—that the Bear, for instance, was the leading tribe among the Hurons. This superiority infers subordination, of course; in other words, a political system. It is stated in the *Archæologia* that "it is among the Natches alone that we find, connected together, a highly privileged class, a despotic government and something like a regular form of religious worship." The Natches occupied three villages near the town that has preserved their name, and were in four clans. What their Totems were is not stated; but "the privileged class" and the sovereign had for *their* Totem the sun. This seems a legitimate inference from their being called Suns, and claiming to be descended from the sun—the Sun-tribe being so far like any other. "The hereditary dignity of Chief, or Great Sun," we are told, "descended as usual by the female line, and he, *as well as all the other members of his clan*, whether male or female, could only marry persons of an inferior [*i.e.*, another] clan."¹

(1) *L. c.* vol. ii. p. 113.

That is, the clan or tribe was in the same case with any other, except that it was dominant as the Bear was among the Hurons.¹ A Sun could not marry a Sun any more than a Beaver could marry a Beaver; and the Sun name was taken from the mother.

If the sun could become a Totem, why not the moon? That they were both *beings* we can see in numerous cases; we have distinct proof of it among the Indians in the case of the Chippeways.² If they were Totems they will explain for us the Solar and Lunar races of the Aryans. We have them in Peru as married persons, and also as brother and sister. The Incas were Suns, as their name and all the traditions imply—a Sun-tribe, nothing less or more; their first parents, children of the sun, sent to the earth to found society, as the reader may see in Prescott's opening chapters. Acosta tells us the brother of the Inca succeeded in preference to his sons,³ and if so, this points to kinship among the Peruvian Sun-tribe, having been at one time through mothers only—a note of the Totem stage. The pride of power led the tribe to give up exogamy and become a caste; but then to keep the stock pure, the Inca always married a sister, and when a son succeeded, it was as heir of the *Coya*, the lawful sister-queen, showing the lingering preference for the mother's side. We infer the presence of Sun-tribes among the Hurons, the Bayagoulas, now extinct, the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Caddoes of Red River, all of whom there is reason to believe more or less formally worshipped the sun. The Natches had sun temples and perpetual fires.⁴ The Sun-tribes may have been very powerful, but it is only what we should expect, among a race simple enough to believe anything, that a peculiar sanctity, and corresponding privileges, would readily be conceded to those believed to be descended from the great Lord of Day; and that the supremacy in many groups should on this account be the more readily obtained by the solar-stock. It is also apparent that *this* Totem might well command a general veneration—the worship of all the tribes in the group; but it is equally mani-

(1) Are the accounts incomplete? and is the dominant tribe among the Hurons also the Sun tribe? The chief of the Hurons, Charlevoix states, is believed to have issued from the sun, and the dignity of chieftainship is hereditary through females only. It is a possible explanation that the *chiefs* of the *Bear-tribe* may have invented for themselves a solar origin, in which case the chief would be a Bear, and yet a Sun. Peru presents us with an instance of a Sun that is yet a Serpent, for which a similar explanation would suffice—namely, that the Snake-tribe was dominant, and that its chief families assumed the Sun as their Totem.

(2) "Archæologia Americana," vol. i. p. 352. The sun and moon were occasionally given to fighting it appears.

(3) Lib. vi. cap. xii., cited by Prescott.

(4) "Archæologia Americana," vol. ii. pp. 113, 114. Was Helios, who had herds of oxen on the island of Trinacria, chief of a Sun-tribe there? The Heliades are suggestive of a sun-stock. Max Müller complains of Mr. Grote's disposition "to insist on the purely literal meaning of the whole of Greek mythology." We shall see by-and-by that Mr. Grote's disposition is the right one.

fest that the Sun would not, any more than the Master of Life, where it took the first place in the State religion, interfere with the allegiance due from the stock tribes composing the nation to their respective Totems. The Incas, as Mr. Prescott points out, had the good policy to collect all the tribal gods into their temples in and round Cuzco, in which the two leading gods were the Master of Life and the sun. In the temples, Mr. Prescott tells us, "there were animals also to be found," but he does not specify them, stating only that "the llama with its golden fleece was the most conspicuous." Were these animals the Totems, or their emblems, of our friends the Bears and Beavers? ¹

6. *Totem Gods—a Totem Olympus.*—Among the Fijians we find a state of affairs such as may have preceded the consolidation of the monarchy and the Olympus of the Incas. They are proud of their pedigrees, and Toki, one of their chiefs, claims to be the descendant of a Turtle. Others have fishes for their progenitors. Their greatest god, the Creator, who is omniscient, omnipotent, and so on, in the opinion of his special votaries, is *Nuengei*, "whose shrine is the Serpent." Some of their *gods* are "enshrined" in birds, fishes, or plants; some, in the same way, in men. Their second god in importance is *Tui Lakemba*, who claims the Hawk as his shrine; but another god disputes his right, and claims the Hawk for himself. The Shark is a great god; also the Crab. "One god," says Mr. Williams, "is supposed to inhabit the eel, and another the common fowl, and so on, until nearly every animal becomes the shrine of some deity. He who worships the Eel-god must never eat of that fish, and thus of the rest; so that some are *tabu* from eating human flesh because the shrine of their god is in a man. . . . The Land-Crab is the shrine of *Roko Suka*, formerly worshipped in *Tiliva*, where land-crabs are rarely seen." When a land-crab favours them with a call, they make formal presents to him, "to prevent the deity leaving with the impression that he was neglected, and visiting his remiss worshippers with drought, dearth, or death." These gods are tribal, and no one can doubt but they are Totems

(1) The mythologies of Peru and Mexico have yet to be explored, and may be expected to prove a field worthy to be worked. The few facts we have yield a strong suggestion that the Toltecs, Chimenecs, Aztecs, and Tezucans were groups, compounded like the Natches, of tribes with Totems—the Sun dominant, in Peru at least. The legend of the founding of Tenochtitlan gives a prickly-pear, an eagle, a serpent, and the sun. The Mexicans had the eagle on their standard, and the serpent at least among their gods. The war god, *Huitzilopotchli*, means, literally, "a humming-bird" and "left." He was figured with the feathers of the humming-bird on his left foot. If the humming-bird was a Totem, this is the only case, excepting one serpent god in the same Olympus, of a Totem becoming a God of Terror that we are acquainted with. The years in the fifty-two years Mexican Cycle were named from plants and animals—a list of them is not accessible. Their law of succession was polyandrous, from brother to brother, and to sister's sons, failing brothers. This demonstrates for them the stage of female kinship. We know nothing of the law of intermarriage.

who have made such progress as we above suggested the Bear might make, and are become the objects of a more or less regular worship—the Serpent-tribe dominant, and the Hawk-tribe in the second place. The Men-gods are a new element in the Olympus; but they appear as “shrines” merely like the other animals, and were no doubt arrived at by an extension to man of conclusions speculatively reached as to the nature of Totem-gods in general. The Fijians have filled the world with spirits and demons. They are incessantly plagued by ghosts, witches, or wizards. Vegetables and stones, nay, even tools and weapons, pots and canoes, have *souls* that are immortal, and that, like the souls of men, pass on at last to *Mbulu*, the abode of departed spirits. They worship pillars and rocks; but, so far as we know, they do not worship the Sun unless their men-gods are of the solar stock.¹

7. *The mental condition of men in the Totem stage.*—The state of mind of men in the Totem stage is familiar enough, from the accounts we have of the lower races of men. The absence of scientific knowledge nowise implies an absence of speculation; it rather necessitates the presence of a great amount of it. Some explanation of the phenomena of life a man *must* feign for himself; and to judge from the universality of it, the simplest hypothesis, and the first to occur to men, seems to have been that natural phenomena are ascribable to the presence in animals, plants, and things, and in the forces of nature, of such spirits prompting to action as men are conscious they themselves possess. So far as we know, this has been at some time or other the faith of all the races of men; and again, so far as we know, it is a faith that has nowhere been given up as unsatisfactory otherwise than gradually on its being perceived, from case to case, that the behaviour of the forces of nature and of the bodies they act upon is not wayward or wilful, but conformable to law; and until the law has been ascertained. This animation hypothesis, held as a faith, is at the root of all the mythologies. It has been called Fetichism; which, according to the common accounts of it, ascribes a life and personality resembling our own, not only to animals and plants, but to rocks, mountains,² streams, winds, the heavenly bodies, the earth itself, and even the heavens. Fetichism thus resembles Totemism; which, indeed, is Fetichism *plus* certain peculiarities. These peculiarities are, (1) the appropriation of a special Fetich to the tribe, (2) its hereditary transmission through mothers, and (3) its connection with the *jus connubii*. Our own belief is that the accompaniments of Fetichism have not been well observed, and that it will

(1) “Fiji and the Fijians,” by Thomas Williams, vol. i. pp. 114, 123, 215 ff.

(2) Himavat (the Himalayas) was a great Hindu god. He had goddess daughters; one, Ganga (the Ganges), another, Uma, “the most excellent of goddesses.” See Muir’s “Sanskrit Texts,” Part iv. pp. 356 ff.

yet be found that in many cases the Fetich is the Totem. Be that as it may, we may safely affirm that as Fetichism dies slowly, withdrawing its spirits from one sphere after another on their being brought within the domain of science, so it grew slowly through various stages of development, bringing the realms of nature one by one within the scope of the hypothesis which is its foundation. Our information is incomplete; but from all we know, the aborigines of Australia are, as theorists, far in advance of the Bushmen, Veddahs, Andamans, and Fuegians, while it appears they themselves have many steps to take before reaching the fulness of the animism of some American Indians. They have not yet, for example, so far as we know, vivified the heavenly bodies. The Indians, again, have not yet advanced so far as the New Zealanders, who assign spirits to groves and forests,¹ as did the Greeks and Romans, while none of the peoples last mentioned reached that perfection of Fetichism allied to an ontology which is Pantheism.²

The justification of the statement that there is no race of men that has not come through this primitive stage of speculative belief, will be found in this exposition in its entirety.³ We may here say that such a stage is demonstrated for the Hindoos and Egyptians by their doctrine of transmigration. It is of the essence of that doctrine that everything has a soul or spirit, and that the spirits are mostly human in the sense of having once been in human bodies. All the spirits are of course ultimately divine—detached portions of the Deity.

