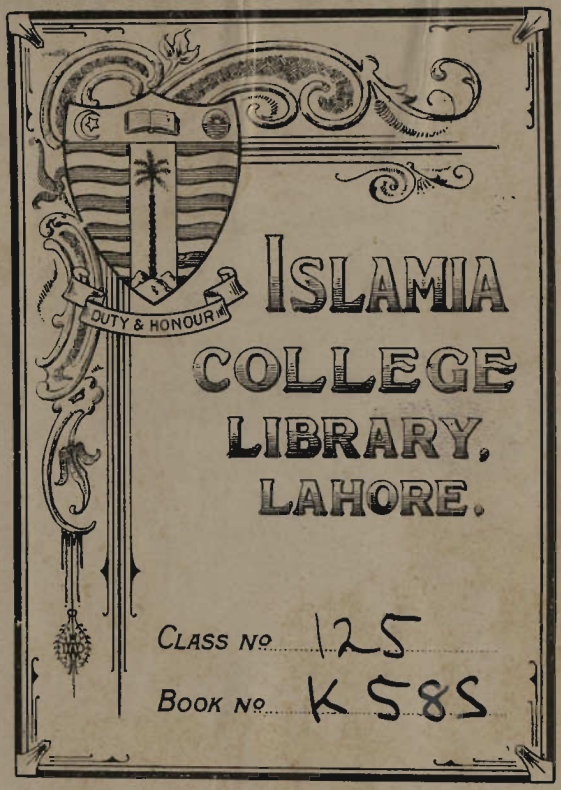
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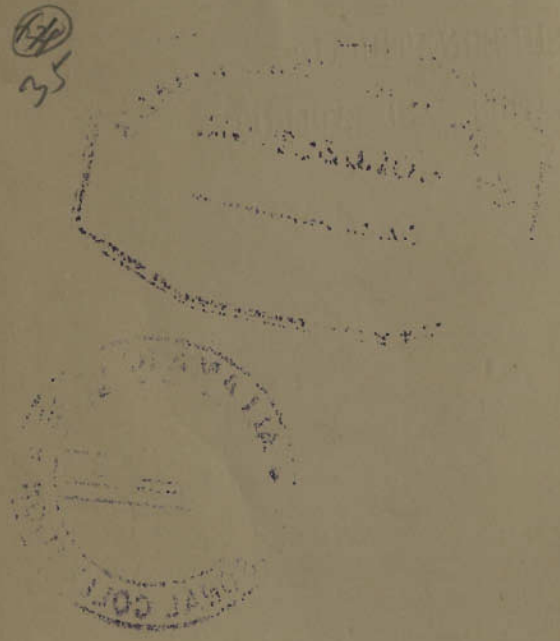


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ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND EVOLUTION.

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ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND EVOLUTION.

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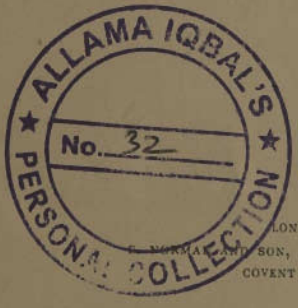
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THE SUPERNATURAL:

ITS ORIGIN, NATURE, AND EVOLUTION.

CHAPTER X.

The Evolution of Chieftain Gods in Greece.

That the early inhabitants of Greece were originally only nature worshippers, paying Divine adoration to the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, and the earth, was long since affirmed by Bos, and the same theory of god-power is also referred to in the fragments remaining of the Orphic Hymns. There, night, the sun, moon, water, fire, air, and earth, are all described as gods, but these were not the only supernal powers; they were associated with Zeus and Pluto, Bacchus and the sun were only cognomens for the one same sky force. As sun, we may probably read the first aboriginal spirit-power, Zeus and Pluto as affirmative of the same divinity were foreign names derived from the early Aryan conquerors or settlers, but Bacchus, as hero-god of human origin, implies an ancestral spirit. In Greece, as in Egypt and India, the many designations of Divine sun attributes and other nature powers, implies various different tribal origins, all afterwards combined in the same spirit being. These were not all of local origin; some were names introduced by emigrants, others were colonial god delineations; some were acquired by conquest, others cults of foreign introduction.

In our endeavour to pierce through the mists of traditions and legends of local cognomens, and customary and religious survivals, we become conscious of the vague evidence that we possess of the early barbaric condition of

the inhabitants of Greek lands, even of the elements out of which the many little chieftainships were constituted. Of the more modern arrivals in the country they had some faint records, they told of Cadmus and the Egyptians, of Phœnician traders, and the appeals of Asiatics to their local oracles, but they knew nothing of the cognate Aryan races of the same origin as themselves, though the bases of their cults were identical.

Though the chief gods of developed Greece were of the common Aryan origin, great types of god-heads were of native derivation. Pallas Athenæ was purely the creation of the Greek mind. She has nothing of the old Aryan in her character, and consequently, like Apollo, she is multiform. The Aryan-derived gods are more or less akin wherever they were honoured in Greece. Pallas in her primary character generally embodied the household industries of the Grecian women; she was the mother of the spindle, and the loom to some, to others she deftly created the potter's art, others saw in her a Joan of Arc, or the inspired priestess.

The myth of Dionysius first presents him as a supernal power in Thrace, a medicine-man controlling the dead; as the myth spread it took various forms, and from these we may form some concept of human society at that period. Dyer, in his *Gods in Greece*, writes:—Dionysius was named man-wrecker on the island of Tenedos. The Chiotes spoke of Dionysius as Omadios, glad of raw flesh, and Omophagus, eater of raw flesh; he is also characterized as Meilichius, the honey-sweet (p. 106). He was also known as Dendrites, the spirit of growing trees, all types of the forest-hunter living on the game, wild honey, and fruits in his native woods. In the star legend of Icarius we are presented with a higher social aspect. Icarius is a cultivator who attends to the vine. The he-goat of a neighbour breaks into his enclosure and uproots his vines, then Icarius slays the goat,

offering it as a sacrifice to his tutelar god Dionysius. Afterwards the skin of the goat is made into the totem effigy of the enemy, he and his kin dancing round and holding a festival. In the meantime, the goat-herds sought vengeance for their slaughtered totem; they first became drunk with the wine of Dionysius, then killed Icarius, and when they came to repenting of their act, buried him. His daughter in a dream sees her father's ghost clad in the totem's skin, and then, accompanied with the dog Maera who leads her, they find the buried corpse, on which she hangs herself on the mystic tree. The oracle of Dionysius demands expiation, the slayers are slain, and Icarius, Erigon, and the dog Maera are translated to the firmament, the first as Bootes, the second as the Virgin constellation, while the last becomes the dog-star.

A still older legend carries us back to the time when the various tribes were denoted by their totems. Then Dionysius was Zagreus, the wild huntsman, who was torn to pieces by the Titans as totem bulls. Zeus, in the character of a medicine-man, devours the heart of Dionysius, who is after restored to life as Dionysius Iacchos.

It is only by incidental observations that we became acquainted with evidences that various animal totems designated the individual tribes. Muller, in his *History of the Doric Race*, writes: "On the division of the Peloponnesus among Temenus, Cresphontes and Aristodamus, that upon the altar where the brothers sacrificed to their grandfather Jupiter, there was found a frog for Argos, a snake for Sparta, and a fox for Messenia. Fourmont affirms that he found in the temple of the Amyclæan Apollo a shield with the inscription of Talechus the general, with a snake in the middle, and another of Anaxidamus with a snake and two foxes" (I. p. 73). Muller doubts this circumstance, but at the date he wrote totemism and the animal signs for tribes were unknown. He himself quotes other indications

of totem gods. Thus, when Aristomenes was thrown into the Ceadas he was preserved by his god, in the form of a fox, the symbol of Messenia. (*Ibid.* I. p. 162.) In another case we have the totem of a spread eagle (I. p. 163). Other totems referred to by Muller are the ancient drachmas of Ægina having the device of a tortoise, and the coins of Metapontum with ears of corn, mice, and grasshoppers. The wolf totem is connected with Apollo. Latona came as a she-wolf at the birth of Apollo to Delos. She was conducted by wolves (tribesmen) to the River Xanthus. Wolves as tribesmen also protected the treasures of Apollo. The descendants of Deucalion, following a wolf's roar, founded Lycorea on Mount Parnassus. There was an iron wolf at Delphi. The Minotaur at Crete was a bull totem. A deer, a bear, and a bull, are said to have been substituted for Iphigenia. Diana of Ephesus had the bee as her symbol, and the chief priest was known as the king-bee. Diana Leucophryn, in Asia Minor, had as her sacred animal the buffalo. Lastly, Nemea is called the daughter of the moon, from which deity the Nemean lion is also said to have sprung. (*Muller's Doric Race,* I. p. 179 to I. p. 449.)

The sculptures on the Parthenon were emblematic of the supernal and social development of the Attic race; the eastern pediment proclaimed the birth of Pallas as the goddess of wisdom from the brain of Jove, and the beginning of days presented by Helios rising in the east, and Selene sinking in the west. A like conception idealized the western pediment; there in an assembly of the gods Pallas claims and has awarded to her the tutelar divinity over Attica, Thesus the father of his country, the sea-god, the rivers, and the nereids attending her behests. On the metopes the original barbaric state of Greece was presented when the Centaurs warred in Attica, and there was neither government nor religious usances, but brute force reigned

supreme. In the frieze of the cella all round the statue of the Divine Athene were displayed the innumerable blessings that had followed from the advent of her supremacy: religion, law, order, the blessings of peace, and the power to resist attacks; denoted by sacrifices and offerings, trains of maidens and citizens, chariots and cavalry, the long procession closing with the archons as embodying the government.

We have seen that in some cases the tutelar power was evolved from the family or the family totem; in others, as in Assyria, it denoted confederacy; in Egypt the two coalescing forces were combined, the family and the state were one, and there was no fear of foreign foes. Not so the Pelasgian and other groups scattered over the Grecian islands; they were the denizens of small rocky valleys, mountain sides, or jutting promontories; and each small group had to protect itself or confederate with neighbouring tribes. Jointly they had to raise the protecting wall, and when necessary fight side by side, as they were often open to invasion on all sides. As a result, their affinities became communal; hence, while they did not forego the religious ancestral service, their higher aspirations all tended to the reverence and honour of the tutelar deity of the commune, without whose protection the humbler service of the penates was of little worth. Hence the rites of the faith were performed not at the tomb of the dead ancestors, but in the sacred house of the tutelar god, and by those members of the commune specially assigned to the office. We may trace these holy structures from the tomb-like slab temple discovered by Dr. Halbherr in Crete (*Athenæum*, July 30, 1887), and the like kind of structure on Mount Ocha, in Eubœa, to the state temples of Jupiter at Olympus, that of the Parthenon and of Diana, at Ephesus.

The tutelar gods of the small Grecian states were

like those of Assyria; and even the rude races of Polynesia associated in pairs, male and female, on the human type. Thus there were Jupiter and Dione as the tutelar supernal powers at Dodona, Jupiter and Juno at Argos, Vulcan and Minerva at Athens, Ceres and Proserpine at Eleusis, Mercury and Diana in Arcadia. Of the nature of this supernal power, Dyer, in his *Studies of the Gods of Greece*, writes: "At each centre of political life it would seem that men worshipped a god whose omnipotence was bounded by the boundaries of that particular state; the difference in relative importance noticeable between the gods connects itself with the history of the chief place of this and that god's worship" (p. 10).

The Orphic brotherhood probably originated when the totem system obtained in Greece; this gave origin to the tabu of animal food, general with the brotherhood; it implies that each member not only abstained from eating the flesh of his own totem animal, but that mutually they abstained from the flesh of the totems of the other clans.

The new religious orders or brotherhoods had their origin, as Grote affirms, at periods of distress, disease, public calamity and danger, or religious terror and despondency. Then the minds of men, suffering as they supposed from the displeasure of the gods, sought protection in new rites, austerities, and customs. More, they created new priesthoods on original sentiments, or derived from proved worth, in foreign rites. Thus special chapters or schools of priests attained power; the number of their communicants indicating the extent of their influence. Specially may be noted the rites to the Idæan Zeus in Crete, to Demeter at Eleusis, the Kabiri in Samothrace, and to Dionysius at Delphi and Ephesus. (*Grote's Greece*, I. p. 24.)

Casting aside the mystic god origins of the heroic age and the casuistic subtleties of the old priests and sophists, modified as they have been by the specious dreams of

churchmen who saw all human derivations through the glamour of their sacred prejudices, we will endeavour to take the more enlarged view that the field of modern scientific research has made possible. Discarding the poetic myths of golden, silver and brazen ages of a long anterior happy time, when the pure and simple unity of the god-head was by the interposition of the Divine essence itself present to the human senses and made the heritage of all men, we will commence by tracing from existing evidences the stages they present of human progress and social development.

Whatever forms of human wit and ingenuity we may commence with, we are carried back to a time when the inquiring savage was first essaying to break through the bonds of his primary barbarism. Thus we find the structural arts retrograde as we advance in our inquiry, the mighty walls and columns and sculptured façades melt away into rude temple forms, and these again to more and more primitive buildings, until the nude shrine, a mere tomb-like structure of rough rubble work, is presented, only of sufficient capacity to hold the sacrificing medicine-priest and his fetish god. So with language and mind-force, the outpouring of the soul's enlarged conceptions and art-productions, we follow them back to that expressive heroic stage when the vigour of the new evolved mind-force bursts, as it has done in all great peoples, into the epic of action. Preceding this we have the wild childish age of myths, of ghost and spirit-forces, of giants and monsters, the blending of all forms of being and forms of power, when the half-awakened human soul, filled with the many wonders of the natural world and ignorant alike of the laws and principles that govern their relations with man and animal, blend all in a mystic totem system. Yet this childhood of the human soul is preceded by a more incipient state when its infantine conceptions are only

influenced by the dread of ghosts and evil luck for which its interjectional language has not yet created suitable distinguishing terms. So with its god-aspirations, a Socrates, a Plato, Euripides or Aristophanes might in their several ways lead the gaping multitude to conceive of omnipotent might and eternal duration, dwell on the ever present perception that grasped the concept of all actions, or even raise the laugh at the absurdities embodied in the traditionary vulgar gods, dress them as mountebanks, and elicit the rustic grin at the expense of these semblances of now forgotten sacred power. Yet there was a time when such expositions would have induced tragic results as the doom of Laocoon, the fate of Niobe's children, the destiny of Ixion, and the untold agonies of Prometheus. We may even pass to a period when the unquestioned fetish gods, wild, erratic, mere savage monsters, were gorged with human victims and barbaric man only recognized the evil aspects of the natural world.

Such a barbarian was the primary Greek, Pelasgian or Hellene; it matters not which—the same prototype is recognized at the advent of all races—nor whether he dwelt under the cave ledges of Mount Ida or roved in the groves of Orthys, hunting the boar and the wild fowl, or preying on the small animals and roots in the marshy hollows; his best clothing, when he had any, the skins of animals, males and females herding in groups in promiscuous intercourse. How long such a state continued we know not, but when they developed their early scheme of god-natures, though the men and women were nominally married like American Indians, each sex gave loose vent to their erratic propensities without any sense of shame either at their own or each other's conduct. Even the god-chief Zeus, in Homer, amuses his Divine spouse by narrating his animal loves and the subterfuges by which his Divine nature overcame the coyness or repugnance of the daughters of men. It was

nothing better than the Red Indian waylaying the squaw as she went to the water-hole, or in the shadows of the night over-coming her as she slept alone in the wigwam, unless protected by the many encircling bands. If such were the great gods of the Iliad, what could have been the men? Only their prototypes, the models from which the gods were moulded, as Agamemnon and Achilles; merely brutally lustful, ravishing the daughters of their medicine-men and chiefs when they gained possession of them by the fortunes of war.

Of the early state of Greece we know nothing direct, all we can infer is derived from the primitive stone weapons, and stone and earth structures scattered over the hill-sides, and found on the fields of their early wars. These demonstrate a stone age, and the rudest culture; for other information, the origins of their institutions, and the evidence of prehistoric manners and customs are contained in folklore myths and religious legends.

The nature-powers depicted by Hesiod are only men-myths; they are of the same class as the sun-men, the moon-men, the star and storm-men of the Australian, the Eskimo, the Hottentot, and the Polynesian. Mother earth was but a witch medicine-woman, who made a fetish sickle with which Saturn dismembered his sire, and he himself is afterwards deluded by a fetish stone. Zeus, whom he devours, as he had his former offspring, represents a phase common with the Australian savage. By some mystic medicine the stone manifests fetish power in his stomach, and when disgorged assumes its natural state. In this early ghost-and-medicine enchanting state we can only recognize monstrous men and savage lustful women, ogres and giants with horrid propensities, as stupid as like characters in the folklore of the old Western races of Europe. Such are the Cyclops, such the Hakatouchies, Kottos, Briareus, many-armed and many-headed,

as well as the many occult fetish forces, such as the horses of Æneas, and the prophesying horse of Achilles, the Harpies, the Gorgons, the Graiæ, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, the Centaurs, and three-headed Geryons. Hesiod describes Echidna as half a nymph with eyes of jet, and beauty blooming cheeks, and half again a speckled serpent, terrible and vast gorged with blood-banquets, trailing her huge folds deep in earth's hollows, and who gave forth Orthos and fifty-headed Cerberus and dismal Hydra and Chimæra grim.

We cannot better illustrate the nature of Greek fetishism than by the following quotations, which demonstrate how the nature-forces became fetish powers. Mr. Gladstone, in his *Homeric Studies*, writes: "Among the Greeks, and even in Homer, every tree, every fountain, all things inanimate, all that either vegetated or moved, had their indwelling deity. Homer represents the infancy of that system, and though he impersonates many other local agencies, he gives to none so active a personality as to rivers" (II. p. 299). Mr. A. Lang, in his *Myths, Rituals and Religions*, enters more fully into the fetish character of the primary supernal ideas of the old Greeks and their affinities of action with the fetish manifestations of other races. "The faces of the ancient gilded Dionysi at Corinth were smudged all over with cinnabar like the fetish stones in India or Africa. Once a year was shown the very early gods, the Demeter with the horse's head, the Artemis with the fish's tail, the cuckoo Hera and Zeus with three eyes. The oldest gods of all, says Pausanias repeatedly, were rude stones, in the temples or the precincts. The superstitious man in Theophrastus's 'Characters' used to anoint the sacred stones with oil. The stone which Kronos swallowed in mistake for Zeus, was honoured at Delphi, and kept warm with wool wrappings. There was another sacred stone among the

Trœzenians; and the Megarians worshipped, as Apollo, a stone cut roughly in a pyramidal form. The Argives had a big stone called Zeus Kappotas. The Thespians worshipped a stone which they called Eros; their oldest idol is a rude stone. The original fetish stone has been found *in situ*, below the feet of the statue of Apollo in Delos." Of animal fetishes the same writer observes: "The Thessalians revered storks, the Thebans weasels, the Myrmidons claimed descent from ants. Religious respect was paid to mice in the temple of Apollo Smitheus, in the Troad, Lesbos, and Crete. The people of Delphi adored the wolf, the Samians the sheep" (I. pp. 275-277). All these supernal animal symbols would appear to be totems. In the ante-Zeus period there is no central rule, no right but force; the fates not yet evolved control no destinies, and heaven and earth are but a jumble of discordant forces; each crude barbaric will is sustained alone by self. Alone restrained by fear, evil—indiscriminate evil—produces endless antagonisms. It is a chaos of undeveloped moral powers, passion and savage lust ruling all. This is the supernal, this the human world, as exposed to our investigation, and which Hesiod endeavoured to reduce to some system by tracing their connective affinities—a blending of the natural relations of physical phenomena—with the wild legends of monstrous beings engendered by fear and the mystic medicine-man. These, though they differ in their individual natures, manifest the same rude conceptions of nature-forces, evil influences, and fetish personalities, as characterize the supernal deductions of Australian aborigines, negroes, and other barbaric races.

The supernal concepts in Greece, as presented to us in the works of Homer, are the output of a much higher social state, and though the basis of the god-system is the same, the gods present a better aspect, and society is now ruled, whether on earth or in Olympus, on a set of self-

evolved rules of conduct. It is the natural sequence of improved social conditions, and implies the oneness of human nature and the dependence of supernal attributes on human social evolution.

Man in the Homeric age had advanced from the barbaric hunter state; he not only possessed herds and flocks, and rudely cultivated the land as in the days of Hesiod, but the small chief or village headman had become a great chief and claimed kingly deference and kingly state. From living in dark caves, like burrowing ants, as Æschylus puts it, they had combined in wall-protected cities, and had built brick and timber houses. Many causes had aided in bringing about these important changes, some resulting from social evolution by the original thought-powers of great minds, others were the effect of foreign innovation, or the migrations from more advanced tribes which stimulated them to enter upon new modes of action, new fields of thought. Cecrops and Danaus, Cadmus and Pelops may be myths, but there can be no doubt that higher Aryan, Semitic, and Phrygian adventurers, through trade and settlements, created marts, introduced arts, and gave wealth and intelligence to the amalgamated people. That, in some cases, these changes should have been ascribed to god-powers, is a common theory in early times to account for new social conditions in various countries, and was by no means special to the Greek people. Naturally, by having the capacity to introduce new conditions, such men must have possessed mind-powers above the ordinary standard, and the results of their actions have a creative appearance in the minds of their descendants. Indeed, but a few generations under such conditions are required to shed a halo of glory round the actions and institutions of the founders of new communes. Thus Deucalion, the father of a powerful family, created men; his totem, probably, a stone; so men came

from stones. In like manner the Heraclidæ ascribed to their heroic ancestor the honour of all the great deeds of successive generations.

How the multiple deeds of many become ascribed to one hero we may note in the claims of Prometheus. He declares that before his time "men were but infants, he put wisdom in their minds and gave them power; who before, though seeing, saw in vain; though hearing, heard not, save as in a dream; all works unknowingly they did until he showed the rising and the setting of the stars. He taught them numbers and the signs combined of letters. He first yoked the beasts, and joined the horse to the proud carriage. He first built sea-passing ships and spread the ample sail, and with the mastery of the leech-craft's art infused their minds. So all the potency of sacred arts, and all the mysteries of the outer world; he taught them modes of prophecy, portents and omens, the courses of the birds, the signs of sacrifice; and among many arts to tear out the secret treasures buried deep in the bowels of the earth." (*Prometheus Chained.*)

Scarce of less worth Palamedes, the Argive hero. He taught his followers to build their walls, to found inventions strange, of measures, weights and numbers. He alone devised the army's beacon lights and nightly watch. He taught the heavenly signs by which men guide their ships at sea, the great bear's orbit, and the dog-star's wane. Thus men rose in wisdom, wealth, and power, order and law evolved, and sovereign states populous with noble cities filled the land.

We have said the gods were fashioned out of the strength of human thought and human deeds, hence co-ordinate changes were wrought in heaven as on earth. If we examine the gods of Homer as we considered the gods of Hesiod, we shall note that the blending and the fusion of many powers had in Olympus raised a heavenly state,

and a limited god-king sat on the throne of Ida, with a federated chieftain council to aid his sovereign rule.

There is no concept of an eternal god in Homer. As with the royal lines of Atreus, Danaus, and Tyndareus, the god-power is in one family, but not absolutely hereditary; and Zeus, when he dethrones Kronos, secures his sovereignty from the Titan rebellions by assigning supernal provinces to his brother deities. An uncertainty had prevailed concerning the god dynasty. Homer knew nothing of the god-king Uranus, and admits only one predecessor of Zeus in Olympia. Hesiod acknowledges two, but the Orphic fragments record the names of four, and even reveals the successor of Zeus; but he, improving on the policy of Kronos, does not trust the child-god Zagreus even to his own cannibal instincts, but takes care that the Titans shall not only cut up, but boil the flesh of the infant, thus for ever annihilating its power for rule and immortality. Grote considered that the Orpheus and Hesiod theogonies were more modern than that of Homer, but Plato considered the Orphic as the oldest; two or more registers of supernal evolution are noted by Hesiod, and it is probable that the Works and Days are more modern than the Theogony. By the internal ethnologic evidence, we should esteem the Orphic to be the oldest, and the Theogony of Hesiod as preceding the more advanced mythology of Homer.

In the Iliad we have presented to us a rude but settled system of government, both celestial and terrestrial and subterrestial. Zeus reigns in Olympus, and commands the aerial forces of thunder and lightning; Neptune has the sea, and Pluto Tartarus as his appanage; while all three mingle on common terms on the land a coalition analogous to that of the Greek chieftains before Troy. Like as with the counsels of Agamemnon, the commands of Zeus may be slighted, and differences may arise between Zeus and

Here as well as between Agamemnon and Clytemnestra; indeed, we may say, allowing for the differences of character in the earthly and heavenly kings, Agamemnon stands forth as the more dignified exponent of mind-force. Nothing can be more contemptible than the conduct and morals of Zeus, baser in his sexual relations than the Mycenæan king; he is immeasurably of a lower moral standard in his expositions of his love adventures to his licentious wife-goddess. Still more degrading is the scene with Here when they dispute regarding the quarrel between Achilles and Agamemnon, and the enraged god, like a modern animal brute, threatens to lay violent hands on his spouse if she torments him on the subject further; then lame Vulcan, as if the scene took place in a dram shop, excites the mirth of the onlookers, as he in a ludicrous manner performs the office of peacemaker, which is only a success as in the lowest of human quarrels, by briskly replenishing the goblet, aided by maudlin protestations of good-will.

We might quote from the Iliad many illustrations, not only of the undignified actions of the gods, but of their pusillanimity, their baseness, and moral prostitution of sentiments. Zeus nods on Mount Ida, and Here and Aphrodite who favour the opposite side in the Olympian politics, fan him to sleep, that he may not observe the tactics they display. On awaking he reproaches Here for her treachery. Nor is this the only instance in which his omniscience is thwarted by its limited powers; in the thirteenth book he is described as having gone to Ethiopia, and so being ignorant of that day's proceedings before Troy.

Among the many incidents illustrating the human passions and mental baseness of the gods of Homer, as well as their limited powers, we quote the following:—At the commencement of the Iliad the priest of Apollo with

human instinct desires to ransom his own daughter; this is refused, on which Apollo, like a red Indian, slaughters the innocent tribesmen by decimating the soldiers with a pestilence. Zeus in the fourth book sends Minerva to prevent the fulfilment of the treaty that might have ended the war, and she induces a non-combatant in the duel that was to decide the contest to treacherously wound one of the combatants. In the fifth book, the god's contest in the *mêlée* and Pallas aiding Diomed, directs his spear against Mars, and the wounded god ignominiously flies from the field. Zeus orders the deities to abstain from all part in the action, but Here presses Poseidon to succour the Greeks, who refuses; then Here and Pallas bitterly complain of Jupiter, and in spite of his interdict determine to proceed to the field, but are deterred by a threatening message from Zeus.

The gods can even descend to be tricksters; when Diomed in the chariot race is on the point of passing Eumelus, Apollo jerks the whip out of his hand, which, however, the watchful Minerva restores, and in revenge she overturns the chariot of Eumelus. In the foot race, Minerva, to favour Ulysses, causes his competitor to slip and fall among the cow-dung when on the point of success.

As in the states of Argos, Sparta, and Mycenæ, there was a criminal population, and officers of justice looking to the well-being of the community, those who superintended the Divine relations, and those whose office it was to protect the State from external and internal foes, so we find many distinct orders and classes of powers as secondary forces, both in Olympus, in the ether, in the sea, and in all stations both in the upper and the nether worlds. Some, like Iris, Hebe, and the Horæ, do special service in Olympus, others have vague and mysterious powers over both gods and men, ruling and presiding not only in life and death, but in the sombre shadows of the after-world, the ministers of justice

in the after-life, and dread janitors of the imprisoned Titans.

Many of the greater gods had their origin as tutelar deities, and by the growth of the state its prestige, or by being assimilated to other native or foreign gods, became elevated to Olympus. Zeus was originally tutelar in Crete, Here in Argos, Poseidon among the Dorians and subsequently at Athens, until supplanted by Pallas and the Eleusinian mysteries. Ares was tutelar at Sparta, Apollo at Olympia and Lycia, Aphrodite at Corinth and Sicyon, Æsculapius at Cnidos and Rhodes. Of a lower rank were the hero totem deities Hercules, Cadmus, Dædalus, Orpheus, Eumolpus, Io, even Poseidon of the Neleid family, and the progenitor gods Dorus and Hellen. Men for their worth became hero deities, as Agamemnon, Achilles, Lycurgus, Lysander and Brasidas. Occasionally we note that the local tutelar gods were changed, thus it came to pass that Athens passed from the protection of Poseidon, the maritime god of the Greeks, to that of Pallas Athene. So, before the battle of Platæa, an oracle promised victory to the Athenians if they would pay their vows to Hera of Citheron and fought in their own country. As, according to the common creed, all the gods were tutelar in districts, and one did not infringe on the territory of another, this seemed an impossible contingency, but the Platæans made it come naturally about without transgressing the tutelar code of honour, as they transferred the land on which the fight was to take place to the Athenians, and as the worth and wisdom of the tutelar deity passed with the land, not only the soil but the service of Hera was transferred to the Athenians, and thus the conditions of the oracle were fulfilled, and victory followed in due course.

Evidences of the old tutelar and ancestor worship of the Greeks remain to our days. The preamble of a Karian decree "sets forth how the tutelar deities of the city—Zeus,

Panameiros and Hekate—have in times past saved it from many perils, and how, therefore, it is the duty of the city to lose no opportunity to show its piety and devotion. The senate orders that thirty boys of good family be chosen as chorus; clad in white, crowned with wreaths and bearing in their hands branches of laurel, they are to recite hymns, accompanied with the lyre." (*Newton's Essays*, p. 176.) Old Greek stelæ—casts of which may be seen in South Kensington—ancient Spartan tomb stones, depict the departed ancestors receiving the homage of their surviving descendants. Affection once supplied an amphora of water and food for the departed, and the sculptured surface depicts the presentation of the wine cup, pomegranates and other fruit and sweet cakes. Harpies and serpents are fetish forms that supply the connecting supernal link between the living and the departed. This ancestral worship is never mentioned by Hesiod and is only to be inferred in the Iliad, must have been common in some of the Greek communities near upon that period. It is the result of a settled family life, and differs from the honours awarded to a legendary god ancestor. It is usually personal, and the general appeal is not to the predecessor of many generations but to the immediate father of the family, it is only when succour is not then awarded that the souls of the departed of previous generations are appealed to, or the tutelar powers.