We find in the Code of Manu that “vegetables, and mineral substances, worms, insects, reptiles—some very minute, some rather larger—fishes, snakes, tortoises, cattle, shakals, are the lowest forms to which the dark quality leads [the soul of a man].”⁴ A man may after death, according to the shade of the dark quality, become an elephant, horse, lion, tiger, boar, or a man of the servile class; while, in virtue of the good quality, he may rise to the rank of the genii, to be a regent of the stars, or even a god. This implies, of course, the existence of spirits resembling our own of various ranks, from those that dwell in minerals and vegetables up to that of Brahma. We have a similar implication from the Egyptian doctrine. Let us consider how such a doctrine could have arisen.⁵

(1) See “The Adventures of Rata,” and “The Children of Heaven and Earth,” in Grey’s Polynesian Mythology.

(2) A striking illustration of the graduality of the evolution of fetichism will be found in “Fiji and the Fijians,” l.c. p. 241. The Fijians are far in advance of the Tongans.

(3) Two papers having a bearing on this matter, written by Mr. E. B. Tylor, the one on “The Early Mental Condition of Man,” and the other on “Traces of Savage Thought in Modern Civilisation,” both read before the Royal Institution, London, are well worthy of being consulted.

(4) Code, chap. xii. vv. 42, 43; and see *idem*, chap. i. vv. 49, 50.

(5) The systems of transmigration have been various. In the Brahmanic the purified soul returns to Brahma; in the Buddhistic it attains Nirvāna. The Egyptian

The doctrine connects itself at once with the Cosmogony and with ethics. Manu's account of the genesis, from the first divine idea to the seed and the golden egg and the waters; to the Vedas milked out from fire, air, and the sun; and to the final evolution of all Beings, animals, and vegetables, will be admitted to be as unscientific, or foolish, as anything the Australians could devise, supposing them to have imagination enough to shape so *grand* a theory; and it is not a whit more ingenious than the Australian view of life, taking success in getting at the truth as the test of ingenuity. *The truth*, it may be said, is beyond the reach of speculation. No doubt; this fantastical doctrine, however, may safely be assumed *not* to contain it. "A transmigratory soul" is not an hypothesis like phlogiston: the latter explained some facts; the former, none. How then did it arise? It resulted from ethical considerations, and the theory of the Cosmos. But whence came the latter? Its source, we think, is indubitable. It was a speculation to explain the facts, real and imaginary, of existence. That is, in the order of events, Fetichism, which assigns "souls" to all things, came first, and afterwards the cosmical theory, which explained, *inter alia*, "the souls of all things," the ethical doctrine regulating their transferences merely. In other words, had the "souls" not been pre-existing we should not have had the theory—an unquestionable product of human effort to explain facts—nor anything resembling it. This we submit is the common-sense view. The doctrine supervened on a system of ideas comprising all the elements with which it had to deal. The windows in heaven, and the firmament separating the waters above from the waters below them, do not more clearly demonstrate the old theory of *rain*, than this doctrine demonstrates pre-existing Fetichism.

That the doctrine of transmigration was invented at a pretty late date in the progress of the Hindu races we may be certain. There is but one sentence in the Rig-Veda (Hymn i. 164) which has even been supposed to imply transmigration, and it does not do so, we are assured, when the words are taken literally in their usual sense. Yet the belief in the soul's life after death may be traced in some of the hymns of the Veda. This belief, however, assumes many forms, and the present writer has no certain information as to its Vedic form. Of the forms it assumes many are highly curious. The Australian and Fijian we saw. Among the Tahitians human souls were supposed to be the food of their god, and they offered to him

resembled the Brahmanic, as did the Grecian, which was neither indigenous to Greece nor a popular faith. The Jews *may* have had their system from the Greek philosophers. It is taught in the *Kabbala*, and resembles the Brahmanic. The soul of Adam reappeared in David, and was to reappear in the Messiah. Some early Christians held the doctrine, but it was never the creed of the Church. It was the creed of the Manichæans. Origen believed it; so, lately, did Lessing. It was indigenous in Germany and in ancient Mexico.

human sacrifices that he might be fed. The Khonds have a limited quantity of soul as tribal property, and they explain their female infanticide by saying that the fewer their women are the more soul there will be for the men. The customs of some tribes in Madagascar show that they think that one man may have several souls; and not a few tribes, holding that the souls of the dead return in their new-born babies, bury in the houses or near the doors to facilitate the return.

It is familiar that men everywhere in ancient times believed spirits to inhabit trees and groves, and to move in the winds and stars, and that they personified almost every phase of nature. We have now seen that such beliefs cannot be regarded as having been deduced from the grander doctrines of the ancient religions; but that the latter must be regarded as having been constructed upon such beliefs as their foundations. Demons and Genii, and the spirits of plants and minerals, were older than Brahma; let us hope they will not survive him. They are everywhere lively still, even in the most advanced nations; and we have not to go very far back in time to find them playing a most important part in our medical theories. Demons—a species of disembodied Boyl-as—were connected with diseases by the Jews and early Christians, and it is familiar how on one occasion when driven out of a man they entered into a herd of swine. The genii of the early Italians—so like the Totem—are familiar, and even more so are the genii of the Arabian Nights. The Mahometans, if they are true to their prophet, must still believe in them. In that very curious book “Mishcât-ul-Mas’âbih” a record of the sayings and doings of the prophet, bearing to be made by those who knew him best—his wives and disciples—we find the following, which is pertinent to our subject:—

“Ibn-Omer said, ‘I heard his highness say, “Kill snakes, and kill the snake which has two black lines upon its back, and kill the snake called *abter*, on account of its small tail; for verily these two kinds of snake blind the eyes as soon as they are looked at; and if a pregnant woman should see them, she would miscarry from fright.”’ Ibn-Omer says, ‘Just as I was about killing a snake, Abù-Labâ-Bahansâri called out to me not to kill it. Then I said, “His highness ordered me to kill them; why do you forbid?” He said, “His highness, after giving the order for killing them, said, You must not kill the snakes that live in the houses, because they are not snakes, but a kind of genii.”’ Abù-Sâyib said, ‘We went to Abù-Sâid-Khud’hri; and whilst we were sitting, we heard a shaking under his bedstead; and we looked and saw a snake. Then I got up to kill it, and Abù-Sâid was saying his prayers, and he made a sign to me to sit down, and I did so. And when he had finished his prayers, he made a sign towards a room in his house, and said, “There was a youth in my family lived there who had newly married.” Then Abù-Sâid said, “We came out of *Medinah* along with the Prophet, to a trench which was digging for fighting, and this youth would ask the Prophet’s permission to return to his house every day at noon, which was granted. Then one day the youth asked his highness’s leave, who said, Put on your armour, because I am alarmed about you, from the evil designs of the tribe of *Beni-Kuraidhah*. Then the

youth took his arms, and returned towards his house; and when he arrived, he saw his wife standing between two doors; and the youth was about piercing her with a spear, being seized with jealousy at seeing her standing out of her room; and she said, Withhold your spear, and come into the room that you may see what has brought me out. Then the youth went into the room, and beheld a large snake coiled up sleeping upon his bed, and he struck his spear into the snake; then the snake attacked the youth, and bit him, and it was not known which of them died first, the snake or the youth. Then I went to the Prophet and mentioned the occurrence, and said, Supplicate God to give life to the youth. Then his highness said, Ask God to forgive your friend; wherefore do you wish a prayer to be made for his life? After that he said, In these houses are the genii, some of them believers, and some infidels; therefore when you see anything of those inhabitants turn them out, but do not hurry in killing them, but say, Do not incommode me; if you do, I shall kill you. Then if he goes away, so much the better; but if not, kill it, because it is an infidel *genius*. And his highness said to the youth's tribe, Take him away and bury him. And in one tradition it is thus that his highness said, Verily there are genii in *Medinah* which have embraced Islam; then when you see any one of them, warn him three days; and if he appears after that, kill him, because he is none but an infidel." Omm Sharic said, 'His highness ordered a chameleon to be killed, and said, "It was a chameleon which blew the fire into which Nimrod threw Abraham." . . . Abùhurairah 'A. G. S. "An ant bit a prophet, and he ordered the ant-hill to be burnt, which was done. Then God sent a voice to the prophet, saying, Have you burnt, on account of one biting you, a whole multitude of those that remembered God, and repeated his name?"'!

His highness's scientific views on other subjects were in keeping with his zoology. "The genii," he lays it down, "are of three kinds. One kind have wings and fly, another are snakes and dogs, and the third move about from place to place like men."² The third are not so unlike the *Boyl-as*. In Mahomet's system the devil and bad genii are at the root of all diseases except fever, which results from the heat of hell-fire, an element of which the Australians are as yet ignorant. He believed, of course, in the evil eye, and in spells and amulets, as so many of us still do; but perhaps he nowhere appears to more advantage than in his astronomy. Stars, he says, were created for three purposes—to embellish the regions, to stone the devil, and for guidance in the forest and on the sea. Our poor wolves, bears, beavers, and opossums, must be tenderly regarded, and may, we think, be believed to be thoroughly earnest in their faith, when views like these appear as propounded by the founder of one of the greatest existing religions. Of the traces of Fetichism among the Greeks and Romans, it would be waste of time to say anything.

We have said enough to prepare the reader for the examination we are about to enter upon, of the evidence of the worship of animals and vegetables among the ancients; to give him the feeling that it is not very improbable that in classical regions we shall find Totems, or something like them.

(1) Vol. ii. p. 310. Chap. iii. Part I. "In explanation of animals, lawful and unlawful to be eaten."

(2) *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 314.

Let us, however, before proceeding with that examination, state the results we have reached. We have found that there are tribes of men (called primitive) now existing on the earth in the Totem stage, each named after some animal or plant, which is its symbol or ensign, and which by the tribesmen is religiously regarded; having kinship through mothers only, and exogamy as their marriage law. In several cases we have seen, the tribesmen believe themselves to be descended from the Totem, and in every case to be, nominally at least, of its breed or species. We have seen a relation existing between the tribesmen and their Totem, as in the case of the bear, that might well grow into that of worshipper and god, leading to the establishment of religious ceremonials to allay the Totem's just anger, or secure his continued protection. We have seen in the case of the sun, conceived as a being, and having his tribe like any other animal, a first place acquired and the honours of a regular worship among tribes still in the Totem stage, and that it is not improbable the cultus of other Totems became regular as sun worship advanced; and in the case of the Fijians, where the serpent and not the sun introduced regular religious observances, we have a more or less regular worship of the other Totems—as we seem entitled to consider them—advanced to the status of gods.¹ We have also seen that while the intellectual condition of men that accompanies Totemism is well established for all the lower races of men now existing, there is much evidence that the higher races had anciently been in a similar condition. We have Totemism in various phases attending that condition, and having reason to think that the higher races had once been in the same condition, we have a probability that they also may once have had Totems.

J. F. M'LENNAN.

(1) In some quarters in America, images of animals have been found in excavations, and one view is that they were idols. It will be remembered there were such images in the Sun Temples of the Incas.

THE WORSHIP OF ANIMALS AND PLANTS.

PART II.—TOTEM-GODS AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

WE now proceed to examine the case of the ancient nations. Inasmuch as these had, before the dawn of their histories, advanced far in civilisation (otherwise their histories, which depend on monuments and literary records, could not have commenced) we should expect that in the interval which intervened between their being in the Totem stage—supposing they were ever in it—and the beginning of authentic records, the Totems, if they were to become gods, would be promoted to a distinct place as the gods of the tribes that possessed them, and be the objects to them of regular religious worship. Looking again to the results of exogamy and female kinship, we might expect that while here and there, perhaps, a tribe might appear with a single animal god, as a general rule tribes and nations should have as many animal and vegetable gods as there were distinct stocks in the population. Some one animal we should expect to find in a first place among the animal gods of a people as being the god of the dominant tribe; but we should not expect to find the same animal dominant in all quarters, or worshipped even everywhere within the same nation. Moreover, since if the ancient nations came through the Totem stage their animal and vegetable gods must have been of more ancient standing than the anthropomorphic gods, such as Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon, we should expect to find in the sacred legends some hints of that priority. If we find any great number of such gods worshipped by the ancients, and if we find hints of their priority; still more if we find tribes named after the sacred animals, and having them for their ensigns; and, lastly, should we find the worshippers believing themselves to be, or having traditions, such as the Kirghiz have, that they were of the stock or breed of the animal they worshipped,—then we think we may safely conclude that so many concurring indications of the Totem stage having been passed through are not misleading—that, in fact, the ancient nations had in the prehistoric times been in the same case as that in which we now find the natives of Australia. It will be a confirmation of this conclusion should we find the hypothesis that they *had* been in the Totem stage, to make intelligible numerous legends that have hitherto appeared entirely without meaning. It will be a further confirmation should we find that there is evidence that the ancient nations had been exogamous, and had the system of kinship through females only.

What evidence then have we to show that the ancient nations

came through the Totem stage? If they did, it was in pre-historic times. About these we have some facts preserved in the signs of the Zodiac, the majority of which are animals, or compounds of human and animal forms. We have another set of facts in the fanciful forms of those constellations which were figured, pre-historically, in animal forms.¹

Some of the stellar groups, we know, were named after gods or deified heroes. Were the animal groups named after gods also, or how was it the animals came to be promoted to the heavens? There is nothing in the grouping of the stars to suggest the animal forms: no one can seriously pretend to perceive materials for any such suggestion. The stars, we must believe, were long familiar objects of study and observation before they were grouped and named; that they were conceived to be *beings* we may say we know. How came the early students of the heavens to name the groups from animals, and even many of the individual stars? The probability is, that in ancient as in modern times, stars, when named, were given names of distinction, that commanded respect, if not veneration; and the suggestion therefore is, that the animals whose names were transferred to the stars or stellar groups, were on earth highly if not religiously regarded. The legends that have come down to us explanatory of the transference to the heavens of particular animals, bear out this suggestion. It will immediately be shown that nearly all the animals so honoured were anciently worshipped as gods.

Let us see what the animals are. There is first of all the serpent in the constellation Serpentarius, which some said represented Æsculapius; there are also Scorpio and Draco—the scorpion and dragon; there is the horse—Pegasus; the bull—Taurus; the lion—Leo; the dog—Canis (major and minor); the swan—Cygnus; the doves (according to some)—the Pleiades; the ram—Aries; the goat—Capricornus; the fishes—Pisces; the bear—Ursa (major and minor); the crab—Cancer; and the asses' colts—the Aselli. There are others, but this selection will suffice for our purposes at present.

1. *The Serpent.*—We take the case of the serpent first, because

(1) The Zodiacal constellations figured on the porticoes of the Temples of Denderah and Esne, in Egypt, are of great antiquity. "M. Dupuis, in his 'Origine des Cultes,' has, from a careful investigation of the position of these signs, and calculating precession at its usual rate, arrived at the conclusion that the earliest of them dates from 4,000 B.C. M. Fourier, in his 'Recherches sur la Science,' makes the representations at Esne 1,800 years older than M. Dupuis. . . . The truth seems to be that nothing is as yet definitely known of these ancient representations; for the manner in which the investigations have been mixed up with the Biblical question of the antiquity of man has prevented any truly scientific research."—Chambers's Encyc. Art. Zodiac. The ancient Zodiacal figures of the Hindus, ancient Persians, Chinese, and Japanese, in some respects resemble those of the Egyptians. Mr. Williams, of the Astronomical Society, informs me that three of the Chinese signs are named from the quail. The symbols of the years in the Aztec Cycle were named after plants and animals. Neither these nor the two hundred gods in the Aztec Olympus have yet been examined.

for several reasons it has been more studied than any other. The serpent faith was very wide-spread, and it has attracted special notice from the part assigned to the serpent in Genesis in connection with the fall of man. Faber and Bryant have both pretty fully investigated this subject, which has also been treated in a separate work by Mr. Bathurst Deane.¹ Lately (in 1864) M. Boudin handled it in what may be called a large pamphlet rather than a book,² and last year Mr. Fergusson's elaborate work³ threw much light upon it, at the same time that it has done more than any previous work to draw public attention to this extraordinary religion.

It is unnecessary to adduce the evidence which establishes the prevalence, in ancient and modern times, of this worship. It is a fact conceded on all hands, and in Mr. Fergusson's book it is demonstrated. That work, also, is very important in this respect, that it abounds in photographic illustrations from the Buddhist Topes of Sanchi and Amravati, which enable the reader to realise the fact that the worship was *real* worship. Men and women are exhibited in the sculptures in the act of adoring the Serpent God, so that the actuality of the worship is, by the book, as vividly impressed on the mind as it could be by attendance at divine service in a Serpent Temple—say at Cambodia. In Cambodia, indeed, one would have found the god to be a living serpent—a Totem—whereas these sculptures show that the living serpent had, among the Buddhists, lost rank, *the* god being a heavenly (Ophi-morphic) being whose symbol was a serpent of five, seven, or nine heads, such as never had been seen upon earth. In short, we are enabled to see from Mr. Fergusson's work that the serpent religion, starting from the worship of the living animal as its root, had grown into a refined faith, comprising a belief in a spirit world in which the Serpent God held high rank; and in an Olympus in which other gods were combined with him, and in which, below the gods, were angelic beings of various orders of standing and power. It is remarkable that the divine nature of these angelic beings in human form is demonstrated by serpents springing from behind their backs or from their shoulders, as the divinity of angels and cherubs in our own symbolism is indicated by their wings.

Mr. Fergusson's introductory essay shows that the worship of the serpent has, at some time or other, found a place in the religious system of every race of men. It had its place in Egypt and in Palestine, even among the Hebrews; in Tyre and Babylon, in Greece and Rome; among the Celts and Scandinavians in Europe; in Persia and Arabia; in Cashmere and India; in China and Thibet; in

(1) "The Worship of the Serpent." London, 1830.

(2) "Culte du Phallus; Culte du Serpent. Études Anthropologiques." Paris, 1864.

(3) "Tree and Serpent Worship," by James Fergusson, F.R.S. India Museum, London.