The early prevalence of the great tutelar system is manifest in the very constitution of the Olympian theogony, the division of the great provinces of the Kosmos into the personal sovereignties of the three great gods. In the retention of the earth as a mixed, or rather joint tutelar domain, play is admitted for their individual peculiarities, and for the specialities of the other great gods not contained in the triple ascendency. While these gods have a common home in Olympus, each also resides, as a general rule, at

his chief tutelar domain on the earth. Mars in Thrace, Vulcan at Lemnos, Neptune at Ægæ, Venus at Paphos, Demeter in Crete, Here at Mycenæ, and Apollo at Tempe before he settled at Delphi. The exhibition of these tutelar instincts is the presiding principle of action in the Iliad; throughout that long poem the gods are true to their special compacts with mortals, and, according to their individual party tactics, are at open war one with the other, receiving checks from Zeus, as when the thunder-bolt falls at Minerva's feet and when Mars was wounded in the contest. Even Zeus besides, betimes descends to be a partisan—as when he inspires Ajax with fear, when he launches a thunderbolt in the path of Diomed, when he breaks the bowstring of Teuce, and when he advises Hector to avoid an encounter with Agamemnon. (*Gladst. Hom. Stud.* II. p. 180.)

It will thus be seen that the Zeus of Homer held the same status among the supernals as Agamemnon to men. He was the first among his peers, as is the case in any feudal confederacy. They had no concept of a supreme god, or a supreme sovereign. At the period of the Persian invasion it seemed as though an united Greece might have worshipped a Panhellenius, as the common guardian of the united states of Hellas, but for the rivalry of Athens and Sparta; even the Delphian oracle, in the interests of Lydia and afterwards of Persia, deserted in various ways the national cause. That the chieftainship of Zeus was of a no more exalted character than a human confederacy we note, as it required in a like manner to be upheld by extraneous help, as in the case of the Centimane Briareus.

Curtius, in his *History of Greece*, to explain the consolidation of Spartan and Athenian power shows how much the federation of the gods had to do in bringing this about. "Zeus, according to the conception of the Achæan tribe,

was the common guardian of the people, the most ancient federal deity of all the Hellenes, and, at the same time, the protector of the Heraclidic principalities in Peloponessus. The Pelasgian Zeus owned a primitive sanctuary in the valley of the Alpheus. The Achæans joined this worship of Zeus and combined with it the adoration as Hero of their ancestor Pelops, in whose honour they instituted festive games. By the side of Zeus Here was adored. Elis and Sparta were at one in the interests of their policy, and in order to support one another they concluded an alliance with the sanctuary of the Pisean Zeus for its centre. The basis of the federation was the common recognition of the Olympian Zeus and the common participation in his festivals." (I. p. 231.)

The important social and religious influence of Athens had a similar origin in the federation of gods; Curtius says: "Zeus, who, wherever cities are built, descends from the mountain tops to take up his abode in the midst of men, was the first and most ancient guardian of the city of Athens. By his side Poseidon establishes his dominion on the citadel. Athenæ, aided and accompanied by warlike families, plants her spear in the ground. Then a sanguinary war followed, settled by a reconciliation of the worship of either divinity. Zeus, after the fashion of earlier dynasties, retains the title of guardian of the city, while Athenæ becomes the true divinity of the citadel and land. By the marriage of Ion the adoration of Apollo was introduced. To constitute Attica as one state eleven places had to renounce their independence; against this Eleusis, the second principal plain of the land, revolted, but the Athenians overcame them; the separate governments were abolished; the eminent families, with their systems of worship were, transferred to Athens—and the whole land united in one city. This change was accomplished in the name

of the divinity who had long been acknowledged as the national goddess, and the festival of the Athenæ became the political collective festival." (*Ibid.* I. p. 301.)

Under the system that thus prevailed in Greece, the Greeks could scarcely conceive of a sin against the divine nature; the moral obligations were social rather than religious. It was a godhead who was offended, not the Godhead; and the furies were more of the nature of public executioners than the ministrants of divine displeasure. That such sentiments were at work in the Greek mind through the institution of the various mysteries with their vague concepts of an universal mana power. This phase may be recognised in like institutions affirming sin, as described among the American Indians at the present day, in Egbo mysteries in Africa, and formerly in various like mysteries among the Melanesians and Polynesians. They are all the endeavour to exemplify sin as a general falling away from the universal, not as implying the tabum of a single deity.

That there were many attempts to evolve the universal deity in Greece we have ample confirmation. Besides the Orphic brotherhood, Pausanias describes several, as that of Theos and Thea at Eleusis, of Neleus and Basile at Athens, and various others. New gods were also introduced for the same purpose, Dionysus, Apollo, Asklepios, Serapis, and the cult of Amphiaros.

That in the presence of the Persian King of Kings, in the autocratic sovereignty of the Macedonian and the Roman, the vulgar concept of a great god should have had material with which to evolve, history confirms. Not that in all times there are some men whose souls rise to the inspiration of universal truths, but ever, as a general rule, the concept of the divine status is affirmed from the stage of human evolvement. Dyer, in *Gods in Greece*, writes: "Zeus

was a king among gods who reigned but governed not, his premier was the Delphian god. A certain latter day enhancement of the supreme power of Zeus is one of the most interesting differences that distinguish Greco-Roman from early Greek religion. To Jupiter or Zeus universal prayers were made" (p. 26).

CHAPTER XI.

The Evolution of Gods in India.

That we should find among the Aryans in India the same elements of supernal belief as among the races of Western Asia and Europe, follows from the many racial affinities, lingual and otherwise, that have of late years been recognized. Sir William Jones long since traced the leading points of similarity in the characteristics of the gods of Greece and India; since then, not only has there been a searching investigation of the religious literature of the Brahmans and the Buddhists, but the various supernal survivals of the many persistent barbarous tribes have still more placed us in a position to form important deductions thereon.

India is a vast country, fairly homogenous; it possesses several mountainous regions, but is well brought under the principles of common association by means of its great watercourses. Naturally abundantly productive of both animal and vegetal life, it at an early time became the seat of a settled people, who, from the many local recourses, readily progressed from root eaters to hunters, herdsmen, and primitive agriculturists. Thus the elements of progress must have been early manifested in the more favourable positions, whilst ever, as now, wild tribes of almost unchanging habits continued to sustain almost savage propensities in the various hill fastnesses.

It is long since that on the alluvial lands, adjacent to the great rivers in India, herdsmen tribes supplanted the archaic rude hunting hordes, and by slow degrees evolved into low class agricultural communities; and many ages have since elapsed of headman rule, chieftain rule, and feudal rule, marked by various spurts of individual autocratic policy. Ever and anon the country has been located in innumerable small states, possessing from their readiness of intercommunication a oneness of character, their supernal sentiments blending and crossing and betimes antagonistic, now combining in small groups of communities to preserve their individual autonomies, now incessantly warring through the interaction of local feuds or religious frenzy, and occasionally amalgamating into small autocratic sovereignties of ever varying elements. More, the country has been overrun and more or less subdued by several of the surrounding nations, in raids or land-seizing expeditions. In the mountain valleys many tribes of unprogressive people have been nurtured, which, whether coerced or treated with indifference, have been characterized as possessing the same primitive passive stolidity and supineness. Creeds, customs, and formulæ, older than the Vedic hymns, older than nature, totem or fetish worship, still survive as in the early days of our common humanity. With some, property is common to the group, and the sexual conditions in many respects are common; in others, the matriarchal conditions are still maintained. With them man has scarcely become an individual, he is only a segment of a household.

It is among these races, rather than in the records of the more advanced Hindoo tribes, that we are to look for the foundations of Hindoo faith, and the origin and development of her many gods. Yet, not even among these rude races are we at the base of the supernal evolution in India. There must have been a time when neither ghost-god or

fetish-god was known, when charms and spells and chance luck denoted the only supernal conceptions of the undeveloped Indian mind, and this must have been followed by the evolution of the medicine-charm worker, the output of nature, totem and ghost-spirit force; that such had been the case we know for a certainty in the survival of all these stages of progress, not only among the barbarous hill tribes but in the secret practices of the lower tribes on the plains.

There are still existing in India groups of men in a very savage state. A writer in the *Calcutta Review* notes that "portions of the Kol tribes are still root-diggers, hunters, and cave dwellers, dressing in bark fibre, or wearing leaf aprons. These have isolated themselves for thousands of years in their native woods and fastnesses, preserving their rude unwritten speech and many of their primitive customs." (*Calcutta Review*, LXXXVI. p. 4.) Of a like undeveloped state we have evidence in the instance of the wood Veddahs, the Juangs on the Persian border, and other isolated hordes, probably pre-Aryan. Ages are represented by these survival races, and yet we know nothing of the beginnings of the great Hindoo Aryan, nor their primary locality. In the work we last quoted there is a statement bearing on this subject as relating to archaic India. "According to tradition, the original seat of the earliest Hindoo dynasty, which proudly traced its descent from the mythical regent of the moon, was Hastinapur, a name that still survives but attached only to a desolate group of shapeless mounds overlooking the old bed of the Ganges. Capital, State, Dynasty, River, all are gone." (*Cal. Rev.* LXXVII. p. 349.)

Scattered through various districts of India are many massive prehistoric remains. Cairns, in circular enclosures of rough stones from the river beds or the *debris* of the mountain sides; barrows, with mounds of earth and

ditches, sometimes having one or more circles, like the Druid monuments of this country and the continent. Some are Kistvaens, vaults of large stone slabs closed on every side, known as Pandavu's houses. Like rubble structures may be seen in the Orkneys; in various parts of Europe the old Greek temples, as at Mount Ocha in Eubœa, and in Crete, much of like rubble work was found by Dr. Schleimann below the buried cities. In and about these graves of buried towns and races are found evidences that carry humanity from the age of iron, gold and the infancy of the great arts to one of bronze, of copper; to the time when only stone and wood in the rudest forms aided the might of man. These vestiges of the past build over the unknown period when man was evolving in India the social and supernal compacts. It is the last we have now to consider, and its records of development in these early times are all contained in the sentiments and folklore traditions of their descendants. These refer to the period when charms and spells were the only supernal forces, when the medicine-man first essayed to work on the incipient supernalisms of the rude men of the tribe. These we shall alike glean from the semi-barbarous tribes as well as from the priestly successors of the early medicine-men. In most cases it will be seen that the spells and charms, forms of divination, oracles and ordeals, are of the same character as those found to obtain among all Aryan races; these must have been the common property before the early Aryan migrations. Some are so general among even the most outside tribes they seem to have originated in the common home of all humanity.

The Bhils have many omens denoting good and bad luck. If a snake cross the traveller's path he abandons his journey. A lizard falling on any person's body from the roof of a hut is a sure sign of misfortune. The king-

crow croaking on the right foretells calamity, on the left happiness. The wagtail, the screech owl, and the rupli bird bring good or evil fortune as seen on the right or left. To sneeze stays business for an hour or two—to sneeze twice is lucky. (*Asiatic Quarterly Rev.* VII. p. 461.) In all cases the primitive charms are modified betimes to after introduced beliefs, so the Bhil wizard ties knots or gats in string mentioning, as he fastens each, the name of some god. The Bhils wear iron and copper rings on one arm to preserve them from the perils of the road, as ghosts, demons, and lightning. Their special charms are only worn at festivals or in times of illness, if always worn the charm loses its power. (*Ibid.* VII. p. 462.)

Generally throughout India certain things, as in this country, are considered as omens of death and misfortune. Omens in many places are drawn from the movements of birds and animals, and the movements and appearances presented by the victim sacrificed. Ever the mysterious spell of the evil eye is dreaded, and the teeth of tigers and other talismans are worn for protection from wild animals, evil men, and diseases. Some charms are stones, fetish things both natural and artificial.

Spells of different objects, and specially arranged, are used for divers purposes; a few of these will illustrate their common affinity to European evil spells. When the Karens intend an assault on a village, they send out spies to inspect the land, providing them with a fetish preparation from the heart, liver, and entrails of a hog or fowl. They go up into the village and sleep with the people, then they take the leaf roll of the preparation and mix it with their food, saying it will tie their heads when they eat, and they will forget to seize their swords and spears, and we will grasp their arms and overcome them and kill them. (*Asiat. Soc. of Beng. Jour.* XXXVII. p. 156.) Each man among the Newars of Nepaul, on August 11th purchases

a small quantity of rice, carries it to his field, and then searches for frogs. To every one he can discover he gives a small portion of the boiled rice, utters a prayer, and requests the frog to watch over and protect his crop. This indicates one form in which the sentiment of totem protection may arise. (*H. Buchanan, Nepal*, p. 43.)

Among the Kookies an oath of any importance is made binding by a spell. A dhao is placed upon the ground, and on it are arranged rice, salt, earth, fire, and a tiger's tooth. The party swearing takes the dhao and puts the blade between his teeth, and biting it, says: "May I be cut with the dhao in war, and in the field may rice and salt fail me, my crops wither, and I die of hunger; may fire burn all my possessions, and the tiger devour me, if I am not faithful." (*Asiat. Soc. Beng. Jour.* XXIV. p. 641.)

Burton, in his *Sindh*, describes the spells and charms in vogue there as consisting of talismans, spells for inspiring love, causing hatred, destroying enemies, raising one's self in the world, escaping mysterious dangers, averting and curing pain, disease, barrenness, and for abortion; securing witches, and detecting thieves. The materials used in charms are cloves and salt. One is by nine threads of cotton spun by a girl not yet betrothed; these have to be knotted *seven* times, and as each knot is cut the lady Disdain has one of her trowsers strings break, and the garment is unsupported. This may be repeated until she submits. No woman will allow a lock of her hair to be taken, not even by her husband, for fear of the power it might give him over her. To destroy a foe an earthen image is dressed in saffron-coloured clothes, then an incantation is recited over a needle, with which the joints of the figure is pricked. A shroud is then put over the figure, the prayers for the dead recited, after which it is buried, and then he dies (pp. 177-180).

Jacollet describes the spells used in India as multiform.

They are composed of herbs and earths, stones and animals; there are some that require parts of sixty-four animals; others sixty-four earths, or sixty-four roots. To preserve themselves from these supernal evil influences, they wear amulets of glass beads enchanted by mantras; others are of herbs and aromatic roots, sheets of copper having cabalistic symbols. Of the higher magic powers exhibited, he says the magician in the silence of the night will enter the enemies camp and bury fetish-bones at the four points of the compass, and then retiring pronounce the mantra of defeat, on which all the troops there encamped would utterly perish.

On the mana, or supernal power, affirmed as present in the mantras in India, Monier Williams writes: "No magician, wizard, sorcerer or witch has ever pretended to be able to accomplish by incantation and enchantment half of what the Mantra Sastri claims to have power to effect by help of his mantras. He can prognosticate futurity, work the most startling progidies, infuse breath into dead bodies, kill or humilitate his enemies, afflict anyone anywhere with disease or madness, inspire anyone with love, charm weapons, give them unerring efficacy, enchant armour and make it impenetrable, and so forth. These mantras, like the incantations of the sorcerer, pass from the medicine man's occult control of natural powers to a spiritual ascendency over ghosts, bhutes, even gods. Nor are the mantras of the Buddhists less powerful, as Sir John Bowring writes in his *Siam*, they claim that they can reduce a buffalo to the size of a pea, which being swallowed by the person he is employed to bewitch, re-assumes its former shape and bursts the interior of the wretch who has swallowed it." (I. p. 140.)

In all countries in which the human ghost has been evolved, the same sentiment has been presented on the nature of the power dominating in material objects and

animated beings. Hence they recognize spirits in everything, and these in India, as in other countries, have progressed from malevolent human ghosts to evil demons, and subsequently into powers manifesting supernal goodness.

As India is a vast country, and has had many centres of supernal growth, the evil spirits recognized are many. Yakchas, rakchasas, pisatchas, gandhaebas, apsaras, assouras, nagas, sarpas, souparnas, kinnaras, besides other special demon powers, as grahas, the spirits of the planets; bontams, demons of the lower regions; and chaktys, female genii, which force men at night. Of still higher power is Kali, the goddess of blood; and Marana Devy, of death.

In India, as elsewhere, the ghost or spirit has the same general characteristics. The Saoros on the Ganjam Hills say: "Every human being possesses a kulba, or soul, which departs from the body at death, but which still retain the ordinary tastes of the living, as for tobacco and liquor, and which must be satisfied or it will haunt the living. Weapons, clothes, the reaping hook, and some money are burnt with the body. A hut is built for the kulba to dwell in, and food is placed there. Guar, or memorial stones, are erected for the kulba, which give it much satisfaction. Every house in which there has been a death is ultimately burnt, and the kulba is driven away to the jungle." (*Nature*, XXXVIII. p. 453.)

The Bhils believe that every person, man or woman, after death becomes a spirit or ghost, and that these are sometimes, though very rarely, seen in the form of whirlwinds of dust, at others as headless figures of enormous size at night. These are supposed to do evil, and are propitiated with offerings. To men who have been specially obnoxious during life, or who have been killed in fight, a stone is erected and offerings made to prevent their spirits giving trouble. (*Asiat. Quart. Rev.* VII. p. 460.)

We have the fullest account of the La's or ghosts of the Karens. With them the La's of the living go abroad as well as those of the dead. Other La's may enter the body when the true one is away. If it is a mad La the man becomes insane; if epileptic, epilepsy ensues; if a treacherous La he becomes lost to the sense of shame; if it is a wrathful La he becomes angry; if a malicious one he commits murder. Everything has its La animate and inanimate. If a man drops his axe, he calls on the La of the axe to come with it. The La's of those who have been deprived of funeral rites are supposed to wander about on the earth.

In India the totem system has prevailed. Animals have been totems, as well as sacred trees; and the sun and moon, from which hero tribes claim to be descended. The old totem system, disintegrated by the breaking up of the tribes, is more present to us in the form of castes, of which the food tabu still remains in force. In the tiger god, Bhagwat, we have a totem chief, and, as illustrating how the totems were broken up, we read that when the Mushera descended from the hills and settled on the plain where tigers were scarce, they accepted the guardianship of the cow, and Kali the Hindoo protective powers. (*Calcutta Review*, LXXXVI. p. 281.)

Among the Lumbari of Central India the sacred bull is the supernal protector. "When sickness occurs they lead the sick man to the bull Hatadia. On this animal no burthen is ever placed, but it is decorated with streamers of red-dyed silk and tinkling bells, with brass chains and rings on its neck and feet, and strings of cowry shells and silken tassels hanging in all directions. At his feet they make their vows when difficulties overtake them, and in illness of themselves or cattle they trust to his worship for a cure. The bullock is their god, their guide, their physician." (*Asiat. Soc. Beng. Jour.* XIII. / are)

There are various survivals from totems among different tribes. Thus, in the form of protectors for the soul of the departed, the Kyangs, when a corpse is laid out in the house, kill a pig. The day after, a dead fowl is tied to the big toe of the deceased, and the priest apostrophises the corpse: "Oh, Spirit! thou hast a long and wearisome journey before thee, so a hog has been killed upon whose spirit thou mayst ride, and the spirit of the dead fowl will so terrify the worm guarding the portals, that thou wilt find an easy entrance." (*Asiat. Soc. Beng. Jour.* XLIV. p. 43.) The custom of sacrificing a hog or fowl by the Karens to constitute a supernal brotherhood has a totem aspect. There are special offerings, by different tribes, of rice, vegetables, fowls, hogs, and oxen, hereditary. (*Ibid.* XXXIV. p. 205.)

Muir, in his *Sanskrit Texts*, quotes the following affirmation of the ancient ancestor worship:—"Let the lower, the upper, the middle fathers, the offerers of soma, arise. May these Fathers, who have attained the higher life, protect us in the invocations. Let this reverence be paid to-day to the Fathers who departed first, to those who departed last, who are situated in the terrestrial sphere, or who are now among the powerful races, the gods. Do us no injury, O Father, on account of any offence which we, after the manner of men, may commit against you. Fathers, bestow this wealth upon your sons, now grant them sustenance. Do thou, O resplendent God, along with the fathers who, whether they have undergone cremation or not, are gladdened by our oblation." (V. p. 297.)

Tutelar gods are still found among the hill tribes, and in Bengal, as well as elsewhere, each village has its own protecting deity. "Each Bhil village has its god, whose shrine is marked by a stone or heap of stones in a sequestered place in the village. Each has a name only known to the village, and they keep the name from the

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knowledge of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages." (*Asiat. Quar. Rev.* VII. p. 45.) In some cases the totem-god becomes the tutelar deity. Thus in *Rural Bengal* Hunter observes: "The tribe-god, Abebonga, is adored once a year with great solemnity, as the children follow the tribe of the father only male animals are sacrificed, and women are excluded. The national god of the Santals is Marang Buru, the Great Mountain, who appears in the legends as the guardian and sponsor of their race, the divinity who watched over their birth, provided for their earliest wants, and brought their first parents together in marriage. In private and in public, in time of tribulation and in time of wealth, and in health and sickness, the Great Mountain is invoked with bloody offerings. The sacrifices may be anything that grows from, or moves on, the surface of the earth." (I. p. 186.) The Great Mountain forms the most perfect type of the household god, which becomes the tutelar god. He was the object adored by the first family, then by the first community of families, the village; then by the first tribe, and so by degrees by the whole race. Dr. Shortt, writing of the tribe of Mallialies, denotes that a god or goddess presides over each village. They have a festival every other year with the view of interceding with their goddess Mariatha to avert cholera from the village.

Of the modes by which some of these various forms of spirit powers have advanced into higher-class deities in India we have given some indications. We will now describe some of the god-developments among the wild tribes, and then trace the evolution of the Vedic deities into the abstract gods of the present day. Thus among the Garoos, who have the usual evil and men-spirits of primitive times, Schuschma has become a chief, and on the high hill Chickmung, where he dwells, he makes the ghosts of the dead work for him. This man-spirit is the father of the sun and moon. These ghost-powers are almost as

crude as the men-ghosts of the Australian aborigines; the brothers fight, and the sun threw some mud in the face of the moon; this accounts for its pale light. (*Cal. Rev.* LXXX. p. 61.) This nature-god or spirit, the mere brutal persistent ghost of the savage, the first supernal spirit effort of the human intellect, is to be distinguished from the after men-gods whom the reverence, resulting from paternal rule, has raised to the status of guardian family-spirits. The men-gods of the primitive savage have no connection with the family, but are ghosts of individuals elevated to a supernal position by reason of their great physical or commanding influence while living, or the subtle necromantic powers they manifested as medicine-men. Such might have been the ruling father of a tribe, but it was not as a father, but as a leader, that he was honoured. Among the most primitive tribes, after death, these superior ghost-powers become attached to various remarkable phenomena, as the sun, the stars, mountains, rivers.

At the present day such men-ghosts or spirit-forces were Schuschma and his sons, such was Mana the man-god of the Kanjars in Upper India. "While he lived among men he was the model fighter, the great hunter, the wise artificer, the unconquered chief. He was founder and ancestor of the tribe." (*Cal. Rev.* LXXVII. p. 380.) Sir H. M. Elliott in his *Folk Lore of the North West Provinces*, describing the rural village deities, the Diwars, observes that oftentimes they are the spirits of good men, Brahmans or village heroes, who manage, when they become objects of worship, to be generally considered very malicious devils. (I. p. 243.)

Of the primitive men-gods of India, M. Williams writes: Among the host of sun worshippers one sect regarded him as a material being in the form of a man, with a golden beard and golden hair. Another of the accepted men-gods

whose singular functions have perpetuated his character is Yama, the leader of the spirits of the dead, the first of men who died, and who by thus showing them the future world became ever after their guide beyond the grave. Later on his functions were extended, and he became the god of death and the punisher of the wicked. Mitra, in one myth, as M. Williams says, of unmistakably ancient date, is born of an immature egg, which the mother of the sun-god had thrown away and sent rolling into space. Tvashtri, who fabricates the thunder bolts of Indra, is another man-god, and several of the stars are defined as the souls of dead men, the Seven Rishis (the Great Bear) and Agastya (Canopus) are honoured as the souls of dead men. (*Barth. Relig. of Ind.* p. 23.)

The crude fetish-powers, the early conception of supernal forces, may not have taken quite so gross a character in India as among the negro races, but it has always been very strongly manifested by the Hindoos. It ever pervaded all their conceptions of human relations with the supernal forces, and is prominently marked in the continuous adscription of mysterious supernal powers to stones, plants, animals, and even articles produced by human industry, sacrificial vessels, weapons, idols, and also in various chants, word formulas, and mantras.

By fetish we not only understand the presence of a foreign supernal power in a material object, but also a self-evolved supernal power beyond the ordinary manifestations. Some stone fetishes are merely rough stones or rocks supposed to have descended direct from heaven, or to have appeared miraculously on the soil. They are the most sacred of all objects, and, when discovered, temples are built over them. Not less sacred than these are certain small pebbles found in rivers; these are held to be of their own nature pervaded by the special presence of the deity. That the special after-developed godheads

should have been associated with animal and vegetal forms arises from their natural similitudes; the nature of all things run into one another, and the meanest herb or stone, and the uncreate Brahm are linked by a common affinity. The Soma plant was a god in itself; the Tulsi, or holy basil, is sacred to Vishnu; the ficus religiosa is occupied by the essence of the god Brahma. According to Hindoo theory all trees and plants are conscious beings, having as distinct personalities and souls as men, gods, demons and animals. In Birbhun the entire population does homage once a year to a cluster of trees in the jungle, which are supposed to be abodes of as many demons. In the Madura district there is a solitary mimosa tree; it is said that a traveller was found there dead, and his spirit, now a malignant demon, resides in it, and is propitiated by offerings. (*M. Williams Relig. Tho.* p. 332.)

Of the origin of this fetishism in India the same writer observes: "Because animal worship is common among numerous races in other parts of the world, it does not follow that it may not have originated independently in India. The human mind, like the body, goes through similar phases, everywhere develops similar proclivities, and is liable to the same diseases. It is certain that every form of fetishism or totemism of stone worship, tree worship, and animal worship, as well as every variety of polytheistic and pantheistic superstition, have sprung up spontaneously and flourished vigorously on Indian soil." (*Ibid.* p. 314.) A Hindoo has no difficulty in believing that a beast, bird, or reptile, may at any time develop human faculties and functions. (*Ibid.* p. 316.)

It follows that the worship of evil spirits, the dread of ghostly malignancy, still marks the status of the hill tribes in India and the low class life of the rural population. The Kanjars of Upper India are described as living in the constant dread of evil spirits: the souls of the departed

who are said to enter into the bodies of the living as a punishment for past misdeeds or the neglect of burial rites, and to produce most of the ills to which flesh is heir. From the rudest necromantic fear-creating art, the skill or pretensions of the soothsayer advanced to affecting all kinds of dangers, disasters, famines and diseases, to the power over ghosts and familiar demons, even to threaten the sovereignty of the gods themselves. It is said the demon Ravana, after undergoing severe austerities in the forest for ten thousand years, and standing in the midst of a fire, obtained from the god Brahma powers greater than those possessed by the gods. (*M. Williams Relig. Tho.* p. 231.)

The nature-worship still prevailing among the wild tribes are survivals of the once primitive nature-worship that prevailed not only on the peninsula of India, but throughout Asia from the Ural Mountains to the Yellow Sea, from the Himalayas to Ceylon. It comes down to us preserved for many ages by oral tuition in the mystic Vedic hymns. These should not be considered homogenous and representing a homogenous state. India is a specially-formed country, and its inhabitants have ever evolved in groups, the caste system is but the natural growth of local *totem* conditions, and shows the permanence of the clan and tabu customs on the Hindoo tribes. There always have been many communes capable of being temporarily combined, and which are as easily dissevered. Hence local tutelar deities and the deities of various combined groups, ever varying in their aggregate elements, have multiplied the powers and varied the names of the gods. It was so in the days of the Vedas, as the hymns proclaim, and like aggregate and local gods still abound everywhere throughout the land. Nor are these absolutely permanent institutions, but any village or tribe may withdraw its allegiance from an unreliable deity and award it to one in whose vigorous defence it may have more confidence.

Of the primary ideas presented in the earliest hymns, M. Barth observes: "The religion in these hymns is this. Nature throughout is divine; everything which impresses by its sublimity, or is supposed capable of affecting us for good or evil, may become a direct object of adoration. Mountains, rivers, trees, springs and plants are invoked as so many high powers. The animals which surround man, the horse by which he is borne to battle, the cow which supplies him with nourishment, the dog which keeps watch over his dwelling, the bird which by its cry reveals to him his future, together with that more numerous class of creatures which threaten his existence, receive from him either the worship of homage or deprecation. There are parts even of the apparatus used in connection with sacrifice which are more than sacred to the purposes of religion, they are regarded as themselves deities. The very war chariot, offensive and defensive weapons, the plough, the furrow just made in the soil, are the subjects not of blessing only but of prayer." (*Relig. Ind.* p. 7.) Of the stars there is hardly any mention, the moon has only a subordinate part, but the sun is worshipped in its two duplicate forms.

On the religion of the Vedas Monier Williams writes: "The material welfare of the Hindoos depends on the influences of sky, air, light, and sun, and to them they naturally turned with awe and veneration. Soon all such phenomena were believed to be animated by intelligent wills. At first the relationship between spirit, mind, and matter, was imperfectly apprehended. Whatever moved was believed to possess mind, and with life was associated power. Hence the phenomena of nature were thought of as mysterious forces whose favour required propitiation. Next they received homage under the general name of Devas, luminous ones." (*Relig. Tho.* p. 4.) M. Williams also shows how sun-worship, moon-worship, and planet-worship prevailed, how the Nukshatras, or twenty-seven

constellations through which the moon passed, came to have supernal attributes, and were consulted at births, marriages, and rejoicings. How fire and the waters, the mothers of the earth, came to be personified and deified for their purifying and healing powers. So in like manner particular rocks, mountains, and rivers, were considered to have divine attributes.