Mexico and Peru; in Abyssinia, and generally throughout Africa, where it still flourishes as the state religion in Dahomey; in Java and Ceylon; among the Fijians, with whom, as we saw, it still prevails; and in various quarters in Oceania. Not less well established is the fact that it was a terribly real faith, with its priests and temples, its highly-organised ecclesiasticism and ritual, its offerings and sacrifices, all ordered according to a code. The code, the ideas of the divine government, the god himself even, varied from point to point, there being no more uniformity observable here than elsewhere in a matter of faith. In one place the god was a living serpent; in another a collection of serpents, as if the whole species was religiously regarded. Here, again, the object of worship was an image of a living serpent; there, an image of a creature of the religious imagination—a spiritual ideal—the five-headed, seven-headed, or nine-headed Naga. The god in some systems stood alone, was *the* god—God; in others he had associates, sometimes equal, sometimes even superior to himself, such as the sun, or fire, an anthropomorphic god, the emblems of the procreative power, some other animal, like the horse, or some tree or vegetable, or the ocean. But under all the varieties the fact is manifest of the serpent having attained *divine* honours; the character of being a good, wise, beneficent, powerful deity, to adore and propitiate whom was man's duty and privilege. We have cited no authorities in support of these statements, because the facts are indisputable and well known, and a general reference to the works of Bryant and Fergusson is therefore sufficient.¹ Two points, however, must be touched upon before we

(1) As to the *doctrines* of the serpent faith, we have, unfortunately, but meagre accounts. The Dahomans have both an earthly serpent and a heavenly. The earthly serpent (called *Danh gbwe*) is the first person in their Trinity, the others being trees and the ocean. Burton says of this serpent, "It is esteemed the supreme bliss and general good. It has a thousand *Danh-si*, or snake wives, married and single votaries, and its influence cannot be meddled with by the two others [trees and ocean] which are subject to it." It is believed to be immortal, omniscient, and all-powerful. In its worship there are solemn processions; prayers are addressed to it on every occasion, and answered by the snakes in conversation with the high-priest. The heavenly serpent is called *Danh*, and has for his emblem a coiled and horned snake of clay in a pot or calabash. He is the god of wealth. The priestesses, in this serpent system, are girls resembling the Nautch girls in the temples of Southern India, and when of age they are married to the god, who himself sets his seal upon them, marking them with his image under circumstances and with mysteries that are undivulged. Ancestral worship is conjoined with that of the snake in Dahomey, as it has been and is in other places, and with it almost certainly, and not with serpent-worship, are connected the horrible human sacrifices that occur on the coast of Guinea. The state of our information on the Dahoman religion is to be regretted, as a minute knowledge of the beliefs of the worshippers, and of their traditions regarding the history of their religion, would be valuable in this inquiry. It is equally to be regretted that we are without details as to the beliefs of the snake-worshippers of India, who, we learn from the Indian newspapers, are to be found throughout our Eastern empire. How much have we yet to learn of our contemporaries even under the same Government with ourselves! As we write, a letter appears from Bishop Crowther, re-

can advance with our argument. The first respects the antiquity of the faith; and the second, the relations between the god and his worshippers.

(1.) Of the great antiquity of the faith there can be no doubt. Compared with it, all the religions are modern; they imply it at their foundations, and their earliest history is the record of its more or less complete suppression or subordination. The cultus prevailed, for example, among the Hebrews before the true faith. "With the knowledge we now possess," says Mr. Fergusson, "it does not seem so difficult to understand what was meant by the curse of the serpent [in Genesis]. When the writers of the Pentateuch set themselves to introduce the purer and loftier worship of Elohim, or Jehovah, it was first necessary to get rid of that earlier form of faith which the primitive inhabitants of the earth had fashioned for themselves." The curse, of course, was not on the serpent, but on the cultus. We find a similar story in Persia and in India, in both of which places this religion prevailed. "The serpent that beguiled Eve," says Max Müller, "seems hardly to invite comparison with the much grander conception of that terrible power of Vritra and Ahri-man in the Veda and Avesta."¹ In the Avesta there is a great battle between Thraëtaona and Azhi dahâka, the destroying serpent.² The greatest exploit of Indra was the slaying of the serpent Ahi. "Where, O Maruts," he is made to say in one of the Vedic hymns, "was that custom of yours that you should join me who am alone in the killing of Ahi."³ In another song Traitana takes the place of Indra in this battle; more frequently it is Trita who fights, but other gods also share in the same honour.⁴

specting serpent-worship at Brass, a station of the Niger mission. "No poultry," the Bishop says, "can be reared on account of the snake cobra, which is held sacred here. Not to be killed because sacred, they become possessors of the bushes, and prove a great nuisance to the country. They very often visited the poultry coops at night, and swallowed as many as they wanted; in consequence of which no poultry could be kept, either by the natives themselves, or by the supercargoes in their establishments on shore: neither goats, sheep, nor small pigs escaped them. Thus the country is literally impoverished by them." To support the superstition there are two articles in the treaty made and sanctioned by her Britannic Majesty's Consul for the Bight of Biafra and the Island of Fernando Po on November 17, 1856, one of which runs thus:—

"Article 12. That long detention having heretofore occurred in trade, and much angry feeling having been excited in the natives from the destruction by white men in their ignorance of a certain species of boa-constrictor that visits the houses, and which is ju-ju, or sacred, to the Brassmen, it is hereby forbidden to all British subjects to harm or destroy any such snake, but they are required, on finding the reptile on the premises, to give notice thereof to the chief man in town, who is to come and remove it away."

(1) Chips from a German Worship, vol. i. p. 155.

(2) *Idem*, p. 100.

(3) Müller's "Rig-Veda Sanhita," vol. i. p. 165.

(4) The Vedic Ahi was three-headed, like the heavenly Nagas in Mr. Fergusson's photographs, or like the Persian Zohâk, only one of Zohâk's three heads had become human.

The result of Mr. Fergusson's investigations is to represent serpent-worship as the basis of the religions of India, excepting Sivaism, in which the bull has had the first place.¹ In Africa we most probably have the faith as it existed before the dawn of history.

"We know from the Egyptian monuments," says Mr. Fergusson, "that neither the physical features nor the social status of the negro have altered in the slightest degree during the last four thousand years. If the type was then fixed which has since remained unaltered, why not his religion also? There seems no *a priori* difficulty. No other people in the world seem so unchanged and unchangeable; movements and mixtures of races have taken place elsewhere. Christianity has swept serpent-worship out of what were the limits of the Roman world, and Mahomedanism has done the same over the greater part of Northern Africa. Neither influence has yet penetrated to the Gold Coast; and there, apparently, the negro holds his old faith and his old feelings fast, in spite of the progress of the rest of the world. It may be very horrible, but so far as we at present know, it is the oldest of human faiths, and is now practised with more completeness at Dahomey than anywhere else, at least at the present day."

(2.) It was common for those who had this worship to believe that the serpent was their progenitor. They were called, and called themselves, *Serpents*, after, and as being of the breed of their god. Whole peoples, says Bryant, had the serpent-name, and counted themselves as being of the Serpent-breed. The Æthiopians, for example, derived their name from the Serpent-God, Ops. So, he says, did the Elopians, Europeans, Oropians, Asopians, Inopians, and Ophionians.² The original title of all of these was *Ophites*. "In Phrygia and upon the Hellespont, whither they (the Ophites) sent out colonies very early, was a people styled Ὀφιογενεῖς, or of the Serpent-breed, who were said to retain an affinity and correspondence with serpents."³ In Rhodes, an old name for which was Ophiusa; in Tenos, one of the Cyclades; in Cyprus, also of old styled Ophiusa and Ophiodes; in Crete and in the island Seriphus, it is related there were Serpent-tribes, or, as fable put it, swarms of *Serpents*, the personality of the tribes-men being lost in their name, as derived from the god. That this is the fact may be inferred from the tradition regarding the swarm at Paphos, where the serpents had two legs—Ὀφίς πόδας ἔχων δύο.⁴ Similarly at this day in India there are numerous tribes of *Nagas* on the north-eastern frontier, *i.e.*, literally, *Serpents*, who were undoubtedly so named from the Serpent-God, as the Snake Indians are named from their Totem.

(1) This, we shall see, is a very partial view. Besides the serpent and bull, the sun and moon; the sheep, goat, and elephant; and the tortoise, fish, boar, and lion, enter (as Totems) into the bases of the Hindu mythologies. Fire also we may believe was a Totem in India. The Piqua tribe (one of the tribes of the Shawanese) are descended from a fabulous man generated in a fire.—Archæ. Amer., vol. i. p. 276.

(2) Ancient Mythology, vol. i. p. 481. The references to Bryant are to the Second Edition. Lond., 1775.

(3) See Bryant *ut supra*; Strabo, L. xiii. p. 880; Pliny, L. vii. c. 2. "Craces Pergamenus in Hellesponto circa Parium, genus hominum fuisse tradit, quos Ophiogones vocat."

(4) Apollon. Discolus. Mirabil. c. 39. Cited by Bryant, l. c. vol. i. p. 482.

The name *Nag* has passed into a family or stock named among Hindus generally. Colonel Meadows Taylor says, "It is a common name both for males and females among all classes of Hindus, from Brahmins down to the lowest classes of Sudras and Mléchhas."¹ The Athenians were esteemed Serpentigenæ; Ægeus, one of their kings, was reputed of the Serpent-breed; and the honour of having been first king of their country they assigned either to Δράκων, a dragon, or to Cecrops, who was *half* a snake—probably as being on the mother's side not of the Serpent stock. Sparta is said of old to have swarmed with serpents; and the same is related of Amyclæ, in Italy, which was a Spartan colony, the meaning of the tradition being that the inhabitants in either case were what in India would be called Nagas, and, in America, Snakes.² The kings of Abyssinia put the Serpent first on their list of kings as the progenitor of the royal line. In Peru, where the worship of the serpent was conjoined (as in many other cases) with sun-worship, the principal Deity in the Pantheon was the Sun-Serpent, whose wife—the female Serpent or female Sun—brought forth at one birth a boy and girl who became the first parents of mankind. So the Caribs—a fact already glanced at—relate that the first of their race was half a serpent, being the son of a Warru woman by a river-god. Being slain and cut in pieces by his mother's brothers, the pieces, when collected under a mass of leaves, grew into a mighty warrior, the progenitor of the Carib nation.³

The legends of Cashmere throw not a little light on these beliefs. They show us a doctrine resembling that worked out in the story of Elsie Venner—the serpent nature in the human body capable of being displaced by a proper human nature. An ancestor of Sakya Muni, for example, fell in love with a serpent-king's daughter, and married her. She could retain her human body, but occasionally a nine-headed snake sprang out of her neck. Her husband having struck it off one time when it appeared, she remained human ever after. Others of these legends represent a serpent-king (Naga Rajah) as "quitting his tank," becoming converted, and building churches; and a sinful Brahman as being turned into a Naga, and spending his life for some years thereafter in a lake.

It was a natural consequence of the serpent being believed, where

(1) "Tree and Serpent Worship," Appendix D. We infer from the statement that *Nag* is the name of a *gotra*.

(2) It is remarkable how many fables become intelligible when read in the light of this and similar facts which we shall produce. Take, for example, the case of Cadmus as interpreted in this light by Mr. Fergusson: "Cadmus fought and killed the dragon that devoured his men, and sowing his teeth, raised soldiers for his own purpose. In Indian language, he killed the Naga Rajah [Serpent-king] of Thebes, and made Sepoys of his subjects."

(3) Brett's "Indian Tribes of Guiana," pp. 390—393.

he was dominant, to be the first father, that he should be believed to be the first instructor of men. Accordingly we find that it was "the feathered serpent" who taught the Aztecs a knowledge of laws and of agriculture, and the principles of religion; and Cecrops (who was half a serpent) that introduced marriage to Greece, and taught the people laws and the arts of life.

Let us now see the results we have reached. They are—1. That the serpent was in numerous quarters of the world worshipped as a god by the most diverse races of men. 2. That serpent-worship is of the highest antiquity. 3. That the worshippers, in many cases, believed themselves to be of the Serpent-breed, derived from a serpent ancestor. 4. That the worshippers were in numerous cases named after the god—*Serpents*. We now notice (5) that the serpent was used as a badge in many cases among the tribes that had the cultus. It was so used, for example, in Egypt, where was the sacred serpent *Thermuthis*.

"The natives are said to have made use of it as a royal tiara," says Bryant, "with which they ornamented the statues of Isis. We learn from Diodorus Siculus that the kings of Egypt wore high bonnets which terminated in a round ball; and the whole was surrounded with figures of asps. The priests likewise on their bonnets had the representation of serpents."¹

Menelaus, a Spartan—and Sparta, we saw, was Ophite—is represented as having a serpent for a device upon his shield. One of the names of the serpent-god was Pitan—whence *Pitanatæ* and *Serpentigenæ* or Ophite were equivalents.

"A brigade or portion of infantry was, among some Greeks, named *Pitanates*, and the soldiers, in consequence of it, must have been termed *Pitanatæ*,—undoubtedly because they had the *pitan* or serpent for their standard. Analogous to this there were soldiers called *Draconarii* among other nations. *I believe that in most countries the military standard was an emblem of the deity there worshipped.*"²

The deity might also be expected to find his place on the coins of his worshippers, and the ancient coins having the serpent are accordingly numerous. It appears on early Egyptian coins of uncertain towns, and also on other early African coins; on early coins (all of date B.C.) of Heraclea in Lucania; of Perinthus in Thracia; of Homolium in Thessalia; of Cassope in Epirus; of Buthrotum and Corcyra in Epirus; of Amastris in Paphlagonia; of Cyzicus and Pergamus in Mysia; of Dardanus in Troas; of Cos,

(1) *Ancient Mythology*, vol. i. p. 475.

(2) Bryant, *idem*, p. 488, and authorities there cited. Bryant, in a foot-note, says the serpent was among the insignia of many countries, and quotes Sidon. *Apollinaris*, *Carm. 6*, v. 409:—

" *Textilis anguis*
Discurrit per utramque aciem."

In India a golden serpent was the banner of the *Ravasa Indrajit*. *Muir's Texts*, iv. 349.

an island of Caria; and of Magnesia, Nacrasa, and Thyatira, in Lydia.¹

2. *The Horse*.—The Horse figures in the heavens as Pegasus, and we find him on the coins of numerous cities.

“He is on the coins of various cities of Hispania and Gallia; of Fanum in Umbria; Beneventum in Samnium; Nuceria in Campania; Arpi and Luceria; Salapia in Apulia; Grumentum in Lucania; Thurium in Apulia; Ætna in Sicilia, and also Camarina, Gelas, and Panormus, in Sicilia; of Syracuse; Melita (Malta); Panticapæum in Taurica; Cipsela, Maronea, Ægospotamus, and Cardia, all in Thracia; Amphipolis, Bottiæa, and Thessalonica, all in Macedonia. On the coins of Thessalia *in genere*, and on those of Atrax, Crannon, Demetrias, Elatea, Gyrtion, Larissa, Pelinna, Phalanna, Pharcadon, Pheræ, Ferræbia, Ctæmene, Scotussa, and Tricca, in Thessalia; of Alyzia in Acarnania; Locri-Opuntii in Locris; Phoci in Phocis; Tanagra in Bœotia; Pheneus in Arcadia; Gargara in Mysia; Parium in Mysia; Alexandria in Troas; Cyme in Æolis; Colophon in Ionia; Magnesia in Ionia; Mylasa in Caria; Tarmessus in Pisidia; Antioch in Cilicia; Adana in Cilicia; Aninesum in Lydia; Epictetus in Phrygia; Larissa in Seleucia; Cyrene in Cyrenaica; Tarentum in Calabria, and,” adds Mr. Sim, “perhaps on many others. The coins are all of date before the Christian era.”

Was the Horse, who was thus honoured, a god? In the photographs in Mr. Fergusson's book we have some evidence that he was a god among the serpent-worshipping Buddhists. “The Horse” first occurs in Fig. 1, Plate xxxv. Mr. Fergusson remarks on it, “In this bas-relief the principal object is the Sacred Horse, richly caparisoned, who heads the procession, and towards whom all eyes are turned; . . . behind him a chief in his chariot, bearing the umbrella of State, not over himself, but apparently in honour of the horse.” It next occurs along with Siddhârtha on Plate lix., but the worship in this case seems to be all given to the prince. It occurs again on Plates lxxx. and lxxx. On these Mr. Fergusson observes:—

“Fig. 2 and 3 of this Plate (*i.e.* lxxx.), and Fig. 3 of Plate lxxx., instead of the emblems we are usually accustomed to, contain two medallions, the upper representing the worship of the Horse, the lower, Buddha, seated cross-legged, surrounded by listeners or adorers. As we have frequently had occasion to remark, the Horse plays an important part in the sculptures at Amravati. It is once represented as honoured at Sanchi; but this form of worship occurs here several times, but nowhere so prominently as in those three Dagobas (and it is to be presumed that there was a fourth). It is not easy to say what we are to understand from the prominence of the Horse in such a position as this. Is it an importation from Scythia, brought by immigrants from that country? Is it the Horse of the Sun or of Poseidon? Is it the Avalokites'vara of the Thibetan fables? Some one must answer who is more familiar than I am with Eastern mythology. At present it will be sufficient to recall to memory how important a part the Horse sacrifice, or As'wamedha, plays in the Mahâbhârata.

(1) The lists of coins cited in this paper have been furnished to the writer by an accomplished numismatist, Mr. George Sim, Curator of the Coins in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.

and in all the mythic history of India. What is still more curious is, that the worship of the Horse still seems to linger in remote parts of India. At least, in a recent work by Mr. Hislop, missionary at Nagpore, edited by Sir R. Temple, he [Mr. Hislop] describes the religion of the Gonds in the following nine words:—"All introduce figures of the horse in their worship." Other instances might, no doubt, be found if looked for; but the subject is new and unthought of."

If Mr. Fergusson had looked further in Mr. Hislop's book he would have found that the fact of Horse-worship is not left to inference or conjecture. In a foot-note at p. 51, Sir R. Temple says:—"The god Koda Pen, or Horse-god, is sometimes worshipped by the Gonds, and sometimes there are sacred images of this animal." So we have in India a horse-god now. What tribes beside the Gonds have worshipped him?

The Horse occurs again in Mr. Fergusson's plates. In Plate xcv., Fig. 4, he is introduced in mid air, alongside the wheel (a Buddhist idol¹), as an object of equal reverence; and on a piece of sculpture, where the wheel just above him is the special object of worship. In Plate xcvi., Fig. 3, he issues from the portal with the umbrella of State borne over him, the hero of the representation. The same subject is repeated on another slab, Plate xcvi. Fig. 2. The opinion formed by Mr. Fergusson is that the bas-reliefs show that the Horse was an object of reverence, if not exactly of worship, at Amravati, and that the reverence paid to him is the counterpart of the worship of the Bull Naudi by the Sivites.

Let us now see what evidence there is of this worship elsewhere. Mr. Bryant supplies a goodly array of facts. In his Essay² on Metis and Hippa, after disposing of the former as one of the most ancient deities of "the Amonians," represented under the symbol of a beautiful female countenance surrounded with serpents, he proceeds to say:—

"Hippa was another goddess of like antiquity, and equally *obsolete*. Some traces, however, are to be still found in the Orphic verses, by which we may discover her original character and department. She is there represented as the nurse of Dionysius, and seems to have been the same as Cybele, who was worshipped in the mountains of Phrygia, and by the Lydians upon Tmolus. She is said to have been the Soul of the World—'Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἴππα του παντος ἴσα ψυχη'; and the person who received and fostered Dionysius when he came from the thigh of his father. This history relates to his second birth, when he returned to a second state of childhood. Dionysius was the chief god of the Gentile world, and worshipped under various titles, which at length came to be looked on as different deities. Most of these secondary deities had the title of Hippius and Hippia; and as they had female attendants in their temples, these, too, had the name of Hippai. What may have been the original of the term Hippa and Hippus will be matter of future discussion. Thus much is certain, that the Greeks uniformly referred it to *Horses*."

(1) See Ezekiel, chap. x., vv. 8 ff.

(2) Vol. ii. p. 25.

(3) See, in proof of this, Orphic Frag. 43; Orpheus Gesneri, Lipsiæ, 1764, p. 401.