Of these primary divinities, M. Barth observes, two have retained their physical characters pure and simple, Agni and Soma. Agni is not only terrestrial fire, the fire of the lightning and the sun, his proper native home is the mystical invisible heaven, the abode of the eternal light. He is, moreover, described as the eldest of the gods, the begetter of gods, of being born on the altar, and that "it is probable from the very form of the name, that in so far as it is a distinct person, that the type is comparatively modern, and that it is a late product of abstract reflection." (*Barth Ind.* p. 15.)

In perusing the poetical amplifications in the Vedic hymns, the enthusiast is too apt to feel the greatest interest in the after tonings down of Rishis and devout Brahmans, whose love of the work led them to sublimate its stanza's to the high standard in which they have come down to us. It is only in certain lines and phrases that we feel assured we meet the primary exposition of spirit power. We may glean from the hymns not only the evidence of one faith, but of a succession of faiths. First, we have the brute man-god, the giant ogre Indra in his lowest manifestation, whose might is expressed by size and low animal ferocity, such as Tangaloa of the Polynesians, and Tsui Goab of the Hottentots. "Come, Indra, and be regaled with all viands and libations, and thence mighty in strength and victorious over thy foes, Indra with the handsome chin, be pleased with these animating praises." "The belly of Indra, which quaffs the soma juice abundantly, swells like the ocean, and

is ever moist like the ample fluids of the palate." "Thou wielder of the thunderbolt didst open the cave of Vela, who had there concealed the cattle of the gods; and the gods whom he had long oppressed, no longer feared when they had obtained thee for their ally." "Bring hither from the shining of the sun all the divinities awaking with the dawn." "The amplitude of Indra was vaster than the space of heaven, earth was not comparable to him in bulk; he whets his thunderbolt for sharpness as a bull its horns. He rushes impetuous as a bull to drink of the soma juice." "Voracious Indra has risen up as ardently as a horse approaches a mare, to partake of the copious libations." "Agni bring hither the loving wives of the gods and Twashtri, to drink of the soma juice." In these quotations it will be seen the gods are but herdsmen and, like human herdsmen, are exposed to have their cattle carried off in raids; like human beings they sleep through the night, and having human propensities with their wives, attending various drinking bouts; they fight like men, and are as fond of praise as some men. The oft reiterated pleasure of drinking soma reminds us of the drunken-like feasts in the northern Valhalla, and carry us back to that phase of supernal evolution when giant men-gods, with corresponding eating and drinking tastes, were the leading characteristics of the supernal powers. We even have Indra seized with terror after having slain Vitra; he flies like a scared falcon into the depths of space. (Chiefly from *Wilson's Rig Veda.*)

The second stage of god evolution marked in the Rig Veda, is that of many gods and certain hero gods; an unorganized heaven in which each deity, according to his special manifestations, acts independently of the other god powers. Such a state is to be recognized in many hymns, as, "I claim veneration to the mighty Sun to Heaven and Earth, to Mitra, to the benevolent Varuna. Praise Indra,

Agni, the brilliant Aryaman, and Bhaga." All these are individual self-sustaining deities, so are the following: "I invoke the lovely Night and Dawn to sit upon the sacred grass at this our sacrifice." "May the three undecaying goddesses, Ita, Saraswati, and Mahi, sit down upon the sacred grass." "Sacrifice to Agni, to Indra, Vayu, Vrihaspati, Mitra, Pushan and Bhaga, the Adityas, and the troop of Maruts." One of the first indications of aggregation is seen in the following: "The circumstationed inhabitants of the three worlds associate with Indra, the mighty Sun, the indestructive Fire, the moving Wind, and the Light that shines in the sky."

In these and various other hymns, the individuality of each god power is apparent, they are a mere mob of gods without order or any assumed supremacy; their only assemblies depicted in the hymns are convivial bouts of soma. These assemblies of the Hindoo gods are not of the ordinary warlike character that so commonly prevails in the northern skalds, in the wrangling of the gods in the Iliad, or in the feudal contests so prevalent among the gods in most barbarous mythologies. In the early hymns there is no conception of the moral attributes, no idea of sin. On this subject H. H. Wilson writes: "Protection from evil spirits is requested. Little demand for moral benefactions, in one instance only the gods are solicited to extricate the worshipper from sin of every kind. The main objects of the prayers are benefits of a worldly and physical character, and the tone in which they are requested indicates a quiet consciousness of their being granted, as a return for the benefits which the gods are supposed to derive from the offerings made to them in gratifying their bodily wants, and from the praises which impart to them enhanced energy and augmented power." (*Rig Veda*, I. p. xxvi.)

The arrangements of the various god-natures in India followed the same system, or rather want of system, so

marked in all the relations of men. So long as each horde or clan formed only petty communities in the country, so long were the gods isolated, or acting, if in concert, under their individual impulses; but when by conquest, or the usual advanced tendency to aggregate chieftain power became the custom of the earth, a like chieftain confederation was presented in the heavens. One hymn illustrates the nature of the rough classification of the gods introduced, and the moral victory of the higher powers is manifest in another, which exhibits the voluntary submission of the other deities to the pretentions of Indra. The classification of the gods is affirmed in "Veneration to the great gods, veneration to the lesser, veneration to the young, veneration to the old. We worship all the gods as well as we are able: may I not omit the praises of the elder division." (*Rig Veda*, I. p. 71.) The supremacy of Indra is accorded in the following: "To Indra, Heaven that excludes the wicked verily has bowed; to Indra the wide-spread Earth offers homage. All the gods, well pleased, have given precedence to Indra." (*Rig Veda*, II. p. 37.) Again: "All the gods placed thee, Indra, as their mighty chief, in front for battle when the impious Asuras assailed the deities. Fierce Indra, Twashtri constructed for thee the thousand-edged the hundred-angled thunderbolt."

But was Indra the chief of the gods? and, if so, was he always the same? When we read the hymns of the Rig Veda, we find one rhapsodist treating of Indra as the great god in heaven; but in another we observe the same epithets applied to Varuna or to Agni, and occasionally to other gods, and these various seeming discrepancies have been often remarked. Fairbairn, in the *History of Religion*, writes: "Behind the Vedas lies a still earlier faith, or rather a series of earlier faiths, which can be determined partly by the hymns themselves, partly from a comparison of the Vedic deities with those of the Indo-European peoples.

Indra, the supreme Vedic god, thrust the old and morally higher Varuna into the background, as Varuna seems at a still earlier period to have superseded Dyaus" (p. 21). Monier Williams writes: "The early religion of the Indo-Aryans was a development of a still earlier belief in man's subjection to the powers of nature and his need of conciliating them. It was an unsettled system that one time assigned all the phenomena of the universe to one first cause, at another attributed them to several causes acting independently, at another supposed the whole visible creation to be animated by one universal all-pervading spirit. It was a belief which to the worshipper was now polytheism, now monotheism, now tritheism, now pantheism." (*Relig. Thought in India*, p. 11.)

M. Barth observes of the Vedic gods that "not only are there among these gods who rule one another and are begotten from one another, neither great nor small, neither old nor young, all being equally great, but the supreme sovereignty belongs to several, and we find at one time absolute supremacy, at another the most express subordination assigned to the same god. Indra and all the gods are subject to Varuna, and Varuna and all the gods are subject to Indra. There are kindred assertions made of Agni, Soma, Vishnu, Surya, Savitri, &c. It is somewhat difficult to arrive at an accurate conception of the mode of thought and feeling which these contradictions imply. They are not mere exaggerated expressions uttered in the fervour of prayer, neither does it seem possible to refer them to different epochs or diversities of worship. As soon as a new god is evoked all the rest suffer eclipse before him, he attracts every attribute to himself, he is the god, and the notion at one time monotheistic, at another pantheistic, comes like a movable quantity to be ascribed indiscriminately to the different personalities." (*Relig. of India*, p. 34.)

Writing of the Vedic gods, Max Muller observes: "In one of the hymns Agni is called the ruler of the universe, the lord of men, the wise king, but though Agni is thus exalted nothing is said to disparage the other gods. In another, Indra is said to be greater than all. In another, the god Soma is called the king of the world, the king of heaven and earth; in another, Varuna is called the lord of heaven and earth, the king of all those who are gods, and those who are men." (*Chips*, I. p. 28.) This is the natural exposition of the tutelar soul which sees in its own supernal preserver the lord highest of all. It was the same in Greece and in the God of Abraham.

We have in the Rig Veda reference to the following as supreme or chieftain gods:—Indra, Agni, Varuna, Soma, Vishnu, Surya, Savitri, and even Brahmanaspati is called the chief leader of the heavenly bands, the best lord of prayer, the destroyer of the Asuras." (*Rig Veda*, II. p. 262.) The question is, how these discordant or opposing authorities came to be evolved? Two modes by which these various systems of god-powers might have been evolved are present to us; in one, they might have been the result of successive conflicts for supremacy, as when Uranus gave place to Saturn, and Saturn to Jupiter; or the various systems may have all existed at the same, or differing times, and have represented the different presiding ruling god in the local petty conclaves of the deities.

We know that in India not only have various regal states risen and fallen several times, but that betimes other states have arisen partly on their ruins, partly formed of neighbouring communes, such as took place in the nomes of Egypt and in Chaldea. In this communal state, the god who was sovereign in one state might be only a subordinate deity in another. Under such varying conditions the sacred obligations would in each commune or state be attached to the then tutelar supernal deity.

In considering the god-systems as recorded in the Vedas we note that they not only represent many different central state governments and local tutelar religious systems, but that they record the many necessary changes that ensued through the long series of years when there were many Mycaenas and Troys disruptured in India, and supplanted by new powers, as that of Macedon in Greece. During these changes we can readily accept that Agni was made subordinate to Indra, and heretofore unknown god-powers as Sarasvati and Brahmanaspati were evolved. It is in this double series of facts, local centres of faith, and the successive changes thereof, that we account for the seeming discrepancies in the Rig Veda. It is not the work of one but many, and that of different times and various religious cults. These individual and local hymns were at one time collected and roughly classified, and, while certain common principles pervade the various hymns, their many god-centres aided to produce the pantheism of the later Hindoos.

We should also note that under this succession of diverse god-powers and the existence at the same time of several distinct local centres, there would naturally arise times in which the worship of the old and repudiated presiding deities would have been renewed and have superseded the usurping dynasty, as the Bourbons superseded the Napoleonic rule. So Varuna, who is one of the earliest presiding deities in the old hymns, is described in the sixteenth hymn, fourth book of the Atharva Veda, and at a much later period, as the Great One who rules over the world. So also Vishnu is spoken of not only as the later sovereign ruler, but as the ancient one, the creator, the recent, the self-born. We may here observe that the evolution of supreme and mighty gods, tutelar and general, never ceased in India. So little are the great body of the people changed during the last three thousand years, that

the same supernal feelings and sentiments arise now as they did in those ancient days. Lyall has shown us how at this very time a Rishi may become an incarnation of Vishnu or any other god. Of these new presiding god-powers we may instance the mighty Siva, the almighty Mahadeva, Durga, Kali, Rama, and Krishna. Nor was the great central god-power, the mysterious omniscient Brahm, the distant abstract god, like the king of kings, ever enclosed invisibly in his palace domains, a vague shadowy power, like the destinies of the Greeks or the shrouded gods of the Etruscans, as yet not fully conceivable. Sanscrit scholars have defined the term as signifying hymns, force, will, but nowhere a personal being.

Of the growth of new forms of faith in the Vedas, H. H. Wilson writes: "There are a few hymns which evidently imply a recent grafting of the worship of the Maruts upon that of Indra, an innovation which the Rishi Agastiya appears to have been the author, and which was not effected without opposition on the part of the worshippers of Indra alone." (*Rig Ved.* II. p. vii.)

There are evidences of early fetishism in the Rig Veda. Barth observes: "The physical description given in the Veda of the gods, both great and small, has many traits in it bordering on fetishism, and a very decided tendency to represent the deity by symbols. We have no doubt that the systems of worship belonging to certain local and national divinities were at their origin thoroughly impregnated with idolatry and fetishism." (*Rel. of India,* p. 60.) Of fetish references in the Rig Veda, we may instance the hymn to Ghee (butter), the "arrow whetted by charms flying when desired," the Hymns to the Waters all "pure and purifying, the divine waters that protect me here on earth." Even the frogs have fetish spirit-powers. "May the cow-toad, the goat-toad, the speckled, the green frogs, in the fertilizing season of the rain, bestowing upon

us hundreds of cows, prolong our lives," and "destroy the evil spirit, whether in the form of an owl or owllet, of a dog or of a duck, of a hawk or of a vulture, slay the Rakshakas Indra with thy thunderbolt as with a stone."

Ancestral household penates are also referred to in the Rig Veda, but as the purport of the hymns is more for communal than household worship, the references are naturally but few. The two last hymns in the third chapter of the seventh book of the Rig Veda are addressed to the guardian spirit of a dwelling-house, and were used as prayers to be recited with oblations on building a house. "Guardian of this abode, be acquainted with us, be to us a wholesome dwelling, afford us what we ask of thee, and grant happiness to our bipeds and quadrupeds. Guardian of this house, increase both us and our wealth. Moon, while thou art friendly may we with our kine and horses be exempt from decrepitude, guard us as a father protects his offspring." (*Asiat. Resear.* VIII. p. 390.) Again: "I invoke the man Indra, who visits many worshippers from his ancient dwelling-place; thee, Indra, whom my father formerly invoked." Our poet prays again that "he may see his father and his mother after death." The fathers (Pitris) are invoked almost like gods, oblations are offered to them, and they are believed to enjoy a life of never-ending felicity." (*Muller, Chips,* I. p. 46.)

Before passing from the consideration of the origin of the Hindoo chieftain-gods, and though the reference to the nature of the Supreme Godhead becomes a phase in that higher development of a deity which we shall have to consider, we cannot but pause to note that the principle of creating new forms of ruling godheads in India, which we have seen prevailed during the whole of the Vedic period, never ceased, either during the era marked by the production of the later Vedas, the Brahmanas and Epic poems, or even in more modern times. The creation of

gods has never ceased in India, not merely new tutelar gods for every new village, but special presiding forces for every new difficulty, danger, evolution, or disease. Saints are ever becoming gods, and the same right to god-powers awarded by Mahadeva to Upamanyu, is demanded by every ascetic who dares endure austerities and tortures of a special marked and continuous character, and no one can tell when one of these new gods may pass from being a mere supernal cadet, like the "little corporal," to the position of first consul or supreme emperor in heaven.

On this question of the origin of the higher Hindoo god-powers, Sir A. C. Lyall in his *Asiatic Studies* has some judicious observations: "Several of the most eminent gods, Siva and Krishna for instance, are still vulgarly reported to have been men. A great number of veritable men are now worshipped as gods in India and the number is constantly added to. The nature-god sometimes condenses into a man and is precipitated upon earth, the hero and saint often evaporates into a deity up in the skies. The vast majority of gods really invoked are magnified non-natural men, who subsist and flourish by absorbing and taking credit for, not the powers of nature, but the devout or heroic exploits of men. The extravagant use by the Brahmans of the doctrine of divine embodiment is quite enough to account for the creation of the greater number of personal gods actually worshipped. Nor are they always content with posthumous identification of a man as a god, they employ the device of a perpetual succession of incarnations. At least two persons in Western and Central India are asserted to be the tenements which the deity, originally manifested in some wonderful personage, has now chosen as his abode upon earth. One Chambra Basapa, a great man in his day, is now commonly recognized as an incarnation of Siva. The founder of a sect in Berar, one Krishna, is declared by the orthodox

to be a Brahman who disgraced himself by a terrible *mésalliance*. It would seem as if the old order had been continually though slowly changing, giving place to new, as if the manifold deities from below had always been pressing on the earlier deities until, like Saturn and Hyperion, they were more or less superseded. The classic personifications are not much in vogue with the people. Even the Supreme Triad which represents the Almighty power have long ceased to preside actively. The direct worship of them is comparatively rare."

We have seen that Siva and Krishna were unknown to the authors of the Rig Veda. More, though Vishnu is occasionally introduced he holds a very subordinate place. Not so in the Aitareya Brahmana; there we have Agni as the lowest and Vishnu as the highest among the gods, and between them are placed all the other deities. The fact is, the exposition of Vishnu commences as a third-rate deity. In the Brahmanas he is only considered as one of the gods; in the Ramayana, he is associated with Rama, in the Mahabharat with Krishna. (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 151.) Vishnu in various passages is identified with the Supreme Spirit (*Ibid.* IV. p. 122); he is known by a thousand names the same as to Mahadeva.

In the later Hindoo works we have Mahadeva as the great one, then Vishnu, but in the Anusasana parva we have "superior to Pitimaha (Brahm) is Hari the eternal Purusha (Krishna), brilliant as gold; Brahm is sprung from his belly, Mahadeva from his head, the gods and Asuras from his hairs, and the Rishis as well as the everlasting worlds have been produced from his body. He is the Creator of the entire earth, the lord of the three worlds. He is omniscient, intimately united to all things, omnipresent, facing in every direction—the Supreme Spirit Krishna, all-pervading, the Mighty Lord. There is no being superior to him in the three worlds." (*Muir,*

Sanskrit Texts, IV. p. 231.) In another place we have "Krishna created the earth, the air, the sky. He is the ancient boar of fearful strength. Beneath him are the atmosphere and the heavens, the four regions, and the four intermediate regions, and from him this creation sprang forth. Becoming Vayu he dissipates the universe, becoming fire he burns, becoming water he drowns all things, becoming Brahma he creates all the hosts of beings. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 232.) In many texts the supremacy of Mahadeva and his identity with the Soul of the Universe is asserted; in others the same rank is ascribed to Vishnu. (*Ibid.* IV. p. 235.)

Rudra in the Rig Veda is described simply as the father of the winds. In the Puranas he is identified with Siva. The Rudra of the Mahabharat is not very different from the same god pourtrayed in the Satarudriya, but in the later literature his importance is immensely increased, his attributes are more clearly defined and the conceptions entertained of his person are rendered distinct by various additional features. Instead of remaining a subordinate deity as he was in the Vedic period, Rudra has thrown Agni, Vayu, Surya, Mitra, and Varuna completely in the shade, and although Indra still occupies a prominent place in the Epic legends he has sunk into a subordinate position, and is quite unable to compete in power and dignity with Rudra, who together with Vishnu now engrosses the almost exclusive worship of the Brahmanical world. (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts,* IV. p. 343.)

It may be said that all these personalities are but names, and that they all signify the same Divine essence as when the Rishi says, "I perceive no difference in Siva who exists in the form of Vishnu, and Vishnu who exists in

the form of Siva. I shall declare to thee that form composed of Hari and Hara (Vishnu and Mahadeva) combined which is without beginning, middle, or end. He who is Vishnu is Rudra. He who is Rudra is Pitamaha. Just as water thrown into water can be nothing else than water, so Vishnu entering into Rudra must possess the nature of Rudra; and just as fire entering fire can be nothing else than fire, so Rudra entering into Vishnu must possess the nature of Vishnu." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 237.)

Nay, may we not read the whole scheme of the succession of gods in the many regal states and the succession of dynasties India has ever presented? From the time when the rural communes were first established in that great country it has never been one in faith, in law, in government. Even now the state and the multiple faith of the domains of the Queen Empress are studded around with diverse, self-evolved, self-ruled principalities, and there is more oneness of unity of faith in the greater India now than ever. The philosophic Hindoo not only recognizes the never-ceasing god-changes of the human epoch, but, as Muir informs us, Sankyakarika has a verse which says "that many thousands of Indras and of other gods have through time passed away in every mundane age." (*Sansk. Texts*, V. p. 16.)

We should not forget to mention that as early as the days of the Veda the Spirit of Mercy, Charity, and Benevolence were displayed, and that side by side with the slaughter of the Asuras by the gods, and of the Dasyus by the warriors and rajahs, we have the Pre-Buddhist and Pre-Christian Aswins as gods of grace and kindliness, assuaging the calamities of individuals, healing the sick, blessing the poor, giving sight to the blind, and the strength of manly limbs to the helpless crawling cripples. Among the many blessed and blessing acts recorded of

the Aswins, they are described as restoring Vishnapu like a lost animal to his father, of having rescued Bhujyu from a water cloud, conveying him for three days in flying cars to a place of safety. They restored Paravrij, an outcast blind and lame, to sight and the power of walking. The Rishi Rebba, bound by a malignant demon and hidden in a well, was released by the Asvins; they bestowed wisdom on Kakshivat and caused a hundred jars of wine and honeyed liquors to flow from the hoof of their horse. The sage Atri, plunged by the malice and arts of evil spirits in a gloomy and burning abyss, had the heat mitigated and was supplied with food by the Aswins. They gave a husband to Ghosha when she was growing old in her father's house; they caused the cow of Sayu, that had left off bearing, to yield milk. They rescued from the jaws of a wolf a quail which had invoked them. Some of these incidents have been explained away by Professor Muller and Dr. Kuhn as referring to physical phenomena, but Dr. Muir repudiates the allegorical interpretation which might equally be affirmed of similar incidents in other than Vedic scriptures, and he considers them as veritable legends of persons. (*Sansk. Texts*, V. p. 248.)

No less significant of a higher form of life and higher mental conceptions is the nature of the last of the god-powers evolved in the Rig Veda, if that is not a later addition to the sacred texts. Brahmanaspati forms a transition to the moral life of the later human spirits. He is the Lord or protector of prayer. He breaks open the hiding-place of the enemy with prayer. Prayer pierces through the object of its desires and attains it. But with the birth of these spiritual manifestations we note the output of that not now forgotten art, that, as with the sale of indulgences, bought this world's wealth with the power of awarding the prize of a high place in heaven. Some Ribhus, through their skill, became gods and are

like falcons seated in the sky, but the Raja who gives khin and wealth to the Rishi, who bestows upon him wives, chariots, and steeds, gives to the gods for which the flowing waters shall bear him their essence, and "he shall sit at ease upon the summit of heaven." (*Rig Veda*, II. p. 15.)

CHAPTER XII.

The Evolution of an Autocratic Deity in China.

Nothing is more surprising in the history of the relations of human institutions, than the long persistence of two social conditions, side by side, and in some instances intermingled with much higher forms, to observe rude hunters or tribes of root-grubbers dwelling in close proximity to races of men who have not only learnt to cultivate the soil, but have differentiated moral and mental powers of a superior standard, to see men dwelling in the primitive wigwam, inapt and almost toolless, while in their immediate vicinity they are conscious that other races have not only erected comfortable dwellings, but have founded cities, have evolved tools and implements suitable for their every-day requirements, and have thus been enabled to apply all the local natural resources to bless their lives and improve their social condition.

We have seen that such undeveloped tribes of men are still common in India, and we know there are few high-class races of men, but have dwelling in their midst, or half concealed in out-of-the-way districts or hill-side valleys, groups of these social wasters, who seem never to advance, never to improve, who know not how to save, never accumulate, but waste when plentiful the abundant stores of nature, and after feed on any refuse, and apathetically struggle on until, without any self-help, the succession of the seasons brings them another unearned increment of

plenty. These undeveloped groups are present to us as types of the past. Amid the blessings of the social home, the amenities of advanced communal relations, the high moral status of an intelligent society, they remain as fossil mementoes of their own primary state. So it has been in India, so it is in China and Japan at the present day; on the old continental lands, away in the hill fastnesses, and throughout the sparse forest districts, wild tribes of men exist now, as ever, at war with the advancing civilization of the plains which hedges them in, and thus closes them from all the possibilities of social blending. From the days when the mythical Tohi and Yung settled the pastoral clans of Shensi in Yunnan, and wherever the land was favourable for the rude tribes to find temporary concealment, wild and semi-barbarous hordes have abounded; so it also was on the rocky islands; ever the feeble unprogressive races were pressed upon by the more energetic, driven from island to island, from the best lands to the least productive, where they still linger, and generation after generation passes away, yet, socially, they are still the same as they were three thousand years ago.

It is among these primitive tribes that we have to search for the same social conditions, and the same simple elementary supernal sentiments, out of which were evolved the crude animistic ideas which gave origin to the god and other supernal institutions of the great Chinese and Japanese races. We know that the presence of these rude tribes in the land has always been held up by the thoughtful Chinese and Japanese philosophers as the types of their own primitive humanity, and from which, by the intelligence of their social leaders, they have been developed. Consequently, when we would investigate the primary mental status of these eastern Asiatics, we should first specify the supernal ideas now entertained by the wild tribes still remaining in the country, and then supplement

them by such facts as we may be enabled to glean from the poetical and historic records, and the survival of old forms of thought in present social institutions.

Scattered in more or less extensive groups throughout Indo-Chinese, Chinese and Japanese territories are now to be found various communities of men who, not appreciating or ignoring the greater civilizations about them, continue to follow their ancient social habits, and manifest the earlier instincts, customs, and supernal conceptions, some of these being little better than hunters and fishers, a few living an almost nomadic life, but the greater part rude agriculturists, and blending the habits of the other races with the pursuits of field labour. The isolation and antagonism of tribes necessarily arising from their opposing interests and social proclivities tend to perpetuate the customary mode of life and mental aptitudes long familiar to them. The Miaotzse and Lolos of to-day are the stereotyped successors of like men when the emperors of the Han dynasty endeavoured to reduce them to feudal subjection.

At the present time the wild tribes are known as Shans, Kakhyens, Lolos, Hoklos, Punti, Pai, Miaotzse, nor should we omit to classify with them the Ainos of Japan, a race that probably, at one time, extended along the maritime regions of China and the Corea, the same as, at a like period, an analogous people, the Eskimo of the past, held a similar position along the shores of Western Europe. In each instance periodic waves of more developed races, pushed onwards by their own advancing numbers, drove the more primitive tribes farther and farther northwards, until a cheerless clime and bleak and frozen shores withheld further extension.

It is among these various tribes that we now may observe not only the social habits that distinguished the ancient Shensi, but identical or analogous forms of faith, and like primary supernal conceptions. In this respect we cannot

but remark on the long prevalence of the same forms of thought, and the survival for many thousands of years of customs, habits, and institutions; but may we not rather say that as long as like conditions prevail, so long the same sentiments, modes of expression, and habits are as it were renewed, a perpetual re-creation of the same forms of thought and like supernal deductions. Hence we become cognizant that now the same old-fashioned notions of ghosts, the same primary spirits of evil, the same early fetish conceptions denote the general relations of men with their ideal supernal world. Every one of these personalities acts under its own individual impulses; rule and order are unknown, the blind antagonism of the forces ever resulting from the want of a powerful will in the desultory balance of chance contingencies. Even peculiarities that are essentially of tribal origin demonstrate not only that the old ideas assimilated with the new, but that they have been continuously persistent from the ancient of days.

Though, for so many centuries, the Ainos of Japan have been isolated and had no direct communication with the continent, yet we can in their sentiments and habits recognize their affinity not only with the present people of China, but their natural descent from the same races of men who composed the old odes, and founded the primary communes on the alluvial Shensi lands. One striking distinction might be supposed to militate against this deduction, the now common prevalence of ancestor worship throughout the country; but the non-existence of this social institution among the Ainos only confirms their primary affinity. Ancestor worship, as now practised in China, is comparatively a modern institution, and could not be developed in any country, or among any people, until the family system was established. So long as the tribes were communal in social habits, in personal relations, in supernal conceptions, so long no family ties existed, and there

could be no ideas of ancestral duties and obligations. Even the early ancestral deities are not of family origin; they are always hero-spirits common to the whole group, honoured, may-be deified, not as fathers, but as warriors, communal founders, and mighty medicine-men; they are tribal, not family, representatives.

We cannot more readily exhibit the nature of the relationship of the Ainos with the people of the old odes than in bringing into juxtaposition those points in habits and beliefs that are in affinity. Powers beyond human are conceived to exist in trees, in mountains, in rivers, of fire, thunder, and the wind, as well as the more important animal forms that abound in their countries. Cunning and craft, darkness and subtlety, are mysterious forces pervading all nature, but specially acting through living forms. In India and through the old eastern world this was most prominently presented in the serpent form, but that is unknown, or at least unfeared in the Chinese animistic system; it is not the convolutions of the slimy monster twining, as in the Laocoon group, about its wretched victims who vainly essay to free themselves from the deadly folds, and shrink aghast from the venom fangs, but the huge-mouthed dragon monster, whose enormous jaws and rows of claw-like teeth can tear, rend, and devour. Like as among the old Egyptians the alligator, the crocodile, serve as the horrific types of dominant evil, may be allied with other semblances drawn from the hyena and lion. But in the far north, where serpents and alligators are unknown, whether among the Samoyeds, Ainos, or Arctic Indians the spirit of evil was always recognized in the most powerful native savage animal—the fierce bear. The motive is the same with all, but the special emblem is derived from the local animal life.

This dreaded power may represent human or nature spirit force, mountains, trees, the sun, fire, any heavenly

body, any earthly attribute; it may kill in the open, or secretly suck the life-blood of its victims. To appease this unknown, may-be unseen spirit of evil, endowed with the same savage propensities as primitive man—an entity without moral sentiment, to whom hatred is natural, and blood the prevailing appetite—food and libations are offered, and submission tendered; while, from the more inferior forms of evil, security is sought in the mystic influence of like antagonistic forces through the medium of the medicine-men. Such is the primary working faith of all early races; such was the supernal system among the archaic Chinese; and such is the persistent form of evil among the Ainos at present.

In the animistic sentiments of the Ainos of to-day, as described in Miss Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, we are in the presence of the early Chinese race before the social sympathies evolved ancestral and tutelar gods; when the forces of nature were as isolated and individual as were the rude men, and moral consciousness and social amenity were alike undeveloped. "Apparently through all traditional time their cultus has been the rudest and most primitive form of nature worship; the attaching of a vague sacredness to trees, rivers, rocks, and mountains; and of vague notions of power of good or evil to the sea, the forest, the fire, and the sun and moon. I cannot make out that they possess a trace of the deification of ancestors. The solitary exception to their adoration of animal and inanimate nature appears to be the reverence paid to Yoshitsune, a hero-god." (II. p. 94.) This appears to have been a modern innovation, and is the first manifestation by them of a man or hero-god.