Ares was Hippius; so was Poseidon, although a god of the sea, being so called from raising a horse out of the earth in his contest with Athene for the superiority at Athens; but Athene herself was Hippia, as were also Demeter and Hera. Demeter, styled Hippa, the Greeks represented as turned into a mare;¹ Hippius Poseidon, in like manner represented as a horse, they supposed in that shape to have had an intimate connection with the goddess.² The nymph Ocyroë was changed into a mare, and so was Philyra, whom Saturn, in the shape of a horse, followed neighing over the mountains of Thessaly!³

Bryant, who conceived that the ancients knew nothing of their own mythologies, and whose great discovery was that every mythological fact anywhere to be found related either to Noah, the ark, or the deluge, thinks the Greeks were quite wrong in fancying Hippa and Hippius to have had anything to do with the horse. These gods, he says, came from Egypt, and were one with the sun and Osiris, and ultimately with the ark.⁴ He tells us, however, that the *horse* (like the ox and eagle, which we shall see were gods) was a sacred symbol in Egypt, where almost every animal, from beetles to bulls, was worshipped, so that the Egyptians made the mistake equally with the Greeks, if there was one. Mistake or not, there is no question of the reality of the faith that followed on it. The horse-gods and mare-goddesses had their temples and regular worship, and not only gods and goddesses, but places, and presumably tribes of men, were named from the horse. There were the Hippici Montes in Sarmatia; Ἴππου κωμη in Lycia; Ἴππου ἀκρα in Libya; Ἴππου ὄρος in Egypt, and a town Hippos, both in Sicily and in Arabia Felix. The horse-name occurs frequently in composition, as in Hipporum, Hippouris, Hippana, Hipponesus, Hippocrene, and many others; and, indeed, horse-names are so frequent in Homer alone—a fact observed by Mr. Gladstone—as to suggest that there were horse-tribes in, and bordering on, Greece, as there were Nagas and Ophites. One of the twelve Athenian tribes was Hippothoontis, their eponymous progenitor Hippothoon, who was nurtured by mares! Æolus and his family were Hippotades, and a village in the tribe Ceneis was Hippotamada. There was a tribe, Hipporeæ, in Upper Æthiopia, and the Hippopodes were a people of Scythia, who had horses' feet!⁵ There was a city Hipponesus, in Caria, and another of that name in Lydia. There were two towns, Hippo in Africa, and a

(1) Pausanias, l. 8, 25, § 4; and see Smith's Dict. s. v. Arion.

(2) Ovid, Metam. l. 6, v. 117; Ovidius Janii, vol. ii. p. 344.

(3) *Idem*, l. 2, v. 668; l. c. vol. ii. p. 141; Virg. Georg. l. 3, v. 91.

(4) Vol. ii. p. 408. That the Totem should be identified with the Sun is what we should expect.

(5) Arion was a horse, with a man's feet and a human voice.

town, Hippola, in the Peloponnesus; also one in Spain, a town of the Bruttii, now Monte Leone.

The horse appears on the coins of four cities of Thrace, where Dionysius Hippius was worshipped, and where, also, were the horses of Diomedes, that fed on human flesh—a suggestion that these horse-tribes men were cannibals. Bryant says these horses were the priests of the god; his theory also is that they were men. He tells us the god was worshipped on islands opposite Apulia; and on the coins of four cities in Apulia we have the horse, that accordingly may be assumed to have been a god on the mainland also. When we turn to Thessaly—*equorum altrix*—on the coins of fourteen towns in which we find the horse, we are in the country of the Centaurs, half men and half horses—no doubt men who were yet called horses, after their animal god. Their battle with the Lapithæ, springing out of a quarrel at the marriage of Hippodamia, is famous in fable. Chiron, the most celebrated of the Centaurs, was a son of Saturn (by repute), who changed himself into a horse to avoid his wife Rhea. Intimate relations these between the horse and the oldest anthropomorphic gods. He was the instructor of mankind in the use of plants, the study of medical herbs, and the polite arts, having in these even the great serpent Æsculapius for a pupil. Finally, Jupiter made a constellation of him under the name Sagittarius.

Pausanias says that Demeter, worshipped by the Phigalians, was represented as a woman with the head of a horse.¹ Marus Balus, an old Italian god, who lived three times, was bi-faced like Janus, having a human face before and a horse's behind;² and in Hippa Triceps, figured on Plate xiii., vol. ii., in Bryant's work, we have a female with three horse-heads—a horse divinity recalling the serpentine Zohak of the Persians, and the three-headed Naga. In Pegasus we have a winged horse sprung from the blood of Medusa, and that flew up to heaven immediately on being born. He was the favourite of the Muses, figured in various exploits on earth, and was finally placed among the constellations. He was the special insigne of Corinth, and occurs on ancient coins of that place, of Syracuse and Corcyra.³ A Gaulish coin belonging to the first century B.C. has the horse with a human head. We have heavenly horses in Homer; the horses, ordinary and winged, of Agni, Indra, and Soma, and the eight-legged horse of Odin. There is a controversy as to whether Agni himself was not a horse.⁴ In Max Müller's "Rigveda Sanhita" (p. 15) the reader will find the distinguished professor combating

(1) L. 8, p. 272. Ed. Francofurti, 1583.

(2) Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 9, c. 16. Cited by Bryant, l. c. ii. 409.

(3) Spanhemii Numismata, vol. i. p. 274, *et seq.*

(4) Whether he was a horse or not, he was certainly a goat, as we shall see. Like the other men-gods, he was in turn identified with the Totem, whatever it was, of the tribe that took him up.

Messrs. Boehtlingk and Roth over certain Vedic passages, in which these gentlemen, in their Dictionary, say :—"He (Agni) himself appears as a red horse." We cannot pretend to enter into the merits of the controversy, but the reader may already be satisfied that an Agni Hippius should create no more wonder than a Hippius Poseidon.¹

We conclude, then, that the horse had been anciently a god in India, in Egypt, in Greece, and many other quarters; that it was such before most of the deities figuring in the Olympus appeared; that it became the insigne of many tribes of men; and that it is certain there were numerous tribes named after it.

3. *The Bull*.—The Bull figures in the heavens; and bulls, bisons, minotaurs, and parts of these on coins are too numerous for specification. A few will be found figured in the "Numismata Spanhemii." As the bull and cow are well-known sacred animals, we may be brief with them.

"The living animal," says Bryant, "was in many places held sacred, and revered as a deity. One instance of this was at Memphis, where they worshipped the sacred bull Apis; and another was to be found at Heliopolis, where they held the bull Mnevis in equal veneration. The like custom was observed in Mo-memphis, Aphroditopolis, and Chusa, with this difference, that the object of adoration in these places was an heifer or cow."²

The animal was also worshipped under symbols, or as represented by images. We see this illustrated in the case of the Jews, who fell into the idolatry with the sanction of Aaron himself.³ An apology made for Aaron is, that he adopted this image not from Apis or Osiris, but from the *Cherubim* having the faces of oxen!⁴ The idolatry was probably never fully suppressed. It was openly renewed under Jeroboam, who made two calves, and set one up in Bethel, the other in Dan. In this case, as in the preceding, the calf was recognised as the god that had brought the people out of the land of Egypt! The calves of Jeroboam are spoken of by Hosea (x. 15) as young *cows*; as also by the Septuagint and by Josephus, who says that Jeroboam made two heifers of gold, and consecrated to them two temples. The Bull Nandi is, at the present day, a quasi-god in India, worshipped by the Sivites; while by all Hindus the cow is religiously

(1) See "Rigveda Sanhita," pp. 14—18; and see p. 27. In the Padma Purāna, Krishna in the form of a horse is represented as rescuing the vedas when "the worlds" were burnt up (Muir's Texts, iii., second edition, p. 28); and in the Vishnu Purāna we have the Sun as a horse teaching a horse-tribe—men called Vāgins (i.e., horses), from being instructed by the Sun-horse (Muir's Texts, iii., second ed., 51, and see p. 52). The horse gives his name to a Brahmanic gotra. The Sun (Aditya) appears again as a horse in the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa (Id. iv. 62, and see Vol. I. second ed. pp. xii and 12, where the horse is also identified with Yama and Trita. We have no doubt that these partial contributions to ancient Indian literature were made by men of the horse stock.

(2) Vol. ii. p. 415.

(3) See a curious chapter on this subject in Lewis, "Origines," vol. iii. p. 32.

(4) The later Jews say that the insigne of the tribe of Ephraim was an ox.

regarded. Of course, in Bryant's system, the bull is Noah, while the crescent on the side of Apis is the Ark. Every one knows what cows are in the Dawn system of Mr. Max Müller.

As in the case of the serpent and horse, the religious imagination conjured into existence a variety of spiritual bovine beings—bulls with men's bodies, men with bull's bodies, bulls with two heads, and so forth. Some of these will be found figured in Plate xvi. of Bryant's "Ancient Mythology," vol. ii., where the most prominent figure is a human body with two bulls' heads, worshipped by a man presenting to him a *cone* on the palm of each hand—the Assyrian *Linga*. Of course the bull stood in parental relations to his worshippers. Bryant assures us Apis means father, and he derives from it the names of various lands. Mnevis, or Mnenis, he identifies with Minos, whose city was Minoa, and emblem the Minotaur; also with King Menes, the first lawgiver who raised men from the savage state. He was to the Bull tribes what Cecrops was to the Pelasgic Nagas. There was an *Apia*, also identified by Bryant with Rhea and Demeter. Astarte, we saw, had, according to Sanchoniatho, a bull's head, and Diana was worshipped by the Scuthæ, under the title of *Tauropolis* and *Taurione*. In the Orphic fragments Dionysius is represented as having the countenance of a bull, and also as *being* a bull. In Argos he was *βουγενής*, the offspring of a bull; *ταυρογενής* is one of his epithets in the Orphic hymns. Poseidon was *Taureus* as well as *Hippius*, and so also was *Oceanus*. The bull-faced people are frequent in the legends of India, where the bull is a god; and in Japan we find a deity, *Goso Tenuo*—the ox-headed prince of heaven.¹

The people of the Tauric Chersonesus were named, according to Eustathius, from the bull—*Taurus*—*οἱ δε ταυροι το ἔθνος ἀπο του ζωου ταυρου, φασι, καλουνται*. So were the following mountains, places, and peoples:—*Taurus*, *Taurania*, *Taurica*, *Taurinium*, *Taurcum*, *Taurenta*, *Tauropolis*, *Tauropolium*, *Taurominium*, *Taurantes*, *Tauri*, *Taurini*, and *Taurisci*. How far the god might be followed as giving names to other places and peoples by the process of etymologically analysing the names in different languages, we have not the means of ascertaining.