Save the worship of evil, all their supernal affinities are expressed in various fetish forms. They have no communal temples, but each household has its own whittled wands, through which they hold a fetish relationship with

their supernal world. These special wands and posts with their pendant shaving curls are not only set up in houses, but on precipices, banks of rivers, and mountain passes, and are thrown into rivers as the boatmen descend the rapids. "They have a suspicion that there are things outside themselves more powerful than themselves, whose good influence may be obtained, or whose evil influence averted, by libations of *saki*. They wave bowls and wave hands on these occasions without any spiritual act of deprecation or supplication. In such a sense and such only they worship the sun and moon, the forest, and the sea; the wolf, the black snake, the owl, and several other birds and beasts have the word *Kamoi*—god—attached to them, as the wolf is the howling god, the owl the bird of the gods, a black snake the raven-god; but now none of these things are worshipped, wolf worship having quite lately died out." (II. p. 96.) Thus we have among the Ainos the natural process of the evolution of supernal ideas now proceeding. It would appear that totemism, the direct worship of animals, is passing away, and at the same time the new doctrine of man or hero worship, in the person of Yoshitsune, is introducing a new system of gods.

One form of animal worship, among them has advanced to a national institution. "Their great festival is that of the bear. Some of their rude chants are in praise of the bear; and their highest eulogy on a man is to compare him to a bear. Young but well-grown bears are captured and confined in cages made gridiron fashion of stout timbers, and raised two or three feet from the ground. At first the young bear is taken into a house and suckled by a woman; it plays with the children till it grows too rough, then it is placed in a cage, fed and cared for till the following year, when the festival is celebrated. Then yells and shouts are used to excite the bear, and an arrow is shot at it which irritates it more; he becomes furious, then the

Ainos rush upon him with various weapons, each striving to draw blood. When he falls his head is struck off, and and then the weapons are offered to it, and he is asked to avenge himself. The carcase is then distributed, the head placed upon a pole, then feasting and rioting ensues. The head is worshipped and fed with *saki*, and they cry to it—"We kill you, O bear; come back soon as an Aino! and when a bear is trapped or wounded the hunters apologize and propitiate it." (II. p. 98.) All this is simply totemism.

Nor is it only in the general character of the nature and fetish worship that we recognize the affinity of the Aino with the modern Chinese, and through him with his prehistoric ancestors; in many social customs they are alike. Thus the Ainos "do not buy their wives, but make presents to the parents of *saki*, tobacco, and fish. Their only feast is to the new year, when they make offerings to all the gods. To inter a body they dig a hole in the ground, and lay in planks in the form of a box, the body is then clothed in white and placed in the box at full length." (*Trans. Eth. Soc.* VII. p. 20.) "The same buying the goodwill of the nature powers is manifested by the wild tribes of Laos and Cambodia, who sacrifice water, arrack, boiled rice and salt-fish to the spirits of the trees." (*Tr. Eth. Soc.* VI. p. 250.)

As among other primitive races, the various wild tribes we have referred to, have all deduced the same system of ghost-spirits, with the same evil propensities, as among the Australian aborigines, and we may in several instances follow the gradual advance of this primitive dread of supernal evil to its subsequent stage, when some sort of control was evolved even among the spirits, and the element of the sentiment of trust was manifested by their exhibiting, in return for offerings and worship, protective ideas. The Bannaors, of Cambodia, are described by M. Mouhot as believing "in a multitude of spirits, some mischievous to

man, others beneficent. According to their creed, every large tree, every mountain, every river, every rock, almost everything, has its particular genius, but they seem to have no idea of a superior being, sovereign and creator of all things." (*Travels*, II. p. 28.)

Where, as among the Kakyens, the social institutions are more evolved, we find nature-worship more fully developed, and having the same characteristics that are so marked in the ancient odes, where all their calamities are ascribed to the unpitying heavens. "Malignant nats are bribed not to ruin the crops; when the ground is cleared for sowing, Massoo is appeased with pork and fowls buried at the foot of the village altars; when the paddy is eared, buffaloes and figs are sacrificed to Cajat. A man about to travel, is placed under the care of Murou, the *toomsa*, after due sacrifices requesting him to tell the other nats not to harm the man. Every hill, fount, and stream, has its own nat of greater or less power. Every accident or illness is the work of some malignant or vindictive spirit." (*Dr. Anderson, Mandalay to Moulmein.*)

The existence of the evil spirits, or ghosts of trees and animals, a necessary adjunct to the belief in the primary human ghost, prevails even to the present day in China and Japan, and, as in archaic times, as malignant spirits they infest men. In Miss Cumming's *Wanderings in China* (I. p. 242), she remarks "the Chinese believe in possession by evil or depraved spirits, which may inhabit the individual disguised as foxes, hedgehogs, weasels, or snakes. In the country there are small houses for the worship of these animals. The worship of the fox has been particularly prominent at Pekin of late years, and so great were the crowds of people that flocked to its shrine soliciting the cure of all manners of diseases, that the officials have lately had to order its removal to a temple. One man conceived that he was possessed of a fox-spirit, had partly opened his

windpipe to give it exit. A whole family in Manchuria believed themselves possessed by snake-spirits." So in Japan ghosts are not limited to the apparitions of human beings, for the she-badger and fox love to disport themselves after their departure from the body. Foxes are said to steal away people's senses. (*Bird's Japan*, I. p. 381.)

It thus appears that at the present day, in and about the advanced civilizations of China and Japan, there still exist groups of men manifesting the same social and supernal sentiments, which, on investigation, are found to mark the ethnographical status of other races in various parts of the world, as men gods, animal totem gods, tree and rock spirits, and ruling powers presiding over every manifestation of physical force and mental action, ancestor gods, tutelar gods, and ruling deities being the later supernal expositions.

There was a time when a social state, no more advanced than that of the Ainos in Japan, once characterized the whole of Eastern Asia. There are many traditions and other forms of survival which intimate that some thousands of years ago, agriculture was wholly unknown throughout that vast region; men were at best only herdsmen; more generally a race of hunters traversed the wide steppes and uplands, wandering according to local conditions from the swampy alluvium to the mountain valleys, never settling, never aggregating, but wild and desultory in all their doings. The world to them was a wearisome plain, intersected or bounded by mountain regions, and covered by a solid firmament on which were suspended the greater and lesser sky luminaries. Man knew nothing of law, order, or rule; chance, or purposeless individual action, accidentally produced the various natural objects about him, and gave being to the forces in nature. No idea of rule, guidance, or moral control was present to him in any form of being; the impulse of the moment accounted for all that was done.

To suppose that such a man could conceive of a great presiding genius ruling not only the wild groups of men about him, but the living animal world, the physical phenomena of nature, and the mental phenomena of his own spirit, were to endow him with a capacity of soul beyond that of the abstract philosopher of the present day. The golden age, with its blessed and blessing amenities, its high moral sympathies and rich endowment of kindly feelings, is a myth of a like nature. As well might we expect the incipient powerless babe to manifest the vigour of a giant, and the full flush of the highest intellectual powers, as to suppose that the most refined habits, the highest moral conceptions, the capacity to conceive and grasp the infinite could be present in the organism that had not yet evolved the rudimentary elements of those great powers its surcharged intellect would afterwards emanate.

No, wherever we meet with primitive men, we find them undeveloped, and such must have been the status of the rude tribes who formed the early communes on the plains of Shensi. Originally they had no habitations, no domestic animals, no government, no presence of beneficence. Self-will, savage and rude, and fear, mere animal fear, were their mind-impelling powers, whether in regard to the action of their fellows, the animal world about them, or their own crude ghost-concepts of supernal evil; may-be a little more developed than the Australian aborigine, but scarcely of a higher physical and moral nature than the rude Ainos of to-day.

Ross, in his *History of the Manchus*, observes: "Chinese civilization did not spring up in a moment, but was the same slow gradual process from savage barbarism to polite civility as in the west, and the last touches have not yet been given. The Chinese speak freely of the time when their forefathers went about dressed in a fig-leaf. From fig-leaf to rich silk dresses and magnificent fur robes, from

ignorance of fire to French cookery, is not a distance to be taken in a bound, nor was it one century which, out of rude ancestors, educed an elaborate though simple system of excellent laws, and it was only the slow growing wants of a gradually increasing population which evolved from a few rough signs on slips of bamboo, their highly ornate and beautiful written language." (*The Manchus,* XIV.) We have the assurance that through Europe and in the East, before men lived in built habitations they made their homes, like the wild beasts, under rock shelters and in caves, and not only are there tribes or groups of men dwelling in such a manner now in China, as Mr. Gill has shown in his *River of Golden Sand,* and Mr. Baber along the course of the Min, but we have historic references to that having been the preliminary social condition. In the Sacred Book of Rites, the Liki, probably derived from the then more extensive use of caves for habitations than now, in the description of the wild tribes they are termed "the people of the five regions, the middle states and the Zung, I, and other wild tribes, they had all their several natures which they could not be made to alter. The tribes on the east were called I; they had their hair unbound and tattooed their bodies. Some of them ate their food without its being cooked. Those on the south were called Man; they tattooed their foreheads and had their feet turned inwards; some of these ate their food uncooked. Those on the west were called Zung; they had their hair unbound and wore skins; some of them did not eat grain food. Those on the north were called Ti; they wore the skins of animals and birds, and dwelt in caves. Some of them also did not eat grain food." (*Liki,* I. p. 229.)

The Liki not only refers to the wild tribes then in the country, but it traces the origin of the state to the same general social conditions. "Formerly the ancient kings had no houses. In winter they lived in caves which they had excavated, and in summer in nests which they had

framed. They knew not yet the transforming power of fire, but ate the fruits of plants and trees, and the flesh of birds and beasts, drinking their blood and swallowing the hair and feathers. They knew not the use of flax, but clothed themselves with feathers and skins." (*Liki*, I. p. 369.)

From this state of barbarism they were upraised by the self-developed energies of their own worthies. "The later sages then arose, and men learned to take advantage of the benefits of fire. They moulded the metals and fashioned the clay, so as to rear towers with structures on them and houses with windows and doors. They toasted, grilled, boiled and roasted. They produced must and sauces. They dealt with the flax and silk so as to form linen and silken fabrics. They were thus able to nourish the living and to make offerings to the dead, to serve the spirits of the departed and God." (*Liki*, I. p. 369.)

That the earliest concepts of the supernal were the preliminary stages of the ceremonies and doctrines of the present day is affirmed. "At the first use of ceremonies they began with meat and drink. They roasted millet and pieces of pork. They excavated the ground in the shape of a jar, and scooped the water from it with an earthen drum. When one died, they called out his name in a prolonged voice, saying, 'Come back,' so and so. After this, they filled the mouth of the dead with uncooked rice, and set as offerings packets of raw flesh. They looked up to Heaven when the spirit had gone, and buried the body in the earth." (*Liki*, I. p. 368.)

That some evidences of the early condition of races of men should be retained in their languages, in their habits, in special customs and social obligations, is a well-known fact; so, also, in articles of use that cannot readily perish, and more in the habitations of their dead. Many have seen in the contour of Chinese houses and temples the

conversion of a goat-skin or felt tent into a wooden and thatched structure. So, their old hieroglyphs, the exponents of the forms of thought and modes of expression of past ages, are built upon terms derived from a tent life, the folding of cattle and sheep, the duties and obligations of a herdsman. Even the application of early official duties carries the preliminary signification of terms; so, in the *Book of Historical Documents*, the governors of rural districts are called Herdsmen, and the great chiefs Pastors of men.

The essential principles of the national character had become defined at a period antecedent to the composition of the Shu King, and before the Odes yet existent became part of the sacred ritual. There may have been other and more ancient religious chants, the echo of the spiritual life of the nation before clanship was established and the worship of ancestors was reduced to system, but such have not come down to our time, and though, when the sacred writings were systematized there were among them diverse political groups, the same social and religious fervour were general to all. In the days of Confutze the nature of the local civilization was already evolved. China was an old country and had accepted her destiny. In the Historical Documents and the Shi King we note that the same sentiments that now influence the race were appealed to as then constituting their social unity. "Kao, the son of Khang, performs the great oblation to the spirit of his ancestor. Thrice he slowly and reverently advanced, thrice he sacrificed, and thrice he put the cup down." Again, in the Odes, "we sacrifice with clear spirits and then follow with a red bull, offering them to our ancestors."

The very title of another of the classics implies the strength and importance of the filial sentiment. The Hsiao King inculcates "filial piety in the Sovereign, in the

Son of Heaven, in the princes of the state, in high officers, in common people, in government." "There are three thousand offences," it says, "against which the five punishments are directed, and there is not one of them greater than being unfilial."

So long as the feudal principle obtained and vast estates were held by the military barons, the questions of personal merit and educational capabilities did not ensure official position: as with all landed aristocracies, the possessors of the estates endeavoured to strengthen their positions by assigning offices and trusts to their brothers, younger sons, and other retainers. Pan King writes—"Of old our former kings planned like me to employ the men of old families to share in the government—in men we seek those of old families." This rule of military nobility received its first great shock when the great river burst its bounds and flooded the fertile plains of Shensi. Then it was that the feudal lords, fearing to give increased powers to one of their own class, selected Shun, of Yu, an energetic man of the lower class, to control the works necessary to restrain the inundations. This was the work of years, and Shun, equal to the task, enforced such regulations as were necessary to withstand the waters. "The marshes on the borders of the Yellow River were drained and banked, and planted with mulberry trees, and occupied by the farmers of the silkworms. They were allowed to rent it without payment for thirteen years, and then they gave their tribute in varnish, silks, baskets, and woven ornamental fabrics." Nor was it only in this way he created national lands. "The low lands on the sea shore paid, like the marsh lands, in kind, and the inhabitants of the hilly regions gave tribute in various earths, pheasants, &c. Even the wild people of the islands brought garments of grass, with silks woven in shell patterns." No wonder that Yun received the subsidiary princes and held them

submissively; or that he afterwards succeeded to the throne and became the Ti, introducing that very theory of government that gradually withdrew all control from, and eventually abolished, the privileged class. He appointed the most exemplary of his subjects to the various offices of the state, as, General Regulator, Minister of Works, of Agriculture, of Instruction, of Music, of Armies. One he appointed Head Forester, another Steward of his farms. The religious duties and observances equally commanded his attention, and were regulated by the Arranger in ancestral temples.

Thus it came to pass that in the worship of Heaven and the many gods, all the religious rites and ceremonies were administered by state officials, and though the priest remained in the land he was unaccredited, his influence reaching no further than the boundaries of the commune that accepted him to administer the local rites to the tutelar village deities. Hence he remained powerless to constitute a hierarchy, and no priesthood ever obtained even a secondary commanding position in China. The very conception of religion as a spiritual force is unknown in China; the people have no generic term for religion, but apply the ordinary term *keaou*—to teach—to all alike, be they the followers of Taou, Buddha or Confutze, Mahommedans or Christians. The state religion itself is never taught, the animistic sentiments that gave it birth have passed away at least from the educated rulers, and only rites and ceremonies remain, conducted, like habits of politeness, under the rules of propriety. Hence they still sacrifice to heaven and earth in the temple of ancestors, to the gods of the land and the grain, and leave it to the rural villagers like the Hakkas in Canton province, and the submissive Lolos, to worship the rustic lares, forming rude shapes of men out of clods, burning candles and crackers before them, and calling them the lords of the rice fields, or else they

plant trees, erect stones, and call them the seats of Pak-kung, and offer sacrifices before them.

The spirit of faith never wholly dies, it satisfies a want in the nature of many. So when it passed away, except as a form in the high places in China, or was remitted to the office of satisfying the family instinct, it continued to linger in the villages, it set up stones and earth mounds in the bye-ways, it had shrines on the wayside and in the streets, and as the duties and relations of the old gods became obsolete, and mere names, it evolved newer and more practical embodiments of power in accord with its present humanity. It needed no pope to deify the good nun Kwanyin and convert her departed spirit into the Goddess of Mercy or to canonize Matsoopo.

Nature-worship has never ceased in China: it has been modified, it has been associated with spirit-worship, it has been in accord with titular deities, ancestral spirits, with state formalities and foreign spiritual effusions, and it still marks the essential animistic attribute of the Chinese soul. The Temple of the Thunder Spirit is still found in most large towns, with the Mother Spirit of Lightning, the Wind Roc, and the Tide Spirit. The heavens and the earth, with the planetary bodies, still have their old spiritual natures, and demon fiends of terror still work evil. The great body of the people still have no idea of the reign of law in the Kosmos, but by endless forms of divination, prayers, sacrifices, and mystic formalities, believe it possible to control or anticipate events. Talismans, signs and semblances still are intermediate between the known and the unknown, and men still claim, for good or evil, power over spiritual natures.

It will be an interesting inquiry to trace as far back as the old sacred writings will enable us, the progressive stages in the evolution of spiritual conceptions among so ancient, unbroken and homogeneous a people as the Chinese,

with ample evidence, both in their character and history, that through a long period of time, whatever changes in forms of faith and animistic sentiments have been promulgated, that until the introduction of Buddhism they were all of native growth, and that after Buddhism was but a spiritual form superadded to the native nature and ancestor worship.

From what we have said they began as all primitive people, by adding fetish attributes to the early ghost affinities they educed, and with them worshipped, or feared, the forms and forces of material objects. At this time to them all the interactions of the known and unknown were individual, temporary; in other words, all the conceived spiritual forces were the correlatives of the individualism present and prevalent among men and animals. Consequently, any idea of spiritual governing forces, or of human association with those powers, was not even conceived possible, much less a principle of polity. From this negative spiritual state man arose by successive increments as in other countries. He sought to win the grace of ghost and spirit powers by sacrifices and oblations, and as the tribes extended they differentiated the worship of tutelar spirit forces.

With the advent of these higher powers, a term or phrase is gradually evolved amongst most people to distinguish the superior powers from the inferior. But these names always modify as the sentiment defining the power is modified, so that they ultimately come to express other and more powerful entities than those at first affirmed. Thus God has become a generic term and expresses very diverse attributes. One applies it to a shapeless stone, a piece of wood, a fetish, only conceived to possess the most trivial animistic power; another refers it to the Eterne essence of everything. We know that the significance of the Anglo-Saxon God was very diverse from that of John

Milton, and that his application of the term differs from the accepted interpretation. Status and education define the concept each one forms in his own mind of the word. So it has ever been with all people. The Jupiter of the Roman empire was a far more portentous entity than the Zeus of the early local communes in Greece in prehistoric times. That it should have been applied as a honorary distinction to the Roman and the Chinese sovereigns only represents the fatuity of human adulation. The Hwangti in China, and the god Augustus in Rome, were esteemed as possessing the same natures after as before the form of apotheosis: the one built his tomb as a man, and the other appointed his successor the same as other men. We know that the meanings attached to words grow with the growth of human capacity, and on no term is this more marked than in the different ideas entertained of the significance of the word God.

How often do we find the term for this Supreme Intelligence applied to a mere man-ghost power, or a single natural force, or assumed as the attribute of the fathers of tribes. So, among the Chinese, a like misappropriation of the word Ti—authority; at first applied to the five elementary powers, then to the Heavens above and the so-called Son of Heaven, the Emperor. Dr. Legge, in the introduction to the Shu King, infers that it signifies Supreme power, and while considering that hence it could have had only one of two derivations—from the Supreme ruler on the earth, or the Supreme ruler in the heavens. But at that early date there was no Supreme ruler on the earth, and we know that without such a derivation there could have been no concept acceptable to the people of a Supreme ruler in heaven. From his own showing, the mythical hero Yu, in after years designated a Ti, probably ages after his time, and there is no other sovereign Ti named from his date, B.C. 2205, until the foundation of the Khin

dynasty, and that bears date B.C. 221. The new title then applied did not arise from the sovereign as if borrowed from the like power possessed by the godhead, as up to that date there is no evidence that such a title was ever applied to any one supernal power as a supreme deity; indeed, there is a vast mass of evidence to prove that it was a general loose term for several of the higher spiritual powers. The old primitive gods, the five elementary spirits, the Chinese heaven conclave, were all Ti's; so were the heroes Yao and Shun, and when Hwang had subjugated all the feudal lords of Kau, his merits were deemed godlike, even exceeding those of the five Ti's; hence the generic title of honour, the highest they knew, was applied to him—he had become a Ti. The god, or rather gods, of the Odes, of the Shu King, and of the Liki, neither individually or collectively represent an eternal self-supreme intelligence, but an individual spirit-power, correlate with other spirit-powers. Hence, when Hwang became sovereign of the whole of Shensi, his augmented power made him equal to the great spirit agencies they acknowledged—he was a Ti.

We hold that the evolution of god-powers has ever proceeded in harmony with the social relations of humanity. At first, we have the birth of ultra-human powers affirmed by shadows, dreams, hallucinations, and other mystic conceptions of the interactions of the known and unknown. As many of these forces, like the powers of some men, exceed those of their fellows; as chieftains arise in human communities; so among the supernal forces god-powers evolve from mere spirit-forces, and the distinctions become equally marked. The first associate element in the heavens, as on earth, is that of the family, and these family gods combine the same as the local chiefs. When the local human forces aggregate under powerful chieftains, then higher individual distinctive characteristics are attached

to certain gods; they rise to the distinction of tutelar deities, holding local briefs over communes and receiving reciprocating fees. These spirit-powers vary in strength and influence through the number of their votaries, as intertribal extensions enhance the power and status of human chieftains.

The most ancient literature of China presents to us a supernal theogony associated and marked by the same attributes as the varied feudal and chieftain states that were about them. The heavens and the earth were marked out to their special divinities; the sun, the moon, the twenty-eight constellations, have their own districts in the heavens; and on the earth, each mountain has its own local deity, each river and watercourse. So the elements have their own spirit agencies, and, as with the Mexicans in later times, the cultivation of the soil and their fierce intestine wars created the spirit-father of husbandry and the spirit-god of war. Each of these several powers reigns in his own domain, and for their special services severally receive the offerings of their worshippers. There is no appealing to any central presiding power, no mediatory intercessions, but the father of husbandry is invoked when they desire rain, and the god of war is appealed to to sustain them in their conflicts; and every individual community, clan and tribe, appeals to its own ancestral or tutelar deity on all ordinary occasions. Each and every one of these spirit-powers is limited in its resources, its capacity to regulate or influence. The nature of all the god-powers approximate to those of men; they have human sentiments and tastes, and, like men-chieftains, they are angry, proud and revengeful, fond of praise and amenable to flattery.

The old Chinese prayed to "the father of husbandry that he will lay hold of all the noxious and baneful insects that destroy the harvest, and put them in the blazing fire."

(*Shih King*, p. 371.) "King Wan sacrificed to god and the father of war; he takes measures against the country of his foes, to get ready with scaling ladders and the engines; captives for the question were brought in one after another; the left ears of the slain were taken leisurely; the whole were destroyed; he extinguished the sacrifices and made an end of its existence." Dr. Legge, commenting on this, writes: "We can hardly tell who is intended by the 'father of war'." If he reads the Mexican annals he will find his counterpart in Huitzilopatchli, the Mexican Mars. (*Shih King*, p. 392.) Sun worship is referred to in the Odes: "O sun, O moon, from the east that come forth —O father, O mother, there is no sequel to your nourishing me." So also in the Liki, in explanation of the institution of the sacrifices, it is said: "The sacrifice in the suburb of the capital was the great expression of gratitude to heaven, and it was specially addressed to the sun, with which the moon was associated." The sovereign of Hsia presented it in the dark; under the Yin dynasty, at noon; under the Kan, they sacrificed all day, especially at daybreak and towards evening. They sacrificed to the sun on the altar of the moon, in "the hollow." (*Liki*, II. p. 219.) The Yi King, or book of divination, says: "Khein is the symbol of heaven-father, Kwan of earth-mother, sun is the first result of Khein and Kwan." The great spirit-forces are referred to in the Shu King. "The former king kept his eye continually on the bright requirements of heaven, and so he maintained the worship of the spirits of heaven and earth—of those presiding over the land and the grain, and of those of the ancestral temple, all with sincere reverence." (*Sac. Book, East*, III. p. 96.)

There is no conception of an individual supreme personal godhead in the heavens. When heaven is mentioned it is generically as the common action of the sky powers. So of the earth as earthly powers, such as mountains, waters,

and the elements. In after years, when the people had become used to the political supremacy of the royal Ti, its significance was enlarged, and a vague supremacy was accorded to the *all above*, of the same character as that accorded to the human emperor; hence, the *all above* gradually assumed, or were called, the Ti. All was a process of growth, but the heavenly Ti was evolved from the earthly Ti.

In all this we have no expression of an eternal, omniscient, self-existent supreme being. Not one of the old classics ever refers to such an existence, and however near to this conception the higher natures of the great thinkers may have attained, such is never expressed by any of the old writers. God, the archaic god, is a mere human being with an etherial or ghost nature, and the god of the middle period rises from a chieftain spirit to the dignity of a regal spirit, and no loftier concept of the deity exists among the great mass of the Chinese people at the present day.

We will refer to the expressions used in the old classics as confirming our deduction. First, we have many references to their heroes and kings as equalling the Ti gods. In the Shu King we read of one sovereign, "my meritorious ancestor became equal to great heaven." (*Shu King*, p. 118.) Again: "Hauki proved himself the correlate of heaven, in teaching men to cultivate the grain." (*The Shih King*, pp. 302 and 320.) "O, accomplished Hauki! thou didst prove thyself the correlate of heaven—thou didst give grain food to the multitude"; and, "before Yin lost the multitudes, the kings were the correlates of the gods." (*Ibid.* p. 379.)

In the great classics, the Shih King, the Shu King, and the Liki, the terms heaven and great heaven, never signify a personal self-supreme deity, but imply the *all* above, not as an individual, but as a genus; it included the sun, the moon, the constellations, the same as "sovereign earth" in-

cluded the mountains and the rivers. Thus in the Shu King it is "announced to the great heaven and the sovereign earth that I, Fa, am about to administer a great correction to Shang" (p. 135.) Again: "Heaven exercises the control of the strong and light force, and hangs out the sun and the stars; earth exercises the control of the dark and the weaker force, and gives vent to it in the hills and streams. The five elements are distributed through the four seasons, and it is by their harmonious action that the moon is produced." (*Liki*, I. p. 381.) At the time the classics were composed there were various centres of government in what was subsequently the empire of China, consequently the people were not only used to the fact of the presence on the earth of several secondary sovereignties, but also of their voluntary confederating. Therefore, it was perfectly in order for them to refer to the heavens as one power, to the earth as another power; and crudely they saw combinations of the many free spirit-powers as well as of the elemental Ti's. This groupal spiritual philosophy is implied in the divisions of the ceremonial rites. "By means of the ceremonies performed in the suburb, all the spirits receive their offices. By means of those performed at the altar of the earth, all the things yielded by the earth receive their fullest development. By means of those in the ancestral temple, the services of filial duty and of kindly affection come to be discharged. By means of those at the fire sacrifices, the laws and rules are correctly exhibited." (*Liki*, I. p. 386.) Still more explicit of the special actions of the supernal groups we have the following:—"This uses a variety of ways in sending down the intimations of its will. As learned from the altars of the land these are imparted to the earth; as learned from the ancestral temple they are benevolence and righteousness; as learned from the altars of the hills and streams they are movement and activity; as learned from the five sacrifices

of the house they are the statutes of their various spirits." (*Liki*, I. 376.) This clearly implies several distinct supernal centres of control.

The failure of the conception of a Supreme God is manifested in the major odes; a succession of bad harvests resulting from successive droughts have made the presiding authorities in the country doubtful of the efficacy of the oblations; they had no conception of one power alone being lord of everything; and even the same physical action might be dependant on the accord of several distinct supernal forces, each able to prevent it by the dominancy of its personal will. So, when during the drought their appeals to the rain god, the father of husbandry, were inefficacious, they beseeched the mountain gods, the river gods, the gods of the elements, and those of the constellations. Holding, probably, that one or more of these powers were offended, they offered sacrifices and oblations to all with a view to restore harmony among the supernal powers, and thereby render the earth once more fruitful. "The king said: Oh! what crime is chargeable on us now, that heaven sends down death and disorder, famine comes again and again. There is no spirit I have not sacrificed to. There is no victim I have grudged; our jade symbols oblong and round are exhausted. There is no spirit I have not honoured. From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temples. To the powers above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them. The sacrifices to my ancestors will be extinguished."

Ages after, when the empire was established on the earth, then Shangti was emperor in heaven. When the emperor of the Ming dynasty, in A.D. 1538, was about to make a slight change, by which Shangti was to be addressed at the solstial sacrifice, after enumerating the various spirits to whom the sacrifice referred, he said: "We inform you all ye celestial and all ye terrestrial spirits, and will trouble you

in our behalf to exert your spiritual influence and display your vigorous efficacy, communicating our poor desire to Shangti, and praying him mercifully to grant us his acceptance and regard, and to be pleased with the title which we shall reverently present." (*Rev. J. Legge, Confucianism*, p. 6.)

When a half-personal, half-material Shangti was evolved in China, it had practically very little supernal influence over the minds of the people; it was esteemed as the ancestor of the emperor; he only could hold spiritual relations with it, the great officials and tutelar nobles worshipped the other high divinities; and the people, according to their locality and status, reverenced their tutelar supernal powers, many still appealing to the nature forces. Edkins in his *Religion in China* writes: "It is common to hear the Chinese say that heaven should be worshipped only by the emperor in the name of the nation, and that the god of heaven is too majestic and glorious for a common man to dare approach him as a worshipper. The people and the officers of government should worship the subordinate divinities that preside over the cities or districts to which they belong. Some profess to worship heaven once a year, others twice a month. They often speak of adoring heaven and earth as if they meant two divinities by those terms. The husbandman when he has gathered in his harvest acknowledges that it is his duty to thank heaven and worship earth" (p. 92).

Some few impersonal expressions in the classics have been relied upon as affirming that heaven was a personality, but the like expressions are used regarding the earth; and surely we are not to treat that as a supreme god. Thus in the Liki we read: "In the sacrifice at the she altar they dealt with the earth as if it were a spirit." (I. p. 425). Again: "the earth supported all things, while heaven hung out its brilliant signs. They derived their material re-

sources from the earth ; they derived rules for their courses from the heavens. Thus they were led to give honour to heaven and their affection to the earth." (I. p. 425.)

Heaven and earth were not original presiding deities, at first each natural force was individually expressed. In the books of the Chow dynasty the terms heaven and earth were first used. (*China Review*, XI. p. 164.) The term heaven had a material origin, thus the name Thai Yi modernized as the "supreme one" means the original vapoury matter of chaos before the separation of heaven and earth. Of the opinions regarding heaven and earth, and the relations of the people and of the emperors thereto, as implying spiritual affinity, we quote the following : "Heaven has no real form, all the perfect emptiness (infinite space) above the earth is called heaven" (*Suntsze*). "Heaven and God are one" (*Yungfuh*). (*China Rev.* V. p. 272.) Hung Un, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, issued an edict prohibiting all prayer to heaven and earth, except his own, as the height of presumption. If, said he, the whole population should be presenting their different prayers to heaven in one day, what a confusion and intolerable nuisance it would be." No doubt the emperor considered that the divine resources were analogous to his own, and that it was impossible to register too many applications on the same day.

That the doctrine of chieftain, or, at the most, regal gods continued to express the highest affirmation of supernal rule, probably with a crude concept of the supremacy of Shangti in heaven, as of Hwangti on earth, appears not only in the worship of heaven and earth now by the emperor, but also at the commencement of the dynasty nearly two hundred and fifty years ago. In A.D. 1644, at Pekin, the first Manchu monarch, at the altar of heaven and earth, made the following prayer. "I, the son of heaven, of the great Pure dynasty, humbly as a subject, dare to make an

announcement to imperial heaven and sovereign earth. Though the world is vast God looks on all without partiality. My imperial grandfather received the gracious decree of heaven, and founded a kingdom in the east. I beg reverentially of heaven and earth to protect and assist the empire." Officers, at the same time, were despatched to the temple of ancestors, and to the altars of the spirits of grain and land, to offer sacrifices and make similar announcements." (*Rel. in China, J. Edkins,* p. 18.) The new emperor had not yet got over the conception of the empire as being an aggregate of feudal states, and he applies the ordinary feudal intimations to the various central god-powers; so, not only must his prayer go up to heaven and be announced at the altar of earth, but dignified officers must convey the same with due courtesy to the ancestral shrines and the altars of the gods of grain and land. Surely this does not express the undivided unity and omnipresence of a Supreme, Almighty, and Eternal God? The modern conception of Shangti as an emperor-god is affirmed in the address of the emperor of the Ming dynasty that we quoted. He addresses Shangti in words that not only convey his humble submission, but acknowledge the absolute personality and personal rule of the god in such expressions as are not to be found recorded in any of the old classics; in them a cold nonentity is always addressed, and, if it speaks as a person, it is not as a living, feeling god, but as a fetish idol. The most important exposition of a ruling deity in the Shi King is—"Great is God, beholding this lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters of the kingdom, seeking some one to give settlement to the people"—has the appearance of being the production of a later period, when the consolidated empire was already arranged in the provinces—not of the time of the many feudal princes—and imperial rule had evolved the conception of the majesty of the presiding

power: it could not have been the expression of a nomadic chief.

But may not the term Shangti signify a something beyond *Tien?* We know that, underlying all the early supernal concepts of men, there is often conceived an impersonal force or essence that contains and expresses all they deem supernal; we have seen the Australian aborigine designated it boylya, that the Melanesian and the Polynesian knew it as mana, the American medicine-man as wakan, so it is vaguely known by other names among other races of men. With some it is denoted by a vague mysterious force, above, around, and everywhere, influencing and controlling not only nature and life, but all earthly, all heavenly, spiritual powers. It dogged the steps of Orestes, it kept Achilles mortal; as it gave Jupiter power in Olympus, so one day it will raise up Hyperion. Even Odin, the All-father, as he had a beginning, so will he perish. Avatar succeeds Avatar as the exposition of this solemn, silent, all-whelming power. In the earliest exposition of fetish and nature powers, chance rules the mysterious world of spiritual natures, as it does the individual destiny of man. There are no all-knowing, all-seeing, all-controlling powers; the victor of to-day is slain by his foeman on the morrow; the fire is quenched by the water, the great dragon devours the moon, and the god perishes; all is mere chance, the accidents of varying circumstances, without purpose, plan, or principle.

By-and-by some gleams of the harmony of the nature forces, some concepts of the necessary results of action, evolved the doctrine of fate, of destiny. Changes and events were no longer due to chance; they were the results of destiny, a force that gods and men alike obey. This mysterious outlying power, this often felt but unnamed principle, is the first universal, impersonal, all-ruling force. Or ever any supreme intelligent ruler is conceived of,

destiny reigns as a mysterious power in the faiths of all people. It regulates the dynasties of the gods, the conditions of worlds, the immensity of space; and it is by a successive series of evolutions a generic or specific presiding god-principle is evolved. This vague power at an early period pervades all things; it gives them fetish powers, and, acting under its influence, they become omens, or appealed to, they manifest the unseen, the unknown, even the results that the future will unfold.

What the fates were to the Greeks, what destiny is even now in the Eastern world, what the power of mantras and ascetic austerity are in India, mysterious forces that rule even Brahm, and compel the successive series of re-births to the human soul, such is heaven, or the heavens, to the Chinese. It may be spoken of as a power, a principle, even as a personality, but it ever is destiny the rule of the above, it apportions to men and gods their fates, it controls their beings, it assigns and limits their powers, and, while admitting a certain freedom of will, its veto consummates the one inflexible purpose. The literary class, previous to the present dynasty, denied the personality of Shangti, and held that the Shangti of the classics is nothing but a principle. (*Edkins, Rel. in Chi.* p. 52.) That Shangti is something beyond heaven and earth, is affirmed by Confutze when he writes "the ceremonies of heaven and earth are those by which we serve Shangti." (*China Rev.* XI. p. 164.) We must also remember that Thien and Ti are written by the Chinese in distinct characters, implying different derivations.

We cannot appeal to the classics to give us more explicit affirmations of the natures of Shangti and Thien, but in the present life of the people, which, in its supernatural affinities represents the Shensi of four thousand years ago, and the derivative ideas since super-added thereto, we may discover the various supernal principles. On no single

question may we obtain more direct evidence than in those affecting the cause of disease and death. Nowadays we find in China not only various theories on those subjects, but those that manifest various principles. It will be remembered that the early races ascribed these calamities to the malevolent action of spirits. So in China now disease is sometimes ascribed to the enmity of the spirit of a deceased person, and to overcome this suits of paper clothing, paper, money, sandals, and other articles are prepared with meats, candles, and incense, and priests repeat the formula for untying grudges, and then burn the paper articles as propitiatory offerings to allay the spirits malevolent actions. (*Doolittle, Social Life of the Chinese*, I. p. 148.) Some implore certain tutelar deities who are supposed to help the afflicted, others appeal to the spiritual powers known as the five emperors, who are supposed to control the summer epidemics and malignant diseases in general; processions with figures of these gods are paraded through the streets and visit the various temples to influence their interposition either to ward off or allay the disease. "When the Chinese are sick they oftentimes have recourse to some god or goddess which they suppose has control of the particular disease. They burn incense before the image and implore a speedy recovery. If the individual recovers, an offering is given to the divinity worshipped, if he dies they say it is in accordance with the reckoning of heaven." As Doolittle says, they practically ignore the great fact that health and sickness, life and death, are always in accordance with the reckoning of heaven, all controlled and governed by the Supreme Disposer of events. (*Ibid.* I. p. 143.)

That heaven is fate, not a moral personal deity, now defines the Chinese conception of human and supernal relations is apparent in the following quotations from the same author, and we hold that the same distinction prevailed in ancient times. He writes "when they use medicine, the

result is ascribed to heaven if unpropitious and death ensue, or to the gods if health returns and the sick man recover." Again, they seem to act and feel as though heaven were able only to cause ones death, and that only the gods had the power to rebuke disease and restore health." (*Ibid.* I. p. 143.) In disease they invite the god of medicine to the house, sometimes they get ten men to become security to the gods for the sick man, they even imagine they may deceive "inexorable heaven" by burning paper substitutes. When the spirit has even left the sick man's body they endeavour to win it back and conquer destiny by parading the neighbourhood with a long bamboo over the shoulder, on which one of the deceased person's coats is hung with a mirror over it to catch the attention of the spirit of its owner and induce it to enter the coat, which is then placed over the body." (*Ibid.* I. p. 150.)

Among the many causes of death, we may even discover the presence of the Eumenides, as the sickness is sometimes ascribed to the evil agency of the *destroying god*. When an important member of a family is taken ill, and the disease does not yield to medicine or nursing, it is often affirmed to be caused by an evil spirit of influence only subject to the great gods. A member of the family—wife, child, or brother —goes with dishevelled hair and wearing a white garment to the temple of one of the principal idols, and beats the drum to notify to the god that there is urgent need of his kind offices. Sometimes the individual carries a stick of lighted incense in his hands, weeping and at short distances kneeling down in the streets. On reaching the idol's presence, he hastily lights incense and candles before the god, and proceeds in a kneeling and prostrate state to detail the circumstances of the case, and begs an arrow-like utensil which is taken home and placed on the centre of the table. It is then worshipped, and incense and candles are

burnt daily in its honour until the sick recover or die. The arrow is regarded as a command of the god invoked, for the departure of the evil spirit from the sick person." (*Ibid.* I. p. 146.)

We have thus in China now the presiding influence of mere ghost spirits as affecting the lives and destinies of men, we have more powerful malignant spirits having the same attributes, we have local and tutelar gods interposing to save the individual, each acting according to his own will. Heaven (Thien) and earth as presiding deities only interpose in the case of the imperial family and high officials, they are never appealed to by the people, it would be presumptuous in them to do so, and Shangti, like the destiny of the old Greeks, an implacable shadowy entity, cold and as unexpressive as the shrouded gods of the Etruscans, and as feelingless as the weird sisters of the northern skalds who spin the threads of human destinies, and remorselessly cut them when the hour of the fates arrive. Such a power not so definite but as relentless is the Chinese "reckoning of Shangti."

As in the pre-Christian world of Rome, the new doctrine of god's personal providence exercised the souls of men, so in the later Odes of the Chinese and the Book of Rites we perceive the first concepts of moral supremacy and ideas of the rules of propriety pass from the relations of men to the inter-relations of spirits and men. The same concepts of justice, of mutual benefits, of punishment for original offences prevail, even the same necessity of compounding for overt acts. Moral mediators are evolved, responsibility becomes communal, and vicarious sacrifice may be accepted instead of the inexorable *reckoning of heaven*. It is sentiments of this nature that give vent to the expression of the personal ordinances of heaven. In all this we read the first crude output of a personal will, but a will as

inconsistent, irregular, and shall we say immoral, as that of the average man. A will that reigns by its own law and makes that good which it asserts.

In China this entity in its various phases was "Great Heaven," but it was less in some of its aspects than destiny, its calamities could be avoided. (*Shu King*, p. 98.) It might have the same selective attributes as Yahweh, "it was not that heaven had any private partiality for the Lord of Shang." (*Ibid.* p. 101.) Among other observations illustrating this personal phase in the evolution of Shangti we select the following: "From heaven are the social relationships. Heaven sends down calamities." "Heaven hears and sees as our people hear and see. Heaven brightly approves and displays its terrors as our people brightly approve and would awe, such connection is there between the upper and the lower worlds. Great Heaven unjust is sending down these exhausting disorders. Great Heaven unkind is sending down these great miseries. O unpitying Great Heaven. From Great Heaven is the injustice."

This vague great power in the Liki is recognized and named, and its connection with all other supernal powers affirmed. "By means of the ceremonies performed in the suburb all the spirits receive their offices. By means of those performed at the altar of the earth all the things yielded by the earth receive their development. By means of those in the ancestral temple the services of filial duty and of kindly affection come to be discharged. By means of those of the five sacrifices at the house the laws and rules of life are correctly exhibited. From all this it follows that rules of ceremony must be traced to their origin in the grand unity. This separated and it became heaven and earth. It evolved and it became the dual force in nature, it changed and became the four seasons. It was distributed and became the universal frame. Its lessons

transmitted to men are its orders, the law and authority of them is in heaven." (*Liki*, I. p. 388.) With this most lame and incomplete conclusion the evolution of the godhead in China terminated, and, save in the worship of the Buddhist saints, which have with many succeeded the tutelar gods, all is unchanged. A god of providence was never fully evolved, a god of law never conceived, so with her animistic conceptions they have been paralyzed for two thousand years, and the utmost moral precept entertained is the submission of a child not the mature approbation of intellect.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Evolution of Gods in Peru and Mexico.

We have to begin our observations on the origin of supernal ideas in the New World as in the Old World in a like state of primitive barbarism. Men everywhere start from like natural conditions, and all institutions and forms of thought grow out of the manifold workings of mind on matter. As in Europe, so in America we are dependant on traditional and internal evidence, and the records that some of the more enlightened of the conquering race accumulated at the breaking up of the native states, and the evidences that have been preserved in the habits, oral traditions and sentiments of the people, however modified by foreign influence.

Of the primary state of Peru we obtain much information from the writings of Garcilasso Vega, himself a descendant of the royal Inca race. The following traditionary records he said that he derived from his maternal uncle, who told him that "in ancient times all this region which you see, was covered with forests and thickets and the people lived like wild beasts, without religion, nor government, nor towns, nor houses, without cultivating the land, nor clothing their bodies, for they knew not how to weave cotton nor wool to make clothes. They lived two or three together, in caves, in clefts in the rocks, or in caverns underground. They ate the herbs of the field and roots or fruits like wild animals, and also human flesh. They

covered their bodies with leaves and the bark of trees or with the skins of animals, and they knew nothing of living with separate wives." (*Vega*, I. p. 63.)

Nor are we to infer that even at that early period all were alike. "In the first epoch some of the Indians were little better than tame beasts, and others much worse than wild beasts. Each province, each nation, each house had its gods, different one from another, for they thought that a stranger's god, occupied with some one else, could not attend to them. They did not understand to make ideal gods because they did not raise their thoughts to invisible things, they adored what they saw and only desired to have a god different from others. Thus they worshipped herbs, and plants, and flowers, all kinds of trees, high hills, great rocks and caves, pebbles and small stones of different colours. They also worshipped animals, some for their fierceness others for their cunning, some, as the condor, for its greatness, the owl for the beauty of its eyes and head, and the bat for its quickness of sight." (*Ibid.* I. p. 47.) "Some Indian nations chose their gods with more judgment, they worshipped those things from which they derived benefit, as fountains and rivers. Some worshipped the earth and called it mother, others adored the air that gave them breath, others the fire for its heat. Others worshipped the huanaca, others the snowy mountains. Those of the sea coast worshipped mother sea, the whale, and various kinds of fish." (*Ibid.* I. p. 49.)

These traditionary records of the amiable Peruvian are singularly in affinity with all we know of the primary state of man in Greece, in India, and in China, may we accept the variety yet similarity of these supernal ideas as being home born? Or, whether Vega's uncle derived from oral information regarding then existant wild tribes of men the ideas which he affirmed of his own progenitors? The lowest class of concepts might have had a common origin

with the spirit myths of China and Japan for they are known to all hunting tribes, but the higher manifestations of divine powers must have been of home evolution.

Of the lower expression of ghost supernal power Vega makes no mention, but D'Acosta writes of the Indians: "They believed that the souls of the dead wandered up and down, and endured cold, thirst, and hunger." (*Hist. Ind.* II. p. 314.)

That the early inhabitants of Mexico were in a like rude state as were those of Peru is affirmed by Father D'Acosta, he writes: "The ancient inhabitants lived only by hunting, they neither sowed nor tilled the ground, nor lived together, they lived on the mountains beast-like, and went naked. They fed on all unclean beasts, herbs, and roots, sleeping in the mountains in caves and bushes; the wives hunted with their husbands, tieing the children in a panier of leaves to the trees, they had no superiors nor worshipped any gods." (*Ind.* II. p. 450.)

The same simple primary philosophy that saw in all natural objects the same dual nature, soul and body, as in man, which we have found so marked a feature in the first concepts of supernal power in the old world also characterised the fathers of the old American civilisations. A leading feature in the religion of the Incas, was the belief that all things in nature had an ideal or soul which ruled and guided them, and to which men might pray for help. (*Pro. Roy. Geo. Soc.* XLI. p. 291.) This was the basis of their fetishism, and all these visible emblems or signs of supernal attributes were called huaca. This fetish faith, as Vega says, saw supernal power in plants, and trees, and hills, and stones, and animals. Dreams were the mysterious interpositions of these mystic powers. Markham writes, that the Peruvians held that every created thing had its *mama* or spiritual essence. (*Cuzco*, p. 129.)

The general prevalence of fetishism in Peru, such as we

now find common through the native states of the Gold Coast is thus described in Squire's *Peru*. "The Yunga and Chincha family had their village or communal deities, their household huacas and their patron or personal huacas. The communal huaca was carefully preserved by a class of priests and their assistants, the family huaca or canopa was kept in the family dwelling and descended from father to son, while the personal huaca, generally a very insignificant object, was buried with its possessor. Ordinarily the communal huaca was of stone without any figure, others in the form of men and women, some as animals, and all have special names by which they were invoked. There is not a child who does not know the name of the huaco of his tribe or clan, how to invoke it, and often it has its name. Some of the huacas are regarded as guardians or protectors of certain towns (tutelar), and are called *marca aparac*. All have their special priests who make sacrifices to them, and although everyone knows where they are kept few ever see them. The places where they are deposited are held sacred." (*Peru*, p. 189.)

The fetish objects both in Peru and Mexico were of diverse origins. Votan was a serpent, feathered or flying, so serpent forms covered the figure of the Mexican war-god. The Humming Bird fetish was the messenger of the sun. We even have a Mexican god born of a woman who was impregnated by a tuft of humming bird feathers, put in her breast. Quetzalcoatl was represented by a serpent-bird. Another god of the Aztecs was represented by a cloud-serpent, Omacatl was a double reed, and Vitzilipuztli, according to Acosta, was represented by an image of wood like a man on an azure stool in a litter, at each corner a carved serpent's head. Animals as guardians or totems were formerly, as now, adopted by families and tribes, so far was this idea of special protection carried, that, not only were there racial, tribal, clan, and individual totems,

but the Mexicans allotted certain parts of the body to the protection of certain animals. In the Mexican mythology we have the goddess Attalicue giving birth to a flint knife.

In Peru, as with totems generally, the protecting power continued after this life, and the personal guardian was buried as a talisman with the corpse. With the people generally this ended the communal supernal life of the individual, not so with the Incas. Acosta observes, that every king Inca in his lifetime caused a figure to be made wherein he was represented, and they did as much honour and reverence to this image as to the king; they carried it in procession to the wars, and in ceremonies for rain or fair weather, also at sundry feasts and sacrifices. (*Hist. Indies*, II. p. 312.)

As we trace the growth of fetish-powers to god-powers, so may we follow the evolution of nature-gods representing at first simple physical forces to spirit-forces, and then to conclaves of god-powers. Vega spoke of the early worship of the sun, fire, the earth, the sea; and after, when men became cultivators, new god-powers were introduced, as Sara canopa, the spirit of harvest; Chacra canopa, the farm spirit; Llama canopa, the spirit of flocks. (*Markham Cuzco*, p. 130.) In like manner the old nature-gods of the Mexicans were the sun, fire, wind, thunder, and others, to these were afterwards attached men-gods, as the god of war, most probably originally a conquering chief, a ferocious power. Of a more gentle character, Centeotl, the goddess of agriculture, and home life was represented by maize carrying a child. With these as evidence of new social conditions intervening, we have Omacatl, the god of good cheer, the traveller's god, the goldsmith's god, and the goddess of sensuality. Acosta describes the Mexican god of drought, famine, barrenness, and pestilence. These gods originally merely individual powers, each acting for itself, each deprecated for its

special power, afterwards act in concert. They are described as so many local chiefs, as assembling at Teotihuacan, and decreeing that if one of their number first cast himself in the fire he would be transformed into the sun. It is the same old legend of chieftain selection, as Herodotus records of the foundation of the Median kingdom, it illustrates how the heavenly polity was founded on the same process of growth as earthly rule. As a general principle, the feudal sovereignty in the skies is accorded voluntarily, as was the case in India with Indra, the other gods submitting to his greater developed powers. So there was a time when the sun was chief of the Mexican gods, but from the Mexican records at the conquest, the tutelar war-god was overshadowing his might, and had the local conditions been continuous the sun-god might have fallen from his selected sovereignty, even as Ouranos was dethroned in Hellas.

It usually happens that the change results from human affinities, a god may become unfashionable, and a Krishna, a Dionysius, a young Horus, be more acceptable to the worshippers than the long-venerated Kronos, or, as often occurs, the heavenly dynasty is removed by earthly conquest, as when in Egypt, in Chaldea, and in Syria, the tutelar god of the conquered race was supplanted by the aggressive victor, and had to descend to a secondary rank in the sky conclave. Such was the case in Peru. The Inca race through their early settlement or conquest of the country when they introduced an earthly sovereignty also elevated the sun-god to the supernal sovereignty. At that time, and long after Pachacamac, the earth-god was tutelar deity of the Quiches, the same as the sun was the tutelar god of the Peruvians, but when the latter conquered the country of the former and reduced it to a province, Pachacamac was not annihilated, he was merely reduced to a secondary position. He was still a titular god, had

his temples, his observances, his worshippers, but it was in a lower status and under the auspices of the sun-god.

Tutelar and ancestor gods were acknowledged supernal principles in Peru and Mexico as among the races of the old world. From hero-gods they passed through the same series of evolutions to penates and specialised family divine clans. Squire writes: "After the village huacas, the objects most venerated were the bones or bodies of ancestors, sons of the Huancas. These were preserved in ancient sepulchres, wrapped in vicuna wool, and sometimes adorned with feathers." (*Peru*, p. 190.) This custom led to the same reverence of the dead as always denotes ancestral worship. "There was a class of priests who conducted the sacrifices made to them; with them were deposited the implements and arms used in life, and a passage was left in the sepulchre through which food and drink could be passed to the dead." It would not appear that in the oldest interments any distinctions were manifested, but afterwards, as in other countries, we not only find a doubt expressed if those of inferior rank possessed souls that lived in the after world, but the wealthy and powerful had slaves, attendants, and wealth buried with their remains to serve them in the after life. Acosta writes: "That at the burial of a lord not only were slaves put to death, but the cook, the butler, and the dwarfs who served to amuse his leisure hours, that in the other life he might not feel the want of the services and amusements he had been used to in this." (*Hist. Ind.* II. p. 316.)

The fear of evil spirits was not so marked in the America's, as in India and the East. Markham notes that the evil principle in Peru was called *Supay*; he was never worshipped, but held a place more akin to the despised evil spirit of the Parsees than the dreaded Ahriman of their ancestors. The Tzitzimitles were the malicious demons of the Mexicans.

Davila describes the sacrifices and offerings to the sun at Cuzco as being accompanied with the same drinking propensities as are familiar to the classical reader in the festivals to Dionysus, and are so often mentioned at the Soma festivals in the Rig Veda.

The origin of the higher sun worship of the Peruvians was ascribed by them to an unknown settler who suddenly appeared in the country, Manco Capac and his wife's sister. They persuaded sundry barbaric tribes to settle with them, and taught them how to build houses, to cultivate and irrigate the land, they taught them polite companionship, respect for the wives and daughters of others, the marriage of relations, to collect the vicunas and make clothing from their wool, to associate in communes, and, above all, the religion of the sun. When the little state was consolidated, they extended it by conquest and built a hundred villages, and means were introduced to centralize all the social influences. For this purpose Pachacutac ordered that all who held office should speak the sacred language of Cuzco, and he appointed learned masters to teach it to the sons of princes and nobles. He instituted three fairs every month as commerce was extended, and regulated more correctly the reckoning of the year. (*Vega*, II. p. 208.)

For ages this nucleus of a local civilization failed to have any influence beyond its own boundaries, unless we may accept, as probable, that through it a corresponding advance had been made by the Yuncas, but it is also possible that the legend of Manco Capac is a myth, and that the changes in Peruvian life and in Yunca civilization were the progressive growths through many generations of the neighbourly communes, acting and reacting on each other, each developing under its own tutelar deity. What the sun was in Peru, Pachacamac was to the Yuncas. They were each esteemed as great gods, the local Merodachs of the select

advanced South American tribes. Like Athens and Sparta, like Rome and Etruria, contests were intermittent for supremacy, which was ultimately brought about by their coalescing as a single state under the presidency of the Inca family.

We have not in the history of any other people, not even sacred myths, so remarkable a compact as that recorded between the Yuncas and the Peruvians. It was not only a political compact, it was a compact in which the great gods of the two peoples were presumed to take part, and were esteemed as acting principals. To comprehend the full nature of the change, and its effect on the status of the gods, we have to remember that the sun was the tutelar deity of the Incas, and that the god Pachacamac held a like rank among the Yuncas. The only point of affinity of a supernal character that we can note, was that the old oracle of Rimac was common to all. It held much the same supernal mystic attributes as the Delphic oracle over all the Hellenes.

By the terms of the joint confederation, the very nature and attributes of the heavenly godheads were altered; they were no longer mere racial deities, but Pachacamac was elevated to the same supremacy in the heavens over both Peruvians and Yuncas, as the Inca held over them on earth. The one was the nearest approach they could conceive of an universal sovereign, the other of a like god. At the same time the sun-god became the common racial tutelar god of the united peoples, and Rimac was accepted as the conjoint oracle of the gods. (*Vega*, II. p. 190.)

The earliest gods of the Peruvians were such as Vega described them, mere living or natural forces or symbols of unknown influence. Even when they had created a mythology as well as a cosmogony, their gods were but men. Vega observes: "The Incas, although they held the sun to be a god, treated him as if he had been a

man like themselves. Among other things, they poured the sun's drink into a half *tinajon* of gold which they placed in the court where they hold their festivals, or in the temple, and declared that what had passed away by evaporation had been drunk by the sun. They also put out plates of meat that the sun might eat. When a great victory occurred, they sent to let the sun know and offered up thanks to it."

Every intimation given us of the nature of the Peruvian gods as well as the Mexican, demonstrates that they were evolved, as were the gods of the old world, from the presence of powers and attributes unexplainable by the evidence of the senses. The same mysterious incidents evolved and gave character to the same supernal forces which were esteemed as god and spirit powers. They esteemed as a still living spirit the form present in a dream; hence, too, the spirits of their dead enemies were malignant in their natures and those of ancestors protectors of their race.

As it was with men, so also animals, hills, trees, and all natural objects had each its own shadow or double, and could be patronizing or baneful according to its natural aptitudes and the influences presented to it. Hence arose kindred relations with animals and other natural objects; the conception of them as enemies, and this with other influences, were developed into the supernal policy of the race.

At the present time the rude Indians of the plateau and the peninsula can scarcely be said to have formed any conception of a great central godhead. All their offerings and prayers are addressed to saints and virgins as tutelary powers, even to the nature forces present to them now as in the olden time. Yet even under the old *régime* we have evidence that the minds of some men could rise above the vulgar supernal sentiments of their day. Even the Incas themselves could enunciate more universal concepts than the petty local god-schemes intimate. The first Inca, as

Vega informs us, was an enemy of the huacas, the low fetish idols and objects, and as such he destroyed the Curaca Pinao Capac with all his idols, he also conquered Toya Capac, a great idolator. (*Vega Comment.* II. p. 76.) Later on the Inca Mayta Capac ordered all the huacas and idols to be brought to Cuzco and had them burnt. He also ordered the people to pay no honours to the sun, the moon, and the elements, as they were made for the service of man. (*Ibid.* II. p. 83.)

There are indications in the records of other Incas which intimate they had lofty conceptions of the Divine nature. Yupanqui argued: "They say the sun lives and that he does everything. But when one does anything he is near the thing he does. Yet many things take place when the sun is absent, therefore he cannot do everything. If a living being he would weary with perpetual journeys, he would be fatigued, but if a free agent he would visit other parts of the heavens. In truth he seems like a thing held to its task, an arrow that flies where it is shot not where it wills." Acosta also informs us that the Inca Yupanqui gave forth that being one day alone and melancholy, Virachoa the Creator spake to him complaining that though he were universal lord and creator of all things, and that he had made the heavens, the sun, the world, and men, and that all were under his command, yet did they not yield him the obedience they ought, but did equally honour other things which had no virtue but what he imparted to them. From that time they set the images of Viracocha above that of the Thunder and the rest of the gods." (*Acosta, Hist. of Ind.* II. p. 430.) The fact is that a fresh evolution of supernal ideas was taking place, and from a mere feudal conclave of gods in the heavens as of rulers on the earth, regal sovereignty in both cases was being announced. We must not, however, read this change as the evolution of a monotheistic divinity with its attendant spirits, but an elected godhead

surrounded by his associate gods, each a sovereign power in his own province.

Even the infidelity of the child of the sun could not at once effect a change. The concept of an unseen creator gave but a vague impression; it was possible but beyond their comprehension; and the people and priests used to the old cult clung to the visible god whose daily influence confirmed his prestige. Hence, when nearer to our times the Inca Huayna Capac, a doubter like his predecessor, at the festival of the Sun gazed with a steady questioning eye on that luminary, which the Sun-priest noting the manifestation of scorn expressed, reproved, he replied to the priest's observations, "I ask you two questions. I am your king and universal lord. Would any of you order me to take a long journey for his sake, or would the most powerful of my vassals dare to disobey if I should command him to go to Chili? Then there must be a more mighty lord than the sun who orders him to take the course he follows day by day."

The feudal relations of the secondary gods to their superior is very marked in the prayer to Taloc, recorded by Sahagun, and quoted by Charnay. "Lord, liberal giver of all things, Lord of freshness and verdure, Lord of sweet-smelling sacrifices, Lord of incense and copal, alas! your vassals, the gods of water, have disappeared, and lie concealed in their deep caverns, having stowed away all things indispensable for life, although they continue to receive the *ulli yauhtli* and the copal offerings. They have also carried away their sister, the goddess of Substance. O Lord, have pity on us that live; our food goes to destruction, is lost and dried up for lack of water, it is as if turned to dust and mixed with spiders' webs. Wilt thou have no pity on those wasted with hunger? They are blue under the eye as with death, their mouths are dry as sedge, all the bones in their bodies show as in a skeleton. The children are as yellow

as earth, the very animals and birds suffer from dire want. O Lord, god of nourishment, hast thou utterly forsaken us? O Lord, invigorate the corn and other substances, and let not this come about with Thunder and Lightning, symbols of thy wrath, for if our lords, the Tlalocs, come this way, the people, being ill and hungry, will be frightened."

What might have been the result in Anahuac and Cuzco, in the conflict between reason and old customs, it were difficult to say; a Zoroaster, Moses, Buddha, or Joe Smith might have been evolved, and a newer, a high-born faith have supplanted the old crude Divine entities; but the advent of the Spaniards, in this as all other respects, crushed the native civilization by the burthen of a more advanced evolvement presented in its worst affinities.

That even in their highest conceptions of a creator, the Peruvians had only advanced to the conception of ministrant spirits, a more elevated and general form of local tutelar and ancestral deities, a species of saintly spiritual powers intervening between the regal god and the body of the people, is apparent from the prayer recorded by Markham in the *Rites of the Incas*. "O sacred huacas, ancestors, grandsires, parents, O Hatun Apu, O Hualhuantayna, O Apu Allastu, bring us near to the Creator, us thy sons, thy sons and our children, that they may be fortunate and near to the Creator as thou art."

CHAPTER XIV.

The Evolution of a Supreme Deity.

The consideration of the higher attributes of deity are resolvable into two distinct series of concepts; one is the evolution of the absolute supremacy of one god-power in the local Olympus, and his thereby becoming an imperial autocratic deity. In the other we have the mental derivation of an universal abstract god, not from human relations, but from the definite harmony and balance of all things and powers in the natural world. All the union concepts of inter-relations self-produced, are abrogated by the majesty of the one mental presence of the Divine unity that pervades all things, guides all forces, is universal in time and space, and yet like every occult force that the wit of man has devised, has no cognition through his senses. It is everywhere in all times, neither questions or is questioned, but as universal law is only presented to the human mind.

The first concept has ever grown as we have seen from the growth of human institutions, but the second may arise as an original concept from the inner workings of the human soul. We have collected some of the expressions of this concept in various countries and times, and these demonstrate that in all cases they were the original outpourings of human souls advanced to the intellectual dignity of beholding the universal in the individual. These are contained in Chapter XVII.

In the early attempts of man to grasp the entities of being, he approached the subject from the limited range of his tribal and local presentments. To him the world, and life about him, are the universe; he accepts them as representing all nature, all beings, and adapts his interpretation thereof to the extent of the images and thoughts thus brought in relation with his mind-powers. Every local cosmogony and mythology thus endeavours to account for its surrounding conditions, and evolves all the special relations of the neighbouring peoples. Thus were derived the affinities of men and nature, and of supernal sentiments as contained in the Rig Veda, in the cosmic schemes of the Polynesian and African races, in the rude Norse mythology and the old Greek lore. All these are special, and no one would conceive from the Chaldean account of creation, that one-half of the world was exposed to the pernicious action of ice and snow, or from the preliminary chapters of the Vendidad that there existed a world of happy islands scattered over an almost boundless sea where summer ever reigned. In like manner, the lithe Polynesian, who knew nothing of the bitter wind of the north, or great arid, sandy and salt desert regions, conceives the world is everywhere such as his beautiful palm-girt isles. No primary race ever conceived of nature in its universal aspects, and none could, therefore, evolve the theory of a common god, much less of it as an abstract power, save by original thought.

Men isolated, and with but limited horizons, and grouped in local communes or tribes, each of which by the common human aptitude of generalizing their surrounding conditions, and evolving not only special natural, but supernal conditions therefrom, builds up its own scheme of spirit and nature powers, of animal and vegetal life, and of the extent and co-ordination of the human tribes with which it is cognizant.

First and foremost, it places its own tribe as a personality; they are the first of men, the more immediate representatives of the gods, the leaders, the descendants of their nature, or men-gods, whose Olympus, Ida Meru or Sinai, is in the immediate neighbourhood, and their holy land is trod by Divine, as well as human feet. By natural increments the society grows, it throws out offshoots, it diffuses, and each isolated group from the common gods of the race, selects its own tutelar deities, modified as circumstances necessitate.

There was, naturally, but a limited series of god-powers evolved in every group, and their acceptance, duration, and range of influence varied as the associative links of each commune; so out of the lower-class deities, the clan, or family gods, were selected, and each individual also found a personal protector in a spirit or ghost, may-be continuing the mystic protection of the early charms.

Immediate political considerations had much to do with the federation of the tribal and communal gods. We have shown how some of these associative groups were brought about. These we will supplement with like federations of Greek deities, also in harmony with the human federal associations. Curtius, in his *History of Greece*, explaining the development of Spartan and Athenian power, shows that the federation of the local tutelar gods was co-ordinate with human federations. "Zeus, according to the conception of the Achæan tribe, was the common guardian of the peoples, the most ancient federal deity of all the Hellenes, and at the same time the protector of the Heraclidic principalities in Peloponnesus. The Pelasgian Zeus owned a primitive sanctuary in the valley of the Alpheus. The Achæans joined this worship of Zeus, and combined with it the adoration as Hero of their ancestor Pelops, in whose honour they instituted festive games. By the side of Zeus, Here was adored, her sanctuary was the federal sanctuary

of the two neighbouring states, and the choir of sixteen women, who in company wove the robe of Here, was represented by the sixteen country towns which lay equally distributed in Elis and Pisatis. This federal relation was also extended to the worship of Zeus, which had gained a totally new importance from the accession of the Achæan Pelopidæ. Elis and Sparta were at one in the interests of their policy, and in order, mutually, to support one another in carrying it into execution they concluded an alliance with the sanctuary of the Pisæan Zeus for its centre. The basis of the federation was the common recognition of the Olympian Zeus, and the common participation in his festivals." (*Greece*, I. p. 231, &c.)

The important social and religious influence of Athens had a similar origin by the federation of gods. Curtius writes: "Zeus, who, wherever cities were built, descends from the mountain tops to take up his abode in the midst of men, was the first and most ancient guardian of the city of Athens. By his side Poseidon established his dominion on the citadel. Athenæ, aided and accompanied by warlike families, plants her spear in the ground. Then a sanguinary war follows, settled by a reconciliation of the worship of either divinity. Zeus, after the fashion of earlier dynasties, retains the title of the guardian of the city, while Athenæ becomes the true divinity of the citadel and land. By the marriage of Ion, the son of Xathus, to Creusa the daughter of King Erectheus, the adoration of Apollo as a paternal deity was introduced, then the older divinities occupy the citadel, Athenæ and Apollo enter into close relations, but Apollo remains outside the citadel. To constitute Attica as one state, eleven places had to renounce their independence. Against this Eleusis, the second principal plain of the land, revolted, but the Athenians overcame them, the separate governments were abolished, the eminent families with their systems of religious worship transferred to Athens, and the

whole land united in one city. This change was accomplished in the name of the divinity who had long been acknowledged as the national goddess, and the festival of Athenæ became the political collective festival." (*Ibid.* I. p. 301, &c.)

Conditions, both social and supernal, akin to those we have described in Greece, mark the tribal and tutelar relations on the Gold Coast at the present time. According to Major A. B. Ellis, in his work on the *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, every local district and commune has its own tutelar deity or deities. Among these two have obtained an elevated and presiding status. Bobowissi, or, as he is more familiarly called Grandfather Bobowissi, is a nature-god; like Zeus a hill deity, he has advanced to become the chief god of the southern tribes, and was until recently worshipped universally by the tribes on the littoral of the Gold Coast as well as by the inland tribes of Wassaw, Arbra, and Assin. Like Zeus he is lord of thunder and lightning and storms. Tando, a river-god, is also the presiding god of all the communes and states associate in the Ashantee confederacy. Any commune conquered by their arms, accepts Tando as chief over their own local divinities, and whatever city frees itself from this enforced association like with the Greek cities returns to its allegiance to Bobowissi. Ellis writes, "When a tribe cast off the yoke of Ashantee it seceded from the worship of Tando and adopted that of Bobowissi. Thus Wassaw, Denkera, Assin, &c., which were formerly feudatories of Ashantee and worshippers of Tando, are now followers of Bobowissi. From the long series of struggles which took place between the Ashantees and the southern tribes, Bobowissi came to be regarded as antagonistic to Tando, so that any tribe seceding from Ashantee naturally chose him for their protector, and their success convinced them that Bobowissi had both the will and power to protect them." (*The Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 33.)

Under these conditions the gods, like the states, not only advanced in power but enlarged their attributes; it was the same as we have seen in Egypt, in Syria, and Phœnicia, the change arising sometimes by conquest, at others by federation, the citizens of the various towns associating in council, or acknowledging a common ruler, and the gods affiliating in like manner under the presidency of the most powerful deity. Thus Zeus became an imperial god in Greece, Merodach in Babylon, and Ashur in Nineveh. Everywhere as the autocratic power of the sovereign extended over wider regions, the authority and assumptions of the chief god became more manifest; men felt there must be a like balance of authority in the heavens above as on the earth beneath. When Pachacamac submitted, the emblazoned majesty of the sun became more apparent in Cuzco. When Babylon fell, the might and glory of Bel collapsed, and Ormuzd reigned with imperial will in the heavens. Everywhere we observe with the greater supremacy of human authority the loftier pretensions of the gods. The Ti's sank into comparative insignificance when the might of Shangti was manifest, and, like feudal chiefs overpowered by the autocratic claims of their suzerain, the lesser gods sink into insignificance. When the heavens were ruled by a council of feudal gods, each commune or family selected from the congress of gods its own special tutelar; there was the same freedom in making the individual totem compact; each feudatory selected his own lord. By custom, however, and the habit of submission, that which was at first voluntary becomes enforced, the feudatory attributes pass away and the lesser is absorbed in the greater.

The gradual unification of authority is a marked feature in the adoration of the gods. At an early period in all encroaching states the worshipper not being now absorbed by the local influences, and used to the unification of state authority, feels the same necessary want of united Divine

power. From addressing the Maruts, Agni, Indra, or Varuna individually or collectively, he embodies their attributes in a generic term and addresses the god-power it expresses not the gods. This is the origin of monotheism in the ordinary human mind, though, as we have said, exceptional men work out the problem through the power of generalizing their thoughts. Those men who fail to realize the principle of deity rest satisfied with transferring the attributes of the many older gods to the one they specially adore, and Indra, Varuna, or Agni are not only their own local and tutelar powers, they are all that the nature of the other deities express. Wherever this form of evolution has taken place a spurious unification of the godheads betimes ensues, such as is manifest in the Rig Veda in the evolution of the Hindoo god-powers; it prevailed in the old faiths of Egypt in the forms of Osiris, Horus, or Serapis, and we can distinguish in the Accadian texts the contest of the two processes of god evolution in Chaldea and Western Asia, generally with very diverse results. The one process of differentiation has been named henotheism by Max Muller, and expresses an incomplete conception of the essence of divinity, a failure to grasp the unity of the Divine nature, and presages an unprogressive state of supernal conceptive power. In the consecutive and alternate worship of the many gods in India, we note the inaptitude of the diffused supernal god-powers to aid in coalescing the ordinary governing powers; the failure to affiliate, or rather assimilate the god-powers, manifests itself in the want of a presiding unity in the co-ordination of the State.

Yet that there was a time when, as under so many other forms of faith, the growing minds of the race endeavoured to conceive an unity of power both in the heavens and on earth, some of the hymns in the Rig Veda demonstrate, and we have the expression of god-unity in principle that we fail afterwards to find in the Brahmanas and Sutras.

In diverse Vedic hymns the two principles are strongly contrasted, and this we take to have been the turning-point in Hindoo evolution; the idea of supernal as well as social unity failed to take root, and one of the noblest countries in the world, physically apt for unity, has remained for ages supernally and socially disintegrate.

Though we find that in one form of evolution the one-god-power absorbs the attributes of all the other god-powers and becomes recognized as the sole essence of the universal, in the other mode of concentrating the many attributes of deity they are expressed through diverse names or entities; yet even under this arrangement the philosophic mind cannot remain satisfied, but evolves in Brahm, in Mahadeva, or Buddha, an abstract universal passive immovable autocratic god, who has nothing to do, because the diffused Divine essences suffice for the universal needs. Among the special great faiths that failed to absorb the attributes of the many deities in one, but rather ascribed to the many the attributes of all, we class the religions of India, the old Egyptian faith in its later manifestations, and the Assyrio-Babylonian after-god-powers. The concentration of all god attributes in one god took place in Persia and Judea, and later in the output of Islam; the failures at unity and universalism may be noted in the attributes of the secondary powers in Peru, the Zeus and Jupiter of the Greeks and Romans, and the Shangti of China.

We have found that by the aggregation of peoples and the concentration of imperial rule isolated states blend into powerful empires, the sovereign thereof towering far above not only the people, but those now become the ministers of his power. So, in the spiritual world, a Jupiter whom an Ajax might defy, a god like Anu in the face of his enemies screeching and hiding in the garrets of the sky, or as Greek and Egyptian divinities concealing their supernal natures

in the bodies of brutes, we behold a Supreme Zeus, never relaxing his grasp of the thunderbolt, never foregoing his claim of superiority, but ruling with an imperious will, not only reigning over men, jinns and angels, but shadowed like an eastern monarch in the recesses of the heavens. Such state and power is pourtrayed in the after ascendancy of the royal Incas, in the conquest of the four quarters of their world by Hwang Ti, in the sentiment of universal sovereignty premised by Persia, affirmed by Alexander the Great, and later enforced by the imperial Dictators and Cæsars: thus the sentiment was presented of God as One, and His sovereignty universal.

Betimes there arise early manifestations of imperialism, even concepts of Divine universality. Some men are ever before their times, and essay the impossible. Such, in imperialism, was Rameses, such Sargon, such Charlemagne. Thus, also, a Zeus may be supreme in many states—the worship of Horus extend to foreign communes—so, an Apollo, a Dionysius, may supersede in some states the greater prestige of Zeus and Serapis, the adoration of Horus, and yet the world went on as before. There was no element of continuity in the empire; when Alexander perished it resolved into its elements. Such was the case at the death of Charlemagne. But a Roman emperor might die, and the universal state still continue; and as the ideas of universalism, almightiness, and eternity became expressed in the state they ascended as supernal attributes of the sovereignty in heaven.

We may perceive from these observations that there are two modes in which universalism may evolve, one the result of universal rule, the other the process of growth by assimilation. In the days of Alexander the second force had no existence. The supremacy of Zeus might be extended by conquest, but the powers that ruled had no conception of proselytizing. They noted an affinity in the

local god with their god, or they deemed the system so distinct as to have nothing in common, and they left the subject peoples to their own supernal devices, satisfied with enforcing their material ascendency. In the more advanced sovereignty of the Roman state, association was brought about by other means than conquest. Not only did the interchange of the world's commodities bring about higher concepts of universalism, but the commingling of races thus matured was strengthened by the assimilation of mental ideas thus brought into propinquity. It was more difficult for a special racial great god to be accepted universally than for a local mental conception to be blended in the affinities of peoples. Long before Zeus fell and Osiris was reduced to a myth, there are ample evidences that, through the increasing amalgamation of peoples, a want was felt. The sensuous and barbaric conceptions of the old faiths, though resolved into myths or symbols, failed to satisfy the enlarged craving of the human soul. Man's higher moral nature, his higher social aptitudes, his more noble and elevated conceptions of deity, called for something better. Everywhere, among the best minds, the insufficiency of the Zeus of Homer to satisfy the longings of the human soul became apparent. They might cry out, great is Diana of Ephesus! but the people passed by on the other side. A moral man could no longer appeal to an immoral god, nor take his lines of action from a reprobate deity.

Other concepts of a god grew in men's souls. Truth, rectitude, the sense of justice and mercy, needed expression. Zeus was cold, lewd, implacable; and each man sought in his own reason for a protector—a personal, maybe an impersonal, power that should realize the sentiments his soul desired to be presented.

We should err much if we inferred that the impulses of all men on supernals were alike, as if religion had but one form. With some it is a mere acknowledgment of power,

maybe assuaged by sacrifices more or less personal, with others moral rectitude, according to the theory of the times, is the prevailing instinct. Some conceive it as education policy, mere statecraft; not so the devotee, he accepts it as the highest endowment of his being, as the necessary tie that assimilates him to the divinity. Self sinks to the negation of its natural impulses, and all ties succumb before the social forms of the accepted faith. Of the many forms of faith that have advanced to express a supreme deity, only varying in its nature under the influence of the local and personal sentiments of the worshippers, we will now proceed to inquire, commencing with the faith in a central Divine power as manifested by the ancient Egyptians.

Egypt. In the *Ritual of the Dead*, of which so many illustrations have come down to our times, with the scenic paintings as illuminations attached to the text, we are made familiar, not only with the co-working of the developed individual, but co-operating gods, their relations with the many-named presiding deity, and the conjoint relations of men with the multiplex inwoven deities in which the universal is sought to be expressed by its many attributes. The ritual consists of a long series of mysterious rites and ceremonies, addresses to and by the soul of the defunct Egyptian, appeals to the various phases of the Divine power, its introduction to certain gods, the dangers and impediments it met with in its course to the mystic judges of the dead, caused by its ceremonial and moral offences during life, and the estimation of its good and bad qualities in their concrete embodiment in the scales of Divine justice. Among the incidents presented in the journey of the soul to its after abode the great evil serpent for a time bars the way, a danger which is passed by a gleam from the disc of the Divine Ra, and by the mediatory interposition of the deities to which the soul performs its reverential devotions. Through the many difficulties and dangers still besetting

the harassed soul, it is relieved and comforted by the devotions of its friends when living, their oblations and the services of the priests in the temple; partly also by the special interposition of its own good acts personified by ministrant divinities. Thus one by one the various members of its body are purified from their mortal taints and restored to the soul, they become rehabilitated in the body, now as holy as when it left the hands of Tum. Then the various monsters that throng along the path to the after-world, the typhon crocodile, the hideous tortoise, the fearful asps, the slimy snakes, are powerless to injure the soul through the mercies of the victor gods. The new Osiris, justified by the sun, partakes of the Divine food, then it rapidly passes to the various metamorphoses that finally consummate its being, emblematizing its passage through the forms of the several great divinities as the hawk, the heron, the lotus and the crocodile, till, transfused by the natures of the divinities, it passes from earth to heaven as the Osiris justified by Horus the Mighty One, who is addressed as the Justifier of the Righteous, the Deliverer of Mankind, the Holy Child, the sole begotten Son of his Father, the Lord of Life, the Giver of Life, the Eternal King, the Word of his Father, terms afterwards applied to the Jewish Messiah.

The first stage in the evolvement of the concept of a Supreme Deity among the Egyptians was to associate them in local groups when the various god-powers in their tutelar character were supposed conjointly to aid the worshipper through their now combined action. The triad god-powers in early Thebes, Memphis and Hermothis, correspond with the after tutelary groups of gods at Erech, Calah, Assur, and Babylon. At Thebes, Amen Ra, the sun-god, was at first only a local tutelar deity, though he afterwards, in the twelfth dynasty, through the establishment of his native city as a federated capital, became the great regal god of

Egypt, with Ra, Maut the godmother and Chous were combined as the local triad power. Chous, like his father, was an invisible, incomprehensible god; his name means the hidden; he is the mysterious power who created, preserved, and governed the world. (*Lenormant, Anc. His. East*, p. 324.)

At Memphis, Ptah, equally the personification of creative energy, lord of justice and regulator of worlds, was the central force in the local triad; Pasht, the great goddess of Bubastis and the Sun, completing the combined Divine sovereignty. At Hermothis Mouth and Harphre Horus a sun form with Ritho formed the supernal conclave.

But these were not the only forms of god association. We subsequently read of the general gods being as it were divided into ruling committees, as the great chiefs in Abydos—the great chiefs belonging to Tattu—the great chiefs attached to the paths of the dead—the great chiefs in Khem—the great chiefs of the festival—the great chiefs in the hill of Tap—the great chiefs who belong to Anruft and the great chiefs in Rusat. (*Bunsen, Egypt's Place*, V. p. 182.) Other references to combined action by the deities are also recorded in the ritual as "the wicked has been stopped by the assembled gods," and "thou art justified before the associate gods."

As a necessary result of the combination of the nomes under the dynasties of Upper and Lower Egypt, and subsequently the combination of the whole in the empire of the two crowns, the lower god-forms became merely local tutelar powers or subsidiary deities to the one regal god of Egypt. Zeus in high Olympus, Jupiter enthroned in state under the emperors and representing the imperial majesty in the heavens, were no loftier personations of supernal power than was Ra or Amen Ra to the later Egyptians. He is the supreme power in the universe, and not only the creator of the upper and the lower worlds, but the

creator of his own being, more in the Litany of Ra. Like as Agni and Indra and Varuna are each forms of one central philosophic deity in India, so in Egypt Tum is a form of Ra, Chephra is a form of Ra, Shu and Seb and Nut are all forms of Ra, that early conception of a one universal god had the same origin in Egypt as in India, and all the great general gods are but personations of Ra. We quote a portion of the hymn which illustrates this unity and universality of the Divine power at least among the sage priests of Egypt, though, may be, not the supernal concepts of the body of the people:—

"Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, the Master of the hidden spheres,
Who causes the principles to arise, who dwells in darkness,
Who is born as the all surrounding universe.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, He who discloses the earth,
And who lights the anent, he whose principle has become his manifes-
And who is born under the form of the god with the large disc. [tation,
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, the soul that speaks, that rests
Upon her high place, that creates the hidden intellects
Which are developed in her.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, the only one, the courageous one,
Who fashions his body, He who calls his gods to life when He
Arrives in his hidden sphere.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, He who descends into the spheres
Of anent, his form is that of Tum.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, He who descends into the
Mysteries of Anubis, his form is that of Chephra.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, he whose body is so large
That it hides his shape, his form is that of Shu.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, He who leads Ra into his members,
His form is that of Tefnut.
Homage to thee, Ra, supreme power, who sends forth the plants
In their season, his form is that of Seb."

And so on to the seventy-five forms emblematic of the attributes of the deities and all expressed in Ra. (*Rec. of Past*, VIII. p. 105.)

Ra in the early records is devoid of this universal Divine nature; he is but a chieftain divinity with his subsidiary

dependent powers, like the small inferior kings. Evolved on the model of a human sovereign he can act only as a human sovereign acts, and when absent from his Olympus the minor duties may be fulfilled by the subaltern gods; but high ceremonial acts of regal authority require his personal attendance. In the *Stele of the Coronation*, when the Egyptian monarch dies suddenly, Ra is away from heaven. Ra has gone down into the land of Aukhet and no other god-power dare select of the two royal brothers the successor. At the first application Ra was absent and there was no reply, but when the question was again proposed Ra had returned to heaven and a suitable response was given. (*Rec. of Past*, VI. p. 76.)

The regal power of the gods was manifest so soon as the nomes were combined. Thus Tum says, "I am Tum, maker of the heaven, creator of beings, making all the generations of beings, giving birth to the gods. Lord of life, supplying the gods." (*Bunsen*, V. p. 222.) In another text we have the regal manifestation of the sun as a nature-god. "Hail, O Sun creator, self-created. All the gods rejoice when they see the king of heaven. Thou hast ordered every god, O Sun. Thou hast been made the one alone in his being. The Lord of Terror, greatest of the terrible." (*Ibid.* V. p. 170.) The Annals of Thothmes III. gave thanks to Amen Ra, King of the gods, Lord of heaven. Noferhotep says: "So is the god the king of the gods,

> "Who acknowledges him he acknowledges
> And rewards him that works for him,
> And protects him that serves him." (*Brugsch, Egy.* I. p. 473.)

Ptah at Dendera was "chief of the society of the gods, who created all beings. All things come into existence after he existed. He is the lord of truth, the king of the gods." In the *Ritual of the Dead* we read: "Horus is crowned. He has formed the gods, the only One, the

Universal Lord." Rameses says, "I have come to worship my father Ammon, the king of the gods."

Though the general social concept of the Egyptians never passed beyond the idea of a royal monarch ruling in the heavens as their kings on the earth, some of their poets and great thinkers beheld other than a mere national god endowed with local sympathies and whose petty nature restricted its affinities to a chosen race; they became assured that as the one sun blessed all races of men, so the beneficence of a Supreme Deity must shed glory and beauty and plenty over all lands. Thus one of their writers observes, "We are come before the Lord of heaven, the Lord of the earth. Sun, light of the world, Lord of time, measurer of the course of the sun. Lord of prosperity, creator of the harvest, fashioner and former of mortals, dispenser of breath to all men, animator of the whole company of the gods, pillar of heaven, threshold of the earth, weigher of the balance of the two worlds, thou who watchest when men rest." (*Brugsch.*)

The poem of Pentaur after narrating the contests and conquests of Rameses II. says, "The whole earth has subjected itself to his name and the princes lying on the ground worship his countenance." In one of the hymns to Amen Ra his common and universal attributes are specified. "Praise to Amen Ra, chief of all the gods, giving life to all animated things. Lord of the thrones of earth, the ancient of heaven, the oldest of earth. Lord of all existencies, the one in his work, single among the gods. Father of the gods, maker of men, creator of the beasts, creator of fruitful trees, maker of herbs, feeder of cattle, begotten of Ptah, maker of things below and things above. The gods attend his feet and acknowledge his majesty as their Lord. Lord of eternity, maker of light, Lord of truth. The one maker of existencies. The one alone with many hands, lying awake when all men sleep. Hail to thee, say

all creatures from the height of heaven to the breadth of the earth, to the depths of the sea. The gods adore thy majesty. Sovereign of life, health and strength, chief of all the gods. We worship thy spirit who alone hast made us. We praise thee on account of thy mercy to us. The one alone without a peer, king of his cycle of gods. Hail to thee, Amen Ra, Lord of the thrones of the world." (*Records of the Past,* II. p. 135.) It will be observed that while the poet chiefly dwells on the universal nature and powers of Amen Ra as lord of all, the old limited range of his earlier attributes are rehearsed. Thus while he is lord of eternity he is begotten of Ptah, and though king of all he speaks of his cycle of gods as if he were even now only the chief in a local god triad.

Lenormant writes that "in Egypt as in all pagan countries there were in reality two religions—one held by the people in general consisting only of the outer form of the esoteric doctrine and presenting an assemblage of the grossest superstition, the other known only to those who had sounded the depths of religious science, containing some of the more elevated doctrines and forming a sort of learned theology, having for its basis the idea of the unity of the god. Herodotus tells us that the Egyptians of Thebes recognized only one god who had no beginning and would have no end. The sacred Egyptian texts say he is the sole generator in heaven and on earth and that he has not been begotten—that he is the only living and true god who was begotten by himself." (*Ancient Hist. of East,* p. 318.)

As a necessary consequence of this higher god-development he assumes not only universal attributes but the best and most gracious sympathies of the human soul; he represents justice tempered with mercy, kindliness, aversion to sin, but tenderness and consideration for the sinner; and, as in so many myth-developed faiths this supreme god

accepts vicarious sacrifices and admits of moral purification by other and adventitious means. This new moral susceptibility, unknown in the older texts, is apparent in several of the later prayers.

> "Pray thou, pray thou. Before the couch pray, before the throne pray,
> Before the rising of the dawn pray, before the fire pray,
> By the tablets of the papyri pray, by the side of the river pray,
> By the side of a ship, or riding in a ship, or leaving a ship, pray;
> At the rising of the sun, at the setting of the sun, pray;
> To the gods in heaven, at the altars on the earth, pray;
> On coming out of the city, on entering the city, pray;
> In the place of judgment pray, in the temple pray, on the road pray."
> (*Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.* V. p. 549.)

In the long Egyptian Ritual for the Dead the sentiment of sinful conduct, of punishment immediate or in futurity, of repentance and the necessity of the soul's sanctification, purification and advance to a final state of beatitude, are prominently presented. "O soul! greatest of things created, his great sin is not Divine or his fault complete, falling into the hands of the Lord of Truth, for I have corrected the injuring evil in him—the god turns the evil to truth, correcting his fault." Again, "O Great One! I have dissipated my sins. I have destroyed my failings, for I have got rid of the sins which detained me on earth." So in the following: "We obliterate all thy faults, we annihilate all thy sins. Thou hast been severed from the world." (*Bunsen, Egypt*, V. p. 227, &c.)

In the Book of Assa Tatkera written by one Ptahhotep—a hand-book of good manners—we seem in the presence of a kindly, homely moralist on the model of the Chinese teacher Confutze. He preaches filial obedience and family affection. "The son who obeys the words of his father lives to a good old age; the obedient son shall be happy in his obedience. The most beautiful thing to behold, the best thing to hear, is a child with a thankful breast, whose heart beats for his father." Some of the moral enunciations

remind us of the Psalmist; others are proverbial expressions as—"Happiness finds every place alike good, but a little misfortune will abase a very great man." With these inward results of the evolvement of an universal and moral god in Egypt, we conclude our observations on supernal expositions in that country.

India.—We have already treated on the Divine assumptions of unity in India. We have now to illustrate the attempts made to evolve the sentiment of the universal in the supernal. Our chief illustrations of the growth of unity were quotations from the Rig Veda, but the evidences of the spirit of the universal, a development later in time than the composition of the Rig Veda, are chiefly selected from the *Sanskrit Texts* of Muir. He illustrates the early stage of supernal evolution when the gods derived from the material and the living world some mere fetishes blending the attributes of life and substance, formed a heterogeneous body of individual god-powers, out of which men in their groupal kindred or individual aspects selected protective agencies of a more exalted type than the charms that at first satisfied the protective longings of humanity. The following texts express this stage in mental evolution:—"I invoke for your succour Dadhika, the Asvins, Ushas, Khindled Agni (Fire), Bhaga, Indra, Pushan, Brahmanaspati, the Adityas, heaven and earth, the waters, and the sky." Again: "Depose to-day to our help and succour Varuna, Mitra, Indra, the Maruts, Pushan, Vishnu, Agni, Purandhi, Savitri, the plants, and the mountains." (*Sansk. Texts*, IV. p. 70.) One deity in this stage could only bestow one kind of blessing, protect in one form, hence each individual, each social group, called on as many as he or they thought necessary; the many gods supplied the place of the many amulets that men wore for security from diverse risks; in fact they were but deified or spiritualized amulets. How many may have been considered necessary

to be appealed to may be seen in the following :—"Agni, Varuna, Mitra; ye gods, give us strength, and ye hosts of Maruts and Vishnu. May both the Asvins, Rudra, and the wives of the deities, with Pushan, Bagha, and Saraswati, be pleased with us. I invoke for our protection, Indra and Agni, Mitra and Varuna, Aditi, heaven and earth, the sky, the Maruts, the mountains, the waters, Vishnu, Pushan, Brahmanaspati, Bhaga, Samsa, and Savitri; and may Vishnu and the wind uninjuring, and Soma, the bestower of riches, give us happiness; and may the Ribhus, Asvins, Tvashtri, and Vibyhau, be favourable to us." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 69.) In these instances it will be noted that the powers appealed to are but spiritual amulets, mere catalogues of supernal names, trees, waters, and mountains, and spirit personalities, all endowed with certain mystic attributes.

In the next stage of evolution the same occult powers are appealed to for protection, each in his own range of influence, but these, instead of acting indiscriminately, are more or less in association, and are supposed to have a common interest in their worshipper; mere fetish power is passing into mental personality. "May these dispensers of blessings—Rudra, Sarasvati, Vishnu, and Vaya—together be gracious to us; may Ribhuxan Vaga the divine, Vidhatri, Parjanya, and Vata, increase our energy." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 71.) Again: "Agni in heaven or earth carry our words to Mitra, Varuna, Indra, Agni, Aryaman, Aditi, Vishnu; among these gods may Sarasvati and the Maruts be pleased." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 73.) In another we have—"We invoke Aditi, heaven and earth, the great rite, Indra and Vishnu, the Maruts, the great sky, the divine Adityas to our succour; the Vasus, Rudras and Savitri, whose works are excellent. May Sarasvat through our prayers, may Varuna who upholds pious acts, Pushan, Vishnu, the great Vayu, the Asvins, the offerers of prayers, the omniscient immortals, grant us a triple protection from evil." (*Ibid.*

IV. p. 86.) In these and many other like hymns the gods act in concert, but no indication is given of any of them being chiefs or leaders; but in the hymns, the lower fetish charm-forms as trees, waters, and mountains, have ceased to be invoked, and in their place we have the offerers of prayers (priests), and the dispensers of blessings, appealed to.

Other texts express a higher stage of development of the supernal. The gods are arranged in classes, and among the greater god-powers one has become the presiding deity; he is the first among his fellows, the chief in heaven and earth. "Many are the excellent works that Indra hath done; not all the gods are able to frustrate the counsels of him who established the earth and the sky, and wonder-working produced the sun and the dawn. O innoxious god! thy greatness has been veritable since that time, when as soon as thou wast born thou didst drink the Soma. Neither the heavens, nor the days, nor the months, nor the seasons, can resist the energy of thee, the mighty." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 88.) Again: "Thou, Indra, art the most powerful. Thou hast kindled the sun. Thou art great, the architect of all things, and lord of all!" (*Ibid.* IV. p. 92.) So—"Verily, Surya, thou art great. Verily, Aditya, thou art great. The majesty of thee who art great is celebrated through thy greatness; thou art the Divine leader of the gods." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 96.) "Savitri has established the earth by supports. Savitri has fixed the sky in unsupported space. Savitri has milked from the atmosphere, the ocean. From him the earth, from him the atmosphere arose, from him the heaven and earth extended." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 96.)

To understand fully the varied arrangements of the god-powers in early India, we should remember that even at the present day there are not only petty rustic and local tutelar god-powers, new goddesses, which are special spiritual amulets for certain diseases, but that even the Vishnu and

Seeva sects proclaim in special districts the ascendancy of their own chief god-powers. If such expositions of the supernal continue under the more homogeneous rule of modern times, how much more varied would be the expression of supreme authority in the heavens when there were so many centres of social and religious activity. We feel assured that the long continuance of a broken sovereignty in India will account for much that seems anomalous in the evolution of social institutions and supernal conceptions in that country. The many diverse origins of the gods is only to be explained by the existence of many local cults; in some hymns they are described as the offspring of heaven and earth; in others the Ushas are the mothers of the gods; in two hymns Brahmanaspati is father; in others, Soma; some were the sons of Aditya. (*Ibid.* V. p. 13.)

Long ere the doctrine of unity and universalism was affirmed, attempts were made as with other races to explain away the attributes of the many as designating the One. Yaksha declared that in reality owing to the greatness of the deity the one soul is celebrated as if it were many, the different gods being the separate members of the one soul. Some say the Rishis address their prayers according to the multiplicity of natures in the celestial existences, and from the universality of their nature the gods are mutually produced from each other, and possess the natures of one another. These, however, Muir says, are the views of men who lived after the compilation of the Brahmanas at a period when reflection had long been exercised upon the contents of the hymns, and when speculation—and he might have added experience, and consequently enlarged views—had made considerable advance in the range of thought-power. In the older portions of the hymns, as Muir states, we discover few traces of any such abstract conception of the deity. (*Ibid.* V. p. 351.)

In tracing the evolution of supreme god-power in India,

we have to follow the many attempts to express by new names and attributes those concepts not manifested by the earlier gods. The first expression of this supernal universalism a writer in the *Calcutta Review* describes as being presented in the Adityas. "Aditi means the undivided, the unlimited, the eternal. The word has no counterpart among the deities of other Aryan races, and must have been coined in India after they had settled in that country. Indra is called the son of Aditi. Savitri, the sun, is described as an Aditya." In successive stages these are followed by the names and attributes of Brahmanaspati, Krishna, Rama, Siva, Purusha, Skhamba, Hiranyagharba, Brahma, Pitmana, Mahadeva, Visvakarman, Parameshthin, Pitamaha, and Narayana, Prajavati, and Parameswara. We may not accept these as successive expositions of the newly-conconceived divine in one cult, but as the many expositions taking place at various times in different local cults modified by their interactions through the common association of the various worshippers so general even now through India.

As illustrating this series of higher evolved god-powers, we commence with the early expositions of autocratic rule by the central deity of a cult. One myth in the Satapatha Brahmana describes "the gods Agni, Indra, Soma, and Vishnu the sacrifice, and all the deities, except the Asvins, as present at a sacrifice. Then they said, whoever amongst us through exertion, austerity, faith, sacrifice, and oblations first comprehends the issue of the sacrifice, let him be the most eminent of us. Be it so. Vishnu first attained that position; he became the most eminent of the gods." (*Sansk. Texts*, IV. p. 110.) Like, as with human statesmen and warriors work and energy of will became supreme in heaven. Another text observes that "originally the gods were all alike, all pure. Of them three desired, may we become superior—Agni, Indra, and Surya. On they went, worshipping and toiling, and they became superior.

Originally there was not in Indra the same vigour as in Agni—the same flame—but by desire they obtained vigour and flame, so in like manner Surya obtained his splendour." (*Ibid.* IV. p. 53.)

Of the nature and attributes of this imperial divinity, the Atharva Siras notes, "The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, 'Who art thou?' He said, 'I alone was before all things and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me. I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible. I am Brahma and not Brahma. I am below and above. I am male, eunuch, and female. I am the oldest, the chief. I am the waters, I am fire. I am the undecaying and the decaying; the mysterious and the secret. He who knows me, only me to be all, knows all the gods.'" (*Sansk. Texts*, IV. p. 300.)

From the named personality we pass to the unnamed, almost abstract, universal God. We have already seen that universal attributes are now ascribed to the deity. So they were by the poet who was before his day, as in the hymn from the Rig Veda, quoted by Max Muller, "Who is the God to whom we shall offer sacrifice? He—the born lord of all that is. He establishes the earth and sky. He who gives life, who gives strength, whose command all the bright gods revere, whose shadow is immortality, whose shadow is death. The one king of the breathing and awakening world. Who governs all, man and beast. Whose greatness the snowy mountains and the sea proclaim. Through him the sky is bright and the earth firm." (*Muller, Chips*, I. p. 29.)

In the Institutes of Vishnu, God is described as the great autocratic god-power, the God of gods. "Thou art Vasudeva. Thou art the Creator. Thou art the God who creates, preserves, and destroys at will. Thou art the gratifier of human desires, the guardian of the earth, the lord of creatures, without beginning, middle, or end; the

Lord of strength, of holy speech, Lord of heaven, Lord of earth, Lord of the waters, the wind, happiness. Thou pervadest everything, the one surpassing all conception. Thou art uncreated, invisible, unbounded, the Lord of everything. Thou art eternal, infinite. Thou art virtue. Thou art Vishnu. Thou art Krishna. Thou art Maryana. Thou art the final aim, the resort of all. Adoration be to thee."

Under the name of Brahmanaspati, we obtain in the Rig Veda some concept of a central unity. "There was then neither non-entity nor entity; there was no atmosphere, no sky above. Death was not, nor Immortality. That one breathed calmly, self-supported; there was nothing different from, nor above it. In the beginning darkness existed, enveloped in darkness. Desire first arose in the primal germ of mind, then were there impregnating powers and mighty forces, a self-supporting system beneath, and energy aloft. Who knows, who can declare whence has sprung, whence this creation? He, who in the highest heaven is ruler. He only knows, or does not know." (*Sanskrit Texts*, V. p. 357.)

In the Atharva Veda are several texts in which the mystic worshippers endeavour to express their ideal concepts of a supreme ruler of the universe. "Reverence to that greatest Brahma who presides over the past—the future—the universe, and whose alone, is the sky. The infinite extended on many sides, the infinite and the finite, all around these two the Ruler of the sky proceeds discriminating, knowing the past and the future of the universe." (*Sansk. Texts*, V. p. 386.) The manner in which the many names of the highest were by the deeper thinkers applied to the one godhead, will be noted in the following from the Atharva Veda: "Who is Skambha, to whom the waters tend and go? Who is Skambha, on whom Trajapati has supported and established all the worlds? Tell me

who is that Skambha, in whom men recognize the worlds and receptacles, the waters and Divine thought? Within whom are entity and non-entity, in whom austere fervour, energizing, maintains its highest actions; in whom the ceremonial, faith, the waters, and Divine science are comprehended; in whom earth, atmosphere, sky, fire, moon, sun, and wind are placed; in whose body all the thirty-three gods are contained? They who know the Divine essence in Purusha know Prajapati, know Paramesthin. He who knows Paramesthin knows Parajapati, knows the highest divinity, knows Skambha. Reverence to that great Brahma, who, born from toil and austere fervour, penetrated all the worlds. To Him all the gods are joined, by Him darkness is dispelled. He is free from evil." (*Ibid.* V. p. 382.)

Another of the universal god-names—possibly like all the other universal god-names, the expression of the same power in local cults in the Athar Veda—is Prana. "Reverence to Prana, to whom this universe is subject, who has become the Lord of all, on whom all is supported. When Prana calls aloud to the plants with thunder they are impregnated, and produce abundantly. When Prana has watered the great earth with rain the beasts rejoice. Prana clothes the creatures; Prana is lord of all, both of what breathes and what does not breathe. Prana is death. The gods worship Prana. Prana is the sun and moon; they call Prajapati Prana, they call Matarisvan Prana; the wind is called Prana. The past, the future, everything is supported on Prana." (*Ibid.* V. p. 394.)

In the Anusasana parva we read the cognomen of another like Brahm. "Superior even to Pitamaha is Hari, the Eternal, Purusha, Krishna, brilliant as gold. He is the creator of the earth, lord of these worlds, the most eminent of the gods; he is omniscient, omnipresent, facing in every direction the Supreme Spirit all pervading." (*Ibid.* IV.

p. 230.) The same, also, is Krishna. "Krishna created the earth, the air, the sky; from Krishna's body the earth was produced; he is the ancient boar of fearful strength; he created the mountains and the regions; becoming Vayu he dissipates the universe, becoming fire he burns it, becoming water he drowns all things. He is whatever is to be known, and he makes known whatever is to be known."

We cannot but note that as long ago as the period of the Brahmanas, we have to read in the mystic utterances of the priests and poets, a twofold system of Divine characteristics. There is the common vulgar concept that sees in every complicated action the movements of many god-powers. It cannot grasp the omnipotence of one Supreme ruler; the work is so vast; it needs many minds to conceive, many hands to perform the multitudinous duties of the universe. Then, above and beyond such limited powers of generalization, we perceive the aspirations of the mystic scholar grasping the capacity of the infinite mind to wield all forces, control all powers, and perform all actions, who has but to conceive a thought and it becomes a concrete result. Hence the One is allwhere, illimitable, eternal, omnipotent. As in India, so in Greece. Socrates and Plato spoke the philosophic mind of the abstract Divine entity, yet admitted the reverence of the many godheads as necessary to satisfy the popular sentiment. Muir says: "Whatever he the priest does with the Yajus texts, with that he consecrates that form of Prajapati, which is declared and limited, and what he the priest does silently, with that he consecrates the form of Prajapati, which is undeclared and unlimited." (*Ibid.* V. p. 393.)

Of the many idealizations of the higher universal God contained in the sacred polytheistic writings of the Brahmans, we select the following. They prove how often the nobler minds threw aside the wild theogonies of the

heavenly powers and saw universality and unity of purpose and action manifested in all things, and how conspicuously it passed from the material to the spiritual, and was enabled to lose itself in the abstract elements of things.

In the Aitareya Upanishad we read: "Soul alone was in the beginning. The Supreme Spirit, impelled by the works of the creatures absorbed in it, conceived a thought in the way of reflection. Let me manifest as existant in name and form. As a man in a deep sleep awakes that he may enjoy the fruit of his works, so the thought of causing all living creatures to enjoy the fruit of their works arose in the Supreme Spirit."

The Satapatha Brahmana observes: "In the beginning Brahma was this universe. He created the gods, and having created them placed them in these worlds. As in this world Agni, in the atmosphere Vayu, and in the sky Surya, in the worlds that are yet higher he placed the gods who are still higher. Such as are these visible worlds and these gods, even such were those higher visible worlds in which he placed those higher gods, and such were those gods themselves. Brahma then proceeded to the higher sphere where he pervaded the two worlds with form and with name. These are the two great magnitudes of Brahma; they become immortal. By that which he sends forth from his mind, mind is formed; by that which he sends forth from his voice he obtains name." (*Sansk. Texts*, V. p. 388.)

The evolution of a non-active, almost impersonal, abstract Supreme Being in Brahma, necessitated the continuance of other god-powers for the guidance of man and the protective rule of the universe; hence Vishnu and Siva, and the many minor supernal powers, but represent the active providence of a monotheistic deity. As a necessary result, homage to the Supreme Being and the interrelations of man and divinity can only be manifested through the

interposition of personal godheads, saints, and Bodhisattvas; and, consequently, in India there are no temples or shrines to the abstract Brahma any more than in Christian countries to the One God. As Monier Williams expresses it—"The one eternal Spirit can only become an object of mediation or knowledge. The Spirit is to be known by the Spirit, for He is enshrined in every man's heart. The Supreme Brahma is properly an object of internal knowledge, never an object of external; and in India, as in mediæval times and some Roman Catholic countries now, all human and Divine obligations and duties transpire and take effect through the mediation of a lower class of Divine natures. Even the doctrine of the atonement has to be read as the highest exposition of the same law of progress. Siva, Vishnu and the other supernal semblances of the Hindoos, to the philosophic worshipper are but the active personalities of Brahma, and the Supreme Being present in these god-powers is the real object of the offerings and the religious services." (*Relig. Thought*, p. 49.)

In this view the Hindoos are as near monotheism as most Christians, for it is not the number of persons or even names in the one godhead, but their special individualisms, that constitutes the difference between them and the ideal monotheistic God, whose one absolute personality is even masked by his many names among the monotheistic Moslems. This absolute mono-god is in his undivided individuality esteemed capable of willing, doing, thinking, and knowing all that has ever been affirmed, as denoting supernal power in the myriad gods of the polytheistic world. The conception of this as a personality or supernal impersonality has been present in the advanced souls of the greatest thinkers in all ages and countries, even when they were ignorant of the drift of their own concepts of the Divine. Some philosophic monotheists of these times have seen in the direct appeals to one deity,

whether contained in the old Vedic hymns, the sacred kings of the Chinese, the tablets of the Accadians, or Egyptian hieroglyphs, evidence as they conceive of a prehistoric monotheism, analogous to the golden social age of other dreamers, derived as they infer from primitive Divine revelations, forgetting or ignorant of the capacity for original thought in some minds in every age and country. That such sentiments were neither accepted nor influenced, the local forms of supernal thought only implies that the supernal aptitudes of the race were incapable of appreciating them, much less of assimilating them.

While philosophic Brahminism recognizes the unity and universality of God in everything, in nature, and in every personification of supernal attributes, the common Hindoo mind in its several phases of development stays astonished in the presence of its one passive deity. It still looks around as in the early time to the mountain, the river, the sky for the presence of an active godhead. According to its evolvement it looks for an imperial godhead, tutelar protection, a ghost or fetish, as its fears and animistic sentiments influence it even to respect and worship the evil or the inanimate. Hence, even in the nineteenth century we have in India Bhute and low spirit-worshippers, fearful, even human sacrifices to the evil mysteries, petty god and fetish objects of adoration as stones, trees, and idols, supposed to express impersonal supernal powers or to denote the presence of indwelling spirits. Some are breathing and sustaining god-powers, others only tutelar protective spirits rising to the greater god-powers, ruling sects, communes, states, and races. These notions have created no end of sects, often distinguished less by the principle in their belief than some trivial custom or form in worship.

Persia.—In tracing the evolution of a monotheistic deity

in Persia we become conscious that there was a period of common supernal affinity between the Aryans of India and Persia. This is demonstrated by the elder faiths in both countries applying the same terms to their several god-powers. That like names in both countries signified distinct attributes is common to all races in a tutelar state. The god of the one is ever esteemed the enemy of the other; hence he is both good and evil in his attributes, according to the sentiment in the individual's mind. Thus Indra, the great god of some of the Vedic hymns in the Avesta, is reputed to be the first subordinate spirit of Ahriman. Siva is also an evil spirit in Iran under one of his Sanskrit names, Saurva. Mitra, a sun-god in the Veda, becomes Mithra, the great sun-god or spirit of the Avesta. Other Sanskrit supernal names undergo various changes. Aryaman, a Vedic deity, becomes the angel Airyama the Avesta, and Bhaga, a Vedic god of destiny, becomes in Persia the impersonal principle of destiny. So likewise Armaiti, a female spirit, is converted into the archangel Armaiti, both signifying obedience and devotion. Other derivatives are Narashansa—a common epithet of several Vedic gods is converted into a distinct supernal power, Nairyosanha, an angel, the messenger of Ahura. There are, besides the above, several other modifications of supernal powers, principles, and expressions. Yama becomes Yima; Thrita, a star, becomes a celestial Æsculapius; Vitraha is converted to Verethraghna, and the thirty-three gods of the Vedas become the thirty-three chiefs or *ratus* of the Avesta. Nor are these all the distinctions made in the two systems. The general character of individual god-powers is often reversed. Thus the common term *devas*, gods, becomes the epithet for malignant spirits, and, as Haug says, the Asuras of the Brahmanic literature are the Supreme Beings of the Parsees. Ahura and his archangels, even the metres which exhibit the

doctrines of Ahura, are copied in the Yajur Veda, clearly showing that the old Gatha literature was known to the Rishis who compiled the Yajur Veda.

That there was originally a connection between the primary faiths of Iran and India the above affinities demonstrate, but that the faith of Iran was a schism from the early Vedic, as Haug suggests, is not easily demonstrable. His theory is that the Aryan tribes, after they had left their original home, led mainly a pastoral life and cultivated only occasionally some patches of land for their own support. This was the state of the Aryan society in the early Vedic hymns, and the Brahmanic tribes were given to nomadic life as long as they occupied the Punjaub. Some of these wandering between the Oxus and Yaxartes rivers became agriculturists. This estranged the other Aryan tribes, who, allured by the hope of booty, made excursions against them. Their success in these raids was ascribed to spells and sacrificial skill, which induced hatred of the old religious forms and led to the introduction of the Ahura religion of agriculture. Zeratusht was the chief priest in the change of faith, but according to Haug his predecessors, the Soshyanto, appear to have been worshippers of a plurality of spirits whom they called Ahuras, that is, *the living ones*, and Zerathrust, not satisfied with this indistinct expression of the Divine being, reduced this plurality to a unity.

To us this special great change through a single individual is scarcely probable. We know that all progress is by the addition of many increments, and that religion always grows from its lowest elements by many subsequent additions. If there was a time when Mazda was not, there was also a time when Indra was not. We have shown that there is evidence in the Vedas of a prior state of mere spirit and fetish worship; so also in the Gathas, the Zendavesta, and Bundahas we have proofs of ele-

mentary nature-worship, and of low spirit-worship, and of the worship of impersonal supernal powers. The social and supernal stages expressed in the Rig Veda and the Gathas, denote the growth of special institutions, social aggregation, and its necessary consequence the differentiation of special tutelar spiritual powers. As in Chaldea and in Egypt, various god-names had become gradually evolved in connection with natural forces, out of which local categories of supernal powers it became customary for the special tutelar gods of each growing clan, tribe, and community to be selected. The early Aryans of Iran chose Ahura for their chief god and assigned inferior positions to the other supernal powers they honoured. When they were at first merely isolated clans each of these had its own series of guardian deities, and there may have been, in the Soshyanti period Haug describes, as many Ahuras in Iran as there were Devas in Aryan India. The antagonism of neighbouring tribes naturally induce enmity, which feeling also characterizes their spiritual associates; so Ahura and his Ameshaspentas war with the Devas.

To fully comprehend the supernal system of the Parsees, we must carry our inquiry back to that long distant period when their progenitors, rude hunters and root grubbers, first conceived the elements of supernal power. We have seen that the higher god-natures passed through successive evolving stages, so must it have been with the primary ideas of supernal forces. To the philologists who have brought the ancient records of the early tribes of men before us, we are indebted for the opportunity of discovering their primary concepts of the supernal. The spiritual forms of faith passed in Persia, or rather Iran, through all the forms we have found expressed by other races of men. The Gathas, Vendidad, and even the popular conception of spirit attributes in modern Persia, evince the same belief in the duality, not only of the human entity, but of every

vegetal and animal form, and of some, if not all, physical objects. Every being consists of a vague, unsubstantial soul and material substance, and there are many intimations that these spirit-powers can pass from their material bodies, and exist as independent spirits separate therefrom, appear in dreams and possess a separate existence after death. These, according to their several natures, may haunt or possess other living organisms, affect animal and vegetal forms, and even enter into material objects. One class of these spirit-influences is the conversion of the spirits of enemies, or those of their own tribe dying under inimical conditions, into evil or malicious spirits. As a subsequent spirit-evolution the spirits of those they have revered when living are esteemed to have become guardian protective defenders of their kin.

The fear of the evil spirits, more especially their action on the corpses of men, is a marked feature in the conception of the change produced on men by death in the Vendidad. Except under special conditions, they held that the living man could successfully combat with the evil drug spirits, but so soon as the soul passed from the body then the corpse became amenable to the baneful influence of the evil spirits, it was as it were under a spell, unclean, and an object of dread and peril to all living, and as this sentiment affected the corpses of all good or lucky animals, the power of the evil spirits became a supernal element in the concepts of the primitive Iranians. The crude invoking and denouncing of the evil spirits contained in the Vendidad are little better than and only distinguished from such by the personality of the fiend denounced. "Perish O fiendish drug, perish O brood of the fiend, perish O world of the fiend, perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit." (*Sac. Books Ea.* IV. p. 126.)

In the worship of the Fravashis as described in the

Farvardin Yast of the Zendavesta, we have the matured conception of the spirit-nature in its various forms. As with other peoples in a like state of evolvement, they endowed not only the seeming living, but the passive physical objects and the various animal forms with indwelling souls. The Farvardin Yast has—"We worship the souls (not only of men, the Fravishis), but those of the tame animals, those of the wild animals, those of the animals that live in the waters, those of the animals that live underground, those of the flying ones, those of the running ones, those of the grazing ones. We worship their Fravishis (spirits). We worship all the waters by their names, the plants by their names." (*Ibid.* XXIII. p. 197.) We even read of the Fravishi of the sun. At the time this Yast was composed, the early form of faith still influenced men, but the dread of evil only as seen in the various exorcisms or spells in the first Fargard of the Vendidad has given place to the beneficial actions of the kindly dead whose spirits manifest the same beneficent sentiments for which they were beloved when living. Powers for good are always first esteemed of their hero leaders, and popular medicine-men or priests, then the nature-spirits and souls of animals were appealed to for their assumed protective powers, lastly the family ancestral spirits were esteemed the supernal guardians of their kindred.

The spirit of Fetishism was intimately blended with their whole system of worship. We have seen that fetish attributes were present in all the forms of animal life in plants and in innumerable objects in nature; it created the sense of pollution, the dread of dead bodies, the dread of the evil drug, and the two series of good and evil animals. If we have but few affirmations of the selection of low class totem protectors, we have ample evidence of the association of men with human and nature-spirit powers. We read in the *Sacred Books of the East* (XVIII. p. 385) of the patron

spirit being chosen the same as an earthly master, and they were distinguished as representing the individual, the household, the village community, the province and the country. They were honoured, as in other countries, by worship, devotion, offerings of food, and special family, local and national services, and as in China now, and formerly in Greece, Rome, Egypt and Chaldea, certain days are set apart for festivals in their honour.

The Sardar observes: "When the days of the Guardian Spirits come on, it is necessary that all persons should order and provide the sacred cakes and ceremonial, the sacred feast and benedictions. For ten days this festival is incumbent on every one, and those are the best which are prepared in their own houses, because the souls go every one to his own house. On one of those ten days one of the souls proclaims to the master of the house that the family and its affairs are good. So that when they come again, as the souls pass away, they will take them into the presence of Ormuzd and speak thus: 'These righteous souls did not put us away from remembrance while they were in the world, we are satisfied with them, and now we are unanimous that thou, Ormuzd, should provide them equal shares of those good works of ours, and make their souls attain to the position of the righteous.'" (*Ibid.* XXIV. p. 298.)

In an *Enquiry into the Parsi Religion*, by the Rev. G. R. Navalkar, we read the popular sentiment of the relations of the guardian spirits. "It does not appear that these strong, beneficent guardian angels are independent of weak mortals. At certain seasons of the year these gods come to the village gates during the night, imploring food and raiment. They cry aloud, Who will praise us? who will worship us? who will pray to us? who will adore us? who will satisfy us with milk and clothes in his hand, with a prayer for righteousness. The provident watcher who

readily attends to their supplications is gratefully rewarded with a liberal recompense. In his house will be abundance of cows and men, there will be a swift horse and well-fastened carriage. The prudent man, the Yasht declares, will not fail to secure their favour" (p. 20). In the Bundahis these guardian spirits of warriors are a military battalion at war with the evil spirits: they are described as mounted on war horses, and, spear in hand, taking their positions around the sky.

In the Farvardin Yasht we find the worship of the Fravishis as masters of houses, as lords of towns, as lords of countries, as holy rishis or priests extended to a long list in the sacred writings. There are the names of holy men, holy maids, holy women, saints and hero kings whose powerful spirits become Fravishis of such power that through their brightness and glory the early Ahura, not the autocratic Ormuzd, was enabled to maintain the sky above shining and seen afar, the wide earth, the child in the womb, the flowing of the waters, and the course of the sun. These guardian angels, at first of local groups, after, as society was developed, special ones, became attached to every living being, and tutelar more powerful fravahis to villages, towns and states. Haug, in his *Essays*, quotes: "I praise, invoke and extol the good, strong, beneficent guardians, angels of the righteous. We praise those who are in the countries, those who are in the Zoroastrian communities, those of the present, those of the past, those of the future, all those invoked in countries where invocation is practised." (*Bombay Edition*, p. 209.)

In our endeavour to trace out the character of the god-powers among the early Iranians, we must discard from our minds all the supernal concepts to which the name of Zerathrust is attached, and search for the archaic types preserved by oral tradition in the sacred writings. We are assured that the elements of the Parsi religion have the

same foundation as the Vedic, and as we know that the Rig Veda itself affirms a series of god developments, and that the earliest of these manifest considerable diversities from the rudest of the supernal systems in the Gathas and Yacnas, we conclude that the separation of the two races took place after the general names common to the two countries had been evolved, but before the composition even of the oldest hymns of the Rig Veda or the Gathas. They had then, as the names common in the two countries imply, advanced to specify a series of nature-gods derived from the sky, the sun, the wind, the earth and so forth, and these were rather general than communal, the scattered groups of men had scarcely yet aggregated into communes, but were mere roving bands of herdsmen and desultory cultivators. As there was no system of government evolved upon the earth, none were conceived in the heavens; each god was an independent power and was worshipped for his special attributes; there was no presiding power, not even a council of the god-powers.

In the sacred writings, some of which contain the orally preserved archaic sentiments, the term god is the common appellation of all the chief supernal powers, they are spoken of without any question of superiority save that implied in their special powers. In the Siroahs we have "to all the holy gods of the heavenly world." In the Ninayis "to all the god-powers." In the Sizorah "the earth a beneficent god"—"Mount Usidarma a god of holy happiness"—"Mithra is a powerful god." (*Sac. Books of East*, XXIII. p. 127.) "He is a god of high renown and old age." (*Ibid.* XXIII. p. 131.) The Yast also has "grant us these boons we beg of thee, O powerful god, in the words of revelation." (*Ibid.* XXIII. p. 133.)

But it is not in the mere use of the term god that we would affirm the nature of the Iranian god concepts. In their sacred writings we have a double series at least of

attributes applied to these assumed spiritual powers. They are gods pure and simple, worshipped in their own names and for their special qualities, they are appealed to as independent essences able and willing to satisfy the wants of their worshippers. All these we infer to be very old texts, even though they are, as is so common with ancient writings, modified by later additions. Such forms of expression could not have been given forth after Ahuramazda became the supreme power in the heavens, and we can only account for their retention by the sanctity infused in them by hoary old antiquity; very different are the phrases used when the ascendency of Ahura reduced these god-powers to the position of dependent angels. In some of the texts these gods are worshipped, may-be in their tutelar capacity, as ruling and dispensing god-powers. In one Mithra, like Indra in the Vedic hymns, appears as the rival for supreme authority of Ahura. He is addressed first, and the soul of the worshipper evidently wavers as to which is the great god-power. Thus in the sacrifices to Mithra we read "may he come to us for help, may he come to us for ease, joy, mercy, health, victory, a good conscience, bliss, he the awful and overpowering worthy of sacrifice and prayer, not to be deceived." (*Sac. Books of East*, XXIII. p. 121.) "O Mithra when thou art offended and not satisfied, he (who offers thee a good sacrifice) soothes thy mind and makes Mithra satisfied." (*Ibid.* XXIII. p. 147.) In two texts Mithra is appealed to first in conjunction with Ahura as "may Mithra and Ahura, the high gods, come to us for help" (*Ibid.* XXIII. p. 148); and "we sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great imperishable holy gods, and unto the stars and the moon, the sun with the trees that yield up baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra the lord of all countries." (*Ibid.* XXIII. p. 158.)

Among special appeals to the greater nature-gods are the following:—"We beseech the spirit of earth by means of

these best works to grant us beautiful and fertile fields, to the believer as well as to the unbeliever." "Fire first of all do we approach with worship. Waters, we worship the waters in the trees, the waters in the stream, the waters in the rain. This earth we worship, this earth with the women, this earth which bears us." (*Ibid.* IV. pp. 139,140.) "We worship the King Sun, the immortal, the brilliant, when he burns with his rays, then all the heavenly spirits by hundreds and by thousands to spread his splendour. In his rising he purifies the earth, he purifies the water, he purifies all the creatures of the holy spirit. As long as the sun has not risen, all the devils are endeavouring to spread havoc throughout the seven zones of the earth, no heavenly spirits to restrain them and all the living creation drowned in sleep." (*Haug, Essays,* p. 180.)

"Mercury (Tishtriya) is worshipped at the time of drought, for unless the prayers of men were addressed to him he was powerless to defeat the evil spirits who kept back the waters in the sea." (*Haug, Essays,* p. 201.) Other instances of the self-ruling powers of the nature-gods are the following:—"Mithra, who always speaks the truth, has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, and is always watching without falling asleep over the welfare of creation. He, first of celestial spirits, crosses the Mountain Alborg, he reaches the summit and overlooks Iran. Through him the rulers build their high fortresses, through him the high mountains with their many pastures produce food for animals, through him the deep wells have abundance of waters, through him the large navigable rivers run swiftly. He brings light to all the seven regions. He protects those who do not break their promises when in distress and misery, but inflicts severe punishments on those who sin against him." (*Haug, Essays,* p. 203.) This great power thus presiding over man and the physical universe is not Ahura but Mithra.

We have but one reference to councils of the gods in the Vendidad, when Ahura called together a meeting of the celestial gods, and Yima a meeting of mortals, and Ahura becomes the chief of the gods of heaven. At first he is only one of many gods, then he is a feudal suzerain chief among his peers who only owe him fealty, or may-be the mere president of a heavenly assembly each member of which dispenses his special attributes to his worshippers. Thus Ahuramazda grants august rank; Vohuman, wisdom; Ardavashti, understanding; Shatvairo, wealth; Spendarmad, a wife and children; Horvadad, plenty and prosperity; Ameradad, herds. Dino secures them the support of Ahuramazda; Ataro holds a throne for them in the heavens; Tistar protects them when travelling; Yosurvan guards their beasts; Mitra is their judge; Srosha keeps greed, wrath, and want from them; Rashnu conducts them to heaven; Fravardin secures their offspring; Vahram stimulates the warlike; Ram keeps them full of years; Vad brings them peace; and others hold and protect them. (*Sac. Books of East*, V. p. 403.)

A chapter in the Shayest takes a special view of the attributes of the other deities in relation to Ahura, and asserts that while Ahuramazda possesses the attributes of all the rest, the individual attribute in each special deity is more exalted than the same quality possessed by Ahura. Thus, Vohuman is more embellished, Ardavashti more brilliant, Shatvairo more exalted, Spendarmad more fruitful than Ahura. So, in like manner, the other deities are described as more judicial, more vigorous, more just, more powerful, more lofty, more victorious, and more religious than Ahuramazda. (*Ibid.* V. p. 405.)

Now, who and what are these great god-powers which exerted so important an influence over the souls of the old Iranians? We have seen how early man assumed spiritual natures in all things; and what more probable than that

those material things which manifested the greatest energy should be most dreaded? Hence, the heavenly bodies, fire, water, the mountains and the sea, attained paramount importance. Nor was it long before the pursuits of man, and the mind attributes of himself and fellows, became personal powers.

Among the nature forces in Iran, even more enduring than rites to the sun and moon, was the worship of Mitra fire. One of the earliest of the Aryan gods, it was known wherever that term may be applied, and the moral influence of it as a principle of faith is retained in the supernal manifestations of all their posterity. In the highest evolutions of humanity in the expression of mind-powers, it still exists as a distinguishing symbol, but in the lower constituted minds its supernal attributes still retain somewhat of their ancient influence. [At the present day there are still three fire temples in Bombay, two at Surat, and others in other places. These, as Forbes informs us, are attended night and day, and are never permitted to expire. They are preserved in chafing dishes, carefully supplied with fuel perfumed by a small quantity of sandal wood. The vulgar worship this sacred flame, as also the sun, moon and stars, without regard to the invisible creator, but the learned and judicious adore only the Almighty Fountain of Light under the symbol of fire.

To the nature-gods each evolving Aryan race added the mental forms and principles it conceived, to express personality. The Ameshaspentas were the natural gods of the Iranians, but in all these spirit-natures there was no embodiment of a great spirit of evil, no crude concept of the war of good and evil; the policy of the universe was dictated in his special department by each presiding principle. When Ahura became the presiding genius among the gods, he created both good and ill: he "is the last cause of both intellects—good and evil." (*Haug, Essays.*)

The mysterious Zerathrust represents a revolution in the supernal concepts of Iran, and whether the name denotes a sacred prophet, a hero king, or only the spirit of the age originating in the local geographical conditions which are attached to its exposition, the effect thereof remains to our day. By this new departure, Ahura, from holding an equivocal god position, became the autocratic ruler of the sky, supreme in all, save that mysterious influence for evil he had assigned to another. As a necessary consequence of the division of power and attributes, Angra Mainya became the antagonist of Ahura, and fiend spirits were evolved, corresponding with the good gods, now dependent spirits of Ahura. Then, inquiring men sought in all natures and conditions of being to work out the types of the two powers.

We may but touch lightly on the many manifestations of the two principles. Ahura, the great beneficent power, creates the good lands of Airayna, Vaego, Sughdha and Nisaya, kindly rivers watered them, the cattle grazed on the luxurious grasses and trees and herbs, and the good animal life was developed under his fostering care. But the opposing evil power by his witchery created all kinds of noxious animals therein, the deadly serpent, the unclean frog, the slimy lizard, stinging insects and deadly stenches. He caused sandy deserts and harsh salt lagoons to cover the good pasture lands, and in the souls of righteous men he diffused the sin of unbelief, of pollution, and the unnatural sin. Then they became subject to abnormal issues, were oppressed by their enemies, and death and pollution cursed the unhappy land. Even the sun, under the influence of Angra and his demons, ceased to shine as was his wont, and a more than seven months' winter bound the waters in its icy fetters.

Thus, everything that was baneful in nature, in human life and the lives and conditions of all beings, were ascribed

to Angra, and all that was good, pure and holy to Ahura; righteousness was oppressed by unbelief, the beautiful in the natural world was lost in the storms that devoured it. Fiery blasts and death-distilling vapours withered men, and all good animal life suffered through the venom, the stings, the foulness of the bad creation, and disease, corruption and death polluted the unborn. In the presence of this spirit of evil Ahura was powerless; he alone reigned beyond the sky and Angra in the deep black depths below where the stench was so foul it could be cut, and the blackness so thick it could be grasped, only the region of the upper earth and that of the air was their common vantage ground.

But was this great exposition of pessimism ever anything more than a philosophical romance, a priestly explanation of the earliest supernal sentiment, the existence of luck and unluck. We are assured there never was a time or place where luck or unluck alone ruled, there never was life without decay, birth without death. Nor were these dual powers ever alone gods in Iran. The supernal system in Iran has, as we have seen, many sources of definition, and even if other writings besides the Vendidad had not come down to our days other evidence remains. The rock inscriptions at Persepolis, Nakshi, Rustum and Vau demonstrate that though Ahuramazda became the autocrat of heaven like the king of kings in Iran, yet he never reigned alone over the universe. There were other kings besides Darius, other gods besides Ahura. The Persepolitan inscription notes that "the great Ormuzd, who is the greatest of all the gods, is he who created the heaven, who created the earth and who gave the good principle to men, and who created Darius king." Also, "May Ormuzd protect me, and all the gods, me and what I have under me." The inscription at Vau also recites, "A great god is Ormuzd, who is the greatest of

gods, who has created the earth," &c. The second inscription of Xerxes in the *Records of the Past*, has "May Ormuzd and the gods protect me." Four other inscriptions appeal to the confederate gods, in those of Artaxerxes and Ochus we have the gods Mithra and Anahiti appealed to by name. (*Records*, IX. pp. 74-86.)

In the political records of Iran, good and evil have the same state relations as in other developed countries. In the moral and domestic associations of the people good and evil are only destiny. Ahura is a father; he is a beneficent king, he is a personal providence combating or supporting the evil and the good that destiny presents. Some of the poets of Iran have almost raised him to the status of the one universal god, but neither royal will nor communal sentiment ever accepted that mental exposition. The following are expressive of the highest aspirations of the Divine in ancient Persia.

"Blessed is he, blessed is every one to whom Ahuramazda ruling by his own will shall grant the two everlasting powers, health and immortality. For this very good I beseech thee, mayst thou through thy angel of piety, Armaiti, give me happiness, the good true things, and the possession of the good mind." "I believe thee to be the first being of all, the source of light to the world. I will believe thee to be the powerful benefactor, O Mazda, for thou givest with thy hand filled with helps, good to the righteous man, as well as to the wicked." Ahura is described as the author and ruler of all good things. "Who was in the beginning the father and creator of righteousness? Who created the path of the sun and the stars? Who causes the moon to increase and wave but thou? Who is holding the earth and the sky above it? Who made the waters and the trees of the field? Who is in the wind and the storms that they so quickly run? Who is the creator of the good-minded beings? O Mazda, who

created the light of good effect and darkness? Who created the sleep of good effect and the activity? Who created morning, noon, and night? Who prepared the Bactrian home? Who fashioned the excellent son?" Holding these universal concepts well might he add, "When my eyes beheld thee the essence of truth, the creator of life, who manifests his life in his works, then I know thee to be the primæval spirit." In all these extracts from *Haug's Essays* there is no room left for the presence of the dual principle; it has no presence in the mind of the poet.

The result of the good religion on the soul of man is embodied in the personality of the good conscience. "Happy is he, O holy Vistaspa, happy the man to whom Ahuramazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes. On the first night after death his soul sits in good words, on the second in good deeds, on the third it goes to Garonmana, and when the dawn appears it seems to the soul of the faithful one to be brought amid plants and pleasant scents; and the shape of a fair maiden is seen advancing, and to his quest, What maid art thou? She replies: 'Thou youth of good words, good thoughts, and good deeds, I am thy conscience; everybody did love thee for that great goodness, fairness, in which thou dost appear. When thou didst see a man making derision and doing deeds of idolatry and rejecting the poor, thou wouldst sit singing the Gathas, worshipping and rejoicing the faithful. Thus I was lovely, and thou didst make me still more lovely; I was fair, and thou madest me still fairer; I was desirable, and thou madest me still more desirable, through this good thought, good speech, good deed of thine; and so men worship me.'" (*Sacr. Bks. East*, II. p. 344.)

But as in the natural world, each phase of sunshine and blessedness has its dark shadow and sad and sorrowful contrasts. As well as life and health, death and pollution

reign; and the war of antagonism separates the good from the bad, all that is ugly, evil and baneful; if not the works of Angra are affected by the concept of his existence, death and disease are not esteemed the accidents of conditions; like Job's friends, they hold that sorrow, want, anxiety, loss, and disease, are embodied sins; like the Pharisees, they cry this man or his fathers must have sinned. So the deaf and dumb and helpless, though of unblemished conduct and proper disposition, were incapable of doing good works; and from the time when they were born till the time when they may die, all the duty and good works that they may perform are of no effect in behalf of their own souls. Even the good deeds done when the individual through thoughtlessness or indifference is in a state of physical pollution are of no effect. "While they do not wash their dirty hands, any good work that they may do is of no effect."

Buried under a mass of forms, ceremonials, and conventional sins, the conception of the supervision of a great moral power was evolved in Iran. It might be a person or a principle, but it developed a self-regulating conscience, a power in the human mind unknown in its early stages; so that each man became his own monitor, and save through the prejudices induced by local conditions, constitutes him an equitable judge of his own thoughts, words, and deeds. This moral sense of justice is esteemed as derived from and allied to the great soul that its own supernal sentiments have eliminated as the centre and supreme exposition of the universe. Thus he comprehends in his own being that there is but one law, one morality, one concept of justice; and, therefore, all the gods can be but one, the one eternal and supreme universal power.

CHAPTER XV.

The Differentiation of an Abstract Deity.

All the gods of the many nations of the earth that we have yet treated of, were anthropomorphic—mere forms of humanity having supernal attributes; these, even their fetish manifestations, were planned on the model of living organisms. We have followed the evolution of these occult entities from mere human ghost shadows through those of heroes and medicine-priests, as attached to every living and material form in the natural world, till they became symbolized in the heavens as chieftain deities, tutelar gods, and regal gods. We now have to follow the struggles of the human soul to withhold the primary mortal semblances, and create god attributes outside human affinities.

As the feudal chiefs in the social evolutions were reduced to a patrician aristocracy, so the secondary gods in the heavens became the ministers and messengers of the regal deity, and, as in human sovereignty, it has ever been the fashion for the autocrat monarch to retire more and more from the presence of his subjects to the innermost recesses of the royal domains, leaving the public duties to be performed by the representative ministers, so that the actuality of Divine power was administered by angels and archangels, prophets, buddhas, saints, and subsidiary spirits.

As the result of this seclusion, the attributes of the god-

head became ever more abstract like the king of kings; if he had eyes he only saw through his ministers; if he had ears all the effusions of the faithful had to be borne to him by his agents; and having no use for eyes or ears, as in the natural world, those powers became abrogated, until in the heavens the human was lost in the abstract.

We have not considered it necessary in our exposition of the succession of the gods to dwell upon their generative aspects. But when an Eternal everlasting universal Deity was affirmed, it could need no successor, and it would have been a waste of Divine energy to evolve a being merely to abort it. That it has been a difficult task to sustain the fabric of an abstract deity without attaching to it other, maybe secondary growths, is well known. Not only has the one pure unified god of the Moslems been entrusted with Welys and Nebis numberless, but he has been typified by Mahdis in every age.

It has been the misfortune of Christianity to have its chaste and harmonious ethics degraded by association with an indefinable multiple abstraction. Born in the age of gnostic personations, it has exercised the wit of many fathers of the Church to account for its erudite attributes; we may not follow the lead of Basilides, or trench on the ground occupied by Justin Martyr and others, even with specious casuistry drawing from Plato the personification of the mystic word. Origen, with a preconception of the modern doctrine of Atavism, affirmed that, as a dormant germ, the now separated second person in the Trinity had existed before all creatures, and became in these latter days incarnate man. (*Bunsen, Christianity*, I. p. 288.) If we followed the specious theories of Valentinus and other gnostics, we should be led into such inconceivable abstractions as delighted the Rishis of India and the Bodhavistas, but, like the mysteries of the early impersonal powers, we may believe in them, but we can never know them.

Long before the days of Plato the Greek philosophic poets had endeavoured to conceive the existence of an abstract entity. Anaximander held that the infinite was the origin of all things; Parmenides, that nothing really exists but the One Being, the knowledge of whom is obtained through the reason without the aid of the senses. Aristotle also sought a first cause by reason, not a personal god. Plato in his search for the absolute created a new abstract deity, the Demiurgus, with secondary god or angel powers under him, who peopled the earth and the fixed stars. This Demiurgus, rather a fabricator than a creator, has the attributes of a provident intelligence, struggling to evolve law and order in conflict with primal necessity. Thus he realized the permanence of God, Matter, and Ideas, and out of these all gods, souls, and natural things were evolved. Holding these vague sentiments, we can well understand the difficulty he expresses in the Timæus of finding the Father and Maker of the universe, and having found Him, to declare Him fully, he deemed impossible.

From the works of Philo and the early fathers of the Church, we become assured of the important effect the doctrines propounded by Plato had on the later Jewish theologians. At the schools of Alexandria, then the only ones freely open to the world, the doctrines of the Platonist's Eastern mystic concepts, Jewish as well as Egyptian and Zoroastrian theories of Divine powers and natures, met in a common arena and became blended into a variety of speculative systems. One of these formed the basis of the orthodox faith of the apostles and Fathers of the Church, whilst the wild and mystic theories of others became the sources of the many early heresies.

We need not follow the many mystic abstract powers that were then evolved, and the extraordinary transformations of ideas and terms that thence ensued. Thoughts became multipled by generation the same as animals, and

qualities and attributes were esteemed as almost personal existences. The word not only became flesh and dwelt amongst us, but all abstractions were conceived like passive nouns in many languages to be masculine or feminine. Clement of Alexandria, in one of his Homilies, applies this idea in a quaint fashion. He says, "The present world is female, as a mother bringing forth the souls of her children; but the world to come is male, as a father receiving his children." He may have obtained this sentiment from Plato, as he observes in Timæus, "The world has received animals, mortal and immortal, and has become a visible animal containing the visible, sensible god, who is the image of the intellectual, greatest, best, fairest, and most perfect, the one only begotten universe." Need any speculative mystic to have gone much further to conceive the Logos becoming the One only begotten God? Origen saw the Logos both in the Psalms and Isaiah, and Plato's terms—name—word—image—knowledge; he personifies in John the Baptist, Jesus—Christ's image—Christ's knowledge—their complement the Logos of God, Christ.

In the letter from Jamblichus to Agathocles, we have certain Divine abstractions specified. "Now, there are, O Agathocles, four great orders of spiritual existences, gods, dæmons, heroes, or demi-gods and souls. The appearance of gods are uniform of dæmons various. The gods shine with a benign aspect; when a god manifests himself, he frequently appears to hide sun and moon, and seems, as he descends, too vast for earth to contain. Archangels are at once awful, and mild, angels yet more gracious, dæmons terrible. The gods confer health of body, power, and purity of mind. Angels and archangels have at their command only subordinate bestowments. Principalities who govern the sublunary elements confer temporal advantages. Those of a lower rank who preside over matter, display their bounty in material gifts. Souls

that are pure are like angels, salutary in their influence." (*Hours with the Mystics. R. A. Vaughan*, I. p. 103.)

Philo knew God as superior to good, unchangeable, eternal, uncompounded, the source of all, filling all things, ever working. His love, justice, and Providence are over all things. The word Logos—the interpreter of God's will. God ever creating, the spirit world fully permeated with ideas and abstract powers as is Plato's universe. The Paraklete was a term derived from Philo's allegories.

Tatian in his address to the Greeks says, "The Lord of the universe with him were all things, with him by Logos-power, the Logos himself, also who was in him subsists, and by his simple will the Logos springs forth in vain, becomes the first begotten work of the Father. Him the Logos we know to be the beginning of the world." (*Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib.* III. p. 9.)

That the doctrines of Plato became embodied in the early supernal systems of the Fathers of the Church has been often observed. Plato calls God Father—Father of the universe—Father of the Gods—He is the eternal, all-becoming, supreme power and wisdom, omniscient if not omnipresent. The most material difference in Plato from the doctrines of the early Christians was on the nature of evil. He had no conception of the existence of a substantive evil principle. He knows no Satan mixing with the sons of God, and as in Job, settling with God the terms of his evil influence, that was a Jewish dogma derived from the Persians at the captivity. Sin is not the result of innate depravity; with Plato there are no claims of Divine justice. To him sin was a deviation from the Divine law in our natures produced by bad education and lack of judgment, it was not a crime to God but a self-pollution that required self-cleansing. With some faint concepts of necessity, Plato held that an all-comprehending Providence regulated all. Moral and natural evils were often mere vain concepts

of evil, mere seeming wrong. Some evils were inevitable in the nature of things.

Plato had a determined concept of the nature of the human soul and its destiny. His theory of an after-world was well defined and had an important bearing on the Christian doctrine thereof. It is well known that in this respect the Jews were far behind most of the ancient nations, in fact many modern savage races are well up in that which was a *terra incognita* to the Hebrews. So little had the doctrine of a future state become recognized even in the time of Christ, that a considerable moiety of the Jews denied a resurrection. Plato long before that period had enunciated a perfect scheme of the dispensation of souls, not forgetting the needful correction or cleansing of the soul of the sinner. There is so much similarity in Christ's remarks on this subject with Plato's doctrine, that we cannot but suppose that some academic scholar had propounded the theorem to him. As it is so easy for the reader to refer to Plato in Timæus and the Gospels, we do not think it necessary to quote them.

On Philo's concepts of the persons in the Trinity, we will content ourselves by quoting the words of Ewald. "Philo considered the Logos to have been the Logos of God representative of God himself, the Second God." (*Hist. of Israel*, VII. p. 214.) "He is the Creator and eternal conservator of the world—the image of God—the most ancient existence—the eldest Son of God." (*Ibid.* VII. p. 2.) "It is the Logos that from the beginning of time gave separate existence and distinct form to everything in both the purely spiritual and the visible world. He encompasses and sustains all things immutably. He is the mediator between man and God—their interpreter. He brings the petitions of men and presents them to God." (*Ibid.* VII. p. 216.)

As illustrating the intermediary character of the writings

of Philo in relation to those of Plato and those contained in the Gospels, Ewald observes, "When we read the writings of Philo we are not infrequently surprised by thoughts and sentences which verge almost upon the New Testament. We find Philo teaching that man has what he has really only from the Logos of God—that it is better to swear by the earth, sun, stars, heavens, and the whole world, than by God. In like manner he not infrequently utters principles of the purest resignation and self-sacrifice, which very much resemble those of the New Testament. Even the use of the name Father for God, which is quite customary with him, reminds us strongly of the New Testament—likewise the principle that true wealth lies hidden in heaven, as well as a description of the ease with which the poor may be righteous—or again, the saying the thing that a man hates that let him not do. He identifies the expected Messiah with the Logos." (*Ibid.* VII. p. 232.)

But the expression of an abstract supreme power was not limited to Greek philosophers and Jewish scribes. The same single, mighty, mysterious god-nature has been evolved by other interpreters of the higher relations of man with the supernal powers. In Brahm the perfected one in Buddha, in the Abstract Heaven or Above of the Chinese, we have the concept of the One outside and encompassing the world of matter, as well as in the impersonal god—Allah—of Islam, and Zaroanakarano the Brahm of the Parsees.

The early gods of the Hindoos, as unfolded to us in the Rig Veda, are nature existences in their material essence, but as early as the Atharveda we become conscious that, as among the old Romans and Greeks as well as other races of men, the abstract conceptions of the mind had become personified as Prana, life or breath; Anumati, good-will; Kama, desire; and Kala, time.

Gradually, however, in their later writings the Hindoo philosophers ceased to evolve the special individual abstrac-

tions; they endeavoured to conceive a Mahadeva, a Pareswara, a Brahm, as the soul and essence, the abstract presentment of all things, all thoughts, the father as well as the mother and sustainer of the universe—He who is before and behind, above and below, in all and through all, the all-pervading. He is the soul and the soul is He. He is the great Lord, the Lord of truth. He is the infinite Spirit, is light like the sun after darkness. None can comprehend him in the space above, in the space below, or in the space between. For Him whose name is infinite glory there is no likeness. Not in the sight abides his form; he is only known as immortal, dwelling in the heart and mind. He, the all-knowing, is known by none. At first all these Divine expressions are vague and general. In some Sanskrit texts the supremacy of Mahadeva and his identity with the soul of the universe are affirmed, other texts have been educed in which the same rank and character are assigned to Vishnu. As the Vedic gods were blended, so later on the great gods are conceived to be the many names of the one abstract supreme power, seen as it were through them. "I am unable to declare the attributes of the wise Mahadeva who is an all-pervading God, yet is nowhere seen, who is the Creator and Lord of Brahma, Vishnu, and Indra, whom the gods from Brahma to the Pisachas worship, who transcends material natures as well as spirits, who is the supreme imperishable Brahma." (*Muir, Sanskrit Texts*, IV. p. 156.)

The evolution of a non-active, impersonal, abstract, supreme being in Brahma, the same as the non-active god of Plato, represented by the presiding and creating and ruling Demiurgus, necessitated the continuance of other god-powers for the guidance of man and the protection of the universe; hence, Vishnu, Siva, and the many minor supernal powers, represent the active powers or providence of a monotheistic deity. Under these conditions homage

to the supreme being can only be manifested to personal godheads, and, consequently, in India there are no shrines or temples to Brahma.

In tracing the progress of the concept of God in the Hindoo mind, from the personal and divided to the abstract and universal, Muir writes: "When once the notion had arisen to an adscription of all Divine attributes to the particular object of worship who was present for the time to the mind of the poet, the further step would be speedily taken of speaking of the deity under such names as Visvakarman and Prajapati; appellations which do not denote any limited function connected with any single department of nature, but the newer general abstract notion of Divine power operating in the production and government of the universe." (*Sans. Texts*, V. p. 352.) "Another name in which the deity is celebrated by the Hindoo poets with the attributes of supremacy is Hiranyagarbha. He was in the beginning the One Lord, who upholds heaven and earth, who gives life and breath, whose commands even the gods obey, who is God over all gods, and the one animating principle of their being." (*Muir*, V. p. 355.)

Of modern Brahminism we may observe that in the presence of the Great Abstract source of all being, the mighty power evolved by the Hindoo poets and philosophers, there still survive all the low forms of supernal beings, from the fetish spirits of evil to the caste deities. Monier Williams writes: "All orthodox Hindoos believe in one universal spirit who becomes supreme lord over all (Paramesvara). At the same time, they believe this One God has taken many forms, all of which may be worshipped. Every man chooses his favourite god or Divine object to which he pays special homage. Thus, Agni-Brahmans regard fire as their favourite deity, Vedic-Brahmans make a god of the Veda. Different places have also their

favourite presiding deities. Benares is specially watched over by a form of Siva, Pandharpur by a form of Krishna. Here, in Thana, we have temples of Vishnu, Rama, Krishna, Viththal, Hanuman, Siva, Ganesa and Devi. We may propitiate every one with ceremonies and sacrifices, but the Supreme Being present in these gods is the real object of all our offerings and religious services. We, educated Brahmins, are practically Theists." So said a Brahman, but the people leant on these rotten staves as if they were real supports, willing and able to satisfy the longing in their souls. They knew nothing—could conceive nothing—of the abstract Brahma: he might have been a myth, but the tutelar present divinities—had they not helped them and their fathers? They knew they could rely upon them; they were living realities.

There is a strange mixture of the abstract and the concrete in modern Buddhism. In the individual Buddhas, as well as in the Bodhiattwas, we have the material and supernal attributes of the god extended to every portion of his body, every relic of his clothing. The dead body of Buddha, when he had passed into Nirvana, was idealized—every organ, feature, and atom of his body was deemed sacred. When abandoning the world, he threw up his beautiful locks and his royal garments into the air, and they were devoutly caught by a Brahma and borne away to a great relic shrine in the Brahma heavens, where all the angels can adore them; he distributed everything he could detach from his person to his disciples during life. At his death, whatever passed through the funeral fire was divided into eight portions, to satisfy as many contending nations. His skull is in India; his shoulder-blade in Ceylon; the apples of his eyes are in a cloister at Nagara; his hair, nails, and fingers in various cities of the east; his very shadow is shown in several caves of Western China; and his footprints are visited by crowds of pilgrims on the highest peaks of

Asia accessible to devotion. His water-jar is laid up to work miracles at the Singhalese capital; his washbowl, staff, and mantle are scattered in manifold shapes over vast empires. (*S. Johnson, Oriental Relig.* I. p. 776.) Thus the worship of the concrete clings as a shadow to the abstract.

Though much of an abstract character was assumed to constitute the dual powers of the Zoroastrians, they were in reality anthropomorphic, antagonistic regal supernal rulers; the one reigning in the higher regions over the good and the blessed, the other beneath over the spirits of evil; each had his own court, his own ministers, and they met on the earth in common. Such ideas could not satisfy the more developed mind: in after times it sought for an undivided eternal power, capable, as other abstract gods, of ruling over the utmost realms of space. Much that was human in the composition of the character of Ormuzd failed to satisfy the longings of the soul for the universal, the pure, the true; hence, there was gradually evolved in Iran an abstract power greater than Ormuzd, whose empire covered all existences. Zaroanakarana not only represents boundless space but also boundless time.

The same concept of the abstract deity pervades its development in all countries, it fills everything, it exists in everything, it gives character to everything; it ever was and ever will be; all come from it, all end it; worlds and beings emanate from it, and all active, vital, and physical forces are but the administrations of its subordinate powers. It is manifest in Brahma, it is the essence of the abstract Buddha; Shangti even becomes more vast, more distant, more abstract. God