We have found the bull figured in the heavens and on numerous coins, and giving his name to numerous tribes of men, worshipped as a god, and regarded as the father and first lawgiver by his worshippers. We have found him also in intimate relations with the earlier gods and goddesses, who either drew titles from him or wore his form, as if they supervened upon a system in which he had been chief, and from which, in the process of time, they displaced him. His case thus resembles that of the two animal gods previously considered.

(1) Kaempfer's "Japan," p. 418, cited by Bryant.

4. *The Lion*.—The Lion is in the heavens as Leo, and figures on the ancient coins of many cities, *e.g.* :—

“On coins of Hispania and Gallia;¹ Teate in Marrucini; Capua in Campania; Arpi in Apulia; Venusia in Apulia; Præstum in Laconia; Heraclea and Velia in Laconia; Rhegium in Bruttium; Leontini, Panormus, Syracuse, and Messana, in Sicilia; Chersonesus Taurica; Panticapæum; Tomis in Moesia Infer; Abdera, Perinthus, Cardia, Lysimachia, and Chersonesus, in Thracia; Thasos; Amphipolis, Macedonia; Thessalia *in genere*; Corcyra in Epirus; Heraclea in Acarnania; Corinthus in Achaia; Gortyna in Creta; Adrianotera vel Hadrianothera in Bithynia; Metroum in Bithynia; Germe in Mysia; Magnesia and Miletus in Ionia; Smyrna in Ionia; Acrasus, Apollonia, Attalia, Blaundos, Gordäs-Julia, Hyrcania, Magnesia, Philadelphia, Sætteni, Sardes, Silandus, Temenothyraë, Thyatira, all in Lydia, being thirteen towns; Acmenia, Cadi, Cybira, Peltæ, Sala, and Sinaos, towns in Phrygia; Pessinus in Galatia; Cyrene in Cyrenaica; in Libya *in genere*. The coins are all of date before the Christian era.”

Was the lion who was thus honoured a god? He was; but his worship must have early become obsolete, as we have only one well-voiced instance of it within the historical period, namely, in Leontopolis, the capital of a district of the same name in Egypt. Ælian and Porphyry both say it was worshipped there—was the deity of the place.² There is a considerable amount of evidence, however, that this animal had, in pre-historic times, been more generally worshipped, and that tribes of men had been named after him.

We have become familiar with compounds of human and bestial forms in connection with the worship of the serpent, horse, and bull; the serpent body with human head; the female human form with one or more horse-heads; the Minotaur; and should expect that if the lion were a god, he should, by the same mental processes, be made to enter into similar compounds. Since we have him in one place as a god, and have him in the heavens and on numerous coins, and, what is familiar as the symbol of many tribes, should we find such a compound of the human and leonine forms worshipped, venerated, or feared, or with a remarkable hold on the imaginations of men, it will not be unreasonable to infer that the compound had an origin similar to the others we have become acquainted with. Now we have such a compound in the Sphinx, which therefore may throw some light on the cultus of the lion.³ In the Egyptian hieroglyphics, we are told, the sphinx bears the name of *Neb* or Lord, and *Akar* or Intelligence—the form of it being a

“ (1) Mr. John Evans, in his work on British Coins, p. 180, says the Lion *frequently* occurs on Gaulish coins.

(2) Bryant's "Observations and Inquiries," Cambridge, 1767, p. 128. Ælian de Animal. lib. 12, c. 7.

(3) The reader will find a long treatise on the Sphinx in the "Numismata Spanhemii," where also the Sphinx is figured on several coins. It is hardly necessary to say it is common on coins.

lion's body with human head. The Great Sphinx at Gizeh is colossal, and hewn out of the natural rock.¹ It is of great antiquity—an age at least equal to the Pyramids. In front of the breast of this sphinx was found, in 1816, a small chapel formed of three hieroglyphical tablets, dedicated by Thothmes III. and Rameses II. to the sphinx, whom, it is said, they adored as Haremukhu, *i.e.*, the sun on the horizon.² The fourth tablet, which formed the front, had a door in the centre, and two couchant lions placed upon it. "A small lion was found on the pavement, and an altar between its fore-paws, apparently for sacrifices offered to it in the time of the Romans."³ In 1852 discovery was made of another temple to the south of the sphinx, built at the time of the fourth dynasty, of huge blocks of alabaster and granite, and which was most probably, like the former, devoted to its worship. Numerous sphinxes have been found elsewhere in Egypt, as at Memphis and at Tanis. That found at the latter place is assigned to the age of the Shepherd dynasty. Sphinxes have also been found in Assyria and Babylonia, and they are not uncommon on Phœnician works of art. Mr. Layard mentions having dug out of the Mound of Nimroud "a crouching lion, rudely carved in basalt, which appeared to have fallen from the building above, and to have been exposed for centuries to the atmosphere;" also a pair of gigantic winged bulls, and a pair of small winged lions, whose heads were gone. Human-headed lions he found, of course; also human figures with lions' heads.⁴

The Egyptian sphinx had the whole body leonine, except the face, and this would appear to be the most ancient form; the sphinxes with wings are later, and are supposed to have originated with the Babylonians or Assyrians. The Greek sphinxes were still further from the primitive type; they were all winged, and had other elements in their composition besides the human and leonine. Probably they were unrelated to the Egyptian as an original. The Theban sphinx, whose myth first appears in Hesiod (*Theog.* 326), had a lion's body, female head, bird's wings, and serpent's tail,—a suitable emblem, we should say, for a composite local tribe, comprising Nagas (snakes) as well as lions, and, say, eagles or doves. She was a supernatural being, the progeny of the two-headed dog of Geryon, by Chimæra; or of Typhon, by Echidna. If of the latter parentage, she was a snake on both sides of the house; if of the former, she combined the leonine with the serpent nature,—as the Chimæra had a lion's head as one of her three. Indeed, on either

(1) It is upwards of 172 feet long and 56 feet high.

(2) "*Isis sub forma Leonis itidem et cum facie muliebri occurit non nunquam in nummis Ægyptiorum sicuti in quodam Antonii Pii quem feruit Gaza Medicea.*"—Spanhemii Numismata, tom. i. De Spingie in nummis.

(3) See article Sphinx, Chambers's Encyc., and authorities there cited.

(4) Nineveh, vol. ii. p. 463.

view she had lion kindred as well as Naga, for Typhon, although a Naga, had one celebrated lion among his offspring, the Nemean lion to wit (mother unknown), who infested the neighbourhood of Nemea, filling its inhabitants with continual alarms. The first labour of Hercules was to destroy him, and the Nemean games—instituted in honour of one who had fallen a victim to a snake—were renewed to commemorate the destruction of a lion! A strong suggestion, this, of the new-comer, the Heraclidæ being alike antipathetical to the snakes and lions,—to the tribes, as we read it, who had these animals as gods, and were called after them.

Lion names were common, and the name remains. We believe the result of inquiry will be to establish, by etymological evidence, that the animal gave its name to numerous tribes. Such evidence as we have to adduce of this fact, however, will be better appreciated when produced further on in this exposition.

5. *The Dog*.—The Dog gives its name to three constellations—Canis Major, Canis Minor, and Canicula, as well as to the stars Canis Sirius (*Cahen Sehur*), the brightest in the heavens; Procyon and Cunosoura, “the dog’s tail.” It appears on various ancient coins; for example, on uncertain coins of Etruria; on coins of Pisaurum in Umbria; Hatria in Picenum; Larinum in Fretani; on the coins of Campania *in genere*; notably of Nuceria in Campania; of Valentia in Bruttium; Agyrium in Sicilia; of Erix, Messana, Motya, Panormus, Segesta (very many), and Selinus, all in Sicilia; of Chersonesus Taurica; Phalanna in Theessalia; Celta-Aidone in Epirus; Corcyra in Epirus; Same in Cephallenia; Cydonia in Creta; Colophon in Ionia, and Phocæ in Ionia. Besides these, which are all of date B.C., there are coins figured in the “*Numismata Spanhemii*” with the legend of the dog Cerberus, and one in Mr. Evans’s “*British Coins*,” of which that learned author says:—

“The reverse is very remarkable, and must be regarded as in some manner connected with the early British mythology, though I must confess myself entirely at a loss to offer any satisfactory elucidation of the device. The attitude of the dog [which has one of its fore feet placed on a serpent] is very like that in which it is represented on the small brass coins of Campanian fabric, bearing the name of Roma, but there is no serpent on those coins. The type is hitherto unpublished, and belongs to the third class of the coins of Cunobeline—those with the name of his capital upon them.”¹

With such facts before us, and the knowledge we have already attained to of their probable significance, it need not surprise us to find that the dog was a deity. Bryant, after doing all he could to work him into his Ark scheme, has to confess that his view, that the belief in the worship of the dog was derived from Cahen being the Egyptian name for a priest or sacred official, won’t meet the facts.

(1) Evans, “*British Coins*,” p. 316.

“Though I have endeavoured to show,” he says, “that the term of which I have been treating was greatly misapplied in being so uniformly referred to dogs, yet I do not mean to insinuate that it did not sometimes relate to them. They were distinguished by this sacred title, and were held in some degree of veneration.”²

The facts are as follows:—Juvenal states that dogs were worshipped in some places, “*oppida tota canem venerantur* ;”² Diodorus Siculus says the same thing ;³ Plutarch relates that in Egypt they were *holy*, but not after the time of Cambyses, when they misbehaved themselves by devouring the bull Apis, whom that king slew ;⁴ and Herodotus informs us they were so regarded by the Egyptians in his own time that when a dog died the members of the family it belonged to shaved themselves all over.⁵

The dog was called Cahen and Cohen—a title given by the Egyptians to the animal and vegetable gods they worshipped in general—(query, an equivalent of Totem ?) ; and while the living dog was thus esteemed, there were spiritual dog-beings or gods, such as Canuphis, or Cneph (Anuphis and Anubis of the Greeks and Romans), some represented as having the human body and dog’s head, and others conceived as having the full canine figure, with one, two, or more heads, just as in the case of the heavenly Nagas, bulls and horses. As the animals last named gave titles to the gods who superseded them, so did the dog ; Hercules, Hermes, and even Zeus were Cahen. Hecate had three heads,—one a dog’s, one a horse’s, and one a boar’s,—which suggests, on the system of interpretation we have been propounding, that she originated in a compromise of a local tribe, which contained gentes of the dog, horse, and boar stocks. The boar will be shown to have been a god,—at least a Totem. Cerberus is mentioned by Homer, and we learn from Hesiod that he had fifty heads. In the gardens of Electra there was a golden dog, and also gaping dogs that were at once statues and yet alive. Gold and silver dogs, creations of Vulcan, guarded the house of Alcinous.⁶ In a temple of Vulcan near Mount Ætna was a breed of dogs that treated good men gently, and were ferocious to bad men, which is curious, as we have similar fables respecting serpents in Syria (given by Aristotle), and birds in the islands of Diomedes (given by Pliny). In the myth of Cephalus we have “a dog that was sure of his prey, and a dart that never missed its aim,”—the dog here being familiar to every reader of Campbell’s Celtic tales, or the collections of Grimm and Dasent. On these dog-beings Bryant has some remarks in which we are disposed to concur. “When I read of the brazen dog of Vulcan,” he says, “of the dog of Erigone, of Orion, of Geryon [a two-

(1) L. c. vol. i. p. 351.

(2) Sat. 15, v. 8. 1

(3) Lib. i. p. 16.

(4) Is. et Os., Ed. Cantab. 1744, Squire’s Trans., p. 61.

(5) L. 2, c. 66.

(6) Odyss. l. 7, v. 92. The reference is wrong in Bryant.

headed dog], of Orus, of Hercules, of Amphiloehus, of Hecate, I cannot but suppose that they were titles of so many deities, or else of their priests, who were denominated from their office."¹

There were dog-tribes as a matter of course. Such we must assume the Cunocephali in Libya to have been, whom Herodotus mentions as a race of men with the heads of dogs; and the Cunodontes, both named, as Bryant observes, from their god—fable adding in each case the physical peculiarity in explanation of the dog-name. Ælian and Plutarch, besides bearing witness to the veneration paid to dogs in Egypt, relate "that the people of Ethiopia had a dog for their king; that he was kept in great state, being surrounded with a numerous body of officers and guards, and in all respects royally treated. Plutarch speaks of him as being worshipped with a degree of religious reverence."² No doubt they had heard something like this, and misunderstood it. The king was a dog, in the same way that a Naga Rajah is a serpent, and the reference is to a dog-tribe. What the lamented Speke tells of the traditions of the Wahuma in Central Africa suggests to us that inquiry may yet show that there *was* a tribe in that quarter with the dog for its Totem, and it is probably there still.³

6. *The Swan*.—The Swan is in the heavens as Cynus, and figures on the coins of Camarina in Sicilia; Leontini in Sicilia; Argesa in Thessalia; Clazomene in Ionia; on the coins of other uncertain cities of Ionia, and of Eion in Macedonia. The coins of Eion, says Mr. Sim, are of date 500 B.C., while the others having the swan are probably of date about 300 B.C.

We have no direct evidence of the swan having been a god—that is, having temples of his own; but two great gods, Zeus and Brahma, wore his form, and the latter was named after him; and there is a considerable quantity of myth and fable explainable on the supposition that the bird had been at least a Totem. Bryant says it was undoubtedly the insigne of Canaan, as the eagle and vulture were of Egypt, and the dove of Babylonia. The evidence for this, however, seems not very satisfactory; but part of it is philological, and we are incompetent to judge of it. One fact he finds on it is that there was but one philosopher styled Cynus he could recollect—Antiochus the Academic, mentioned by Cicero and Strabo, surnamed the Swan, and he came from Ascalon in Palestine. The fact is of some importance, as giving us the swan as a stock name in that country. Mr. Evans inclines to think the swan was Phœnician. It is found figured on ancient Phœnician works of art.

Three persons are named by Ovid as having been changed into swans:—a son of Poseidon, who was killed by Achilles before the Metamorphosis; a son of Apollo, who in a fit of vexation committed

(1) Bryant, l. c. vol. i. p. 347.

(2) Bryant, l. c. vol. i. p. 329; Ælian, l. c. p. 246 (lib. vii. c. 40).

(3) Speke's Journal, pp. 252, 257.

suicide, and was changed into a swan ;¹ and a son of Sthenelus, of Liguria, who in his affliction for the death of his friend Phaethon was changed into a swan. Of the last story there is another version given by Lucian, who speaks of swans in the plural in his jocular account of an attempt to discover the sweet-singing birds when boating on the Eridanus. In the Prometheus of Æschylus, Io is directed to proceed till she reaches the Gorgonian plains, where reside the three daughters of Phorcys in the shape of swans, with one eye and one tooth between them. Socrates is represented as speaking of swans as his fellow-servants, and Porphyry assures us that he was very serious in doing so. Calchas, a priest of Apollo, was called a swan ; and at the first institution of the rites of Apollo it is said many swans came from Asia, and went round the island Delos for the space of seven days. The companions of Diomedes, lamenting his death, were changed into birds resembling swans. They settled in some islands in the Adriatic, and were remarkable for the tameness with which they approached the Greeks, and for the horror with which they shunned all other nations. Lastly, the singing of swans was very celebrated, and spoken of not only by the poets, but by such men as Plato, Plutarch, Pliny, and Cicero as a thing well known. Their melancholy strains were never so sweet as when they were dying. The only instance of the form of this bird being assumed by a Greek god is in the case of Leda or Nemesis. Zeus, in the form of a swan, deceived the lady. She produced two eggs in consequence, from one of which sprang Pollux and Helena, and from the other Castor and Clytæmnestra!

In explanation of some of these histories Bryant has a long argument, the purpose of which is to show that in those places reputed to have been much frequented by swans celebrated for their singing—as on the rivers Eridanus and Strymon—colonies from Canaan had settled. In early times, he says, colonies *went by the name of the deities they worshipped, or by the name of the insigne of their country* ; so that, when swans were spoken of, settlers from Canaan were really intended. Thus the ancients, instead of saying that Egyptians, Canaanites, or Tyrians carried off such and such persons, said Jupiter, in the shape of an eagle, swan, or bull, did so ; the eagle meaning Egypt, the swan Canaan, and the bull Tyre. The Phorcides were thus Canaanitish settlers among the Atlantes of Mauritania ; the Delian and Pythian swans, priests of Apollo ; and the swans that went round Delos, a choir of the settlers officiating at the opening of the new temple. The sweet singing was the property, of course, not of the birds, but of the settlers, who delighted in singing mournful dirges for the loss of Adonis or Thamuz, such as were customary in their native land.

(1) Besides these there are two mythical persons of the name, both sons of Ares.

The traces of the Swan as a Totem in India are more distinct. It is said in the *Bhagavata Purana* (ix. 14, 48) that at one time there existed but one Veda, one God (Agni), and one caste. This we learn from the Commentator was in the Krita age, and the one caste, he tells us, was called "Hansa"—the Swan. The Hansas again are, in the *Vishnu Purana*, said to be one of four castes or tribes existing in a district exterior to India (v. 20, 4); and finally, we learn from the *Linga Purana* that Hansa was a name of Brahma himself—*i.e.*, Brahma was called the Swan. How this god, reputed among some tribes to have been the Creator, came to be so named is explained at length in the last-mentioned *Purana*. When he and Vishnu had grown hot in controversy as to which of them had made all things, there suddenly appeared before them a luminous *Luiga* "encircled with a thousand wreaths of flame, incapable of diminution or increase, without beginning, middle, or end, incomparable, indescribable, indefinable, the source of all things." What happened on this appearing Brahma thus recounts:—"Bewildered by its thousand flames, the divine Hari (Vishnu) said to me (Brahma), who was myself bewildered, 'Let us on the spot examine the source of (this) fire. I will go down the unequalled pillar of fire, and thou shouldst quickly proceed strenuously upwards.' Having thus spoken, the universal-formed (Vishnu) took the shape of a boar, and I immediately assumed the character of a swan. EVER SINCE THEN MEN CALL ME HANSA (SWAN), for Hansa is Viraj.¹ Whoever shall call me 'Hansa Hansa' shall become a Hansa." There follows an account of their respective expeditions to explore the *Linga*, which occupied them for a thousand years. The one found no top to it, the other no base. Bewildered, they both vowed to it, saying, "What is this?"—in answer to which the eternal loud-resounding *Linga* is reported to have said "Om."²

It is reasonable to conclude that we have a Swan-tribe in the Indian Hansas: the tradition that Brahma was a Hansa is not likely to have originated except with swans. Again, the inhabitants of islands who, though in the swan form, were yet human, like the birds of Diomedes, can only mean a Swan-tribe, we think. The fact of the swan figuring in the heavens and on ancient coins, taken along with the fact that it was a tribal name, makes it probable that the swan was a god, and highly probable that it was at least a Totem elsewhere than in Australia, where it is a Totem now.

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(To be continued.)

(1) Viraj appears to be the first-begotten of the male and female divisions of the Procreator. We formerly saw that according to another set of the Vedic writers Viraj was a cow!

(2) Muir's "Sanskrit Texts," vol. i. Second Edition, pp. 158, 498. Vol. iv. pp. 328, 329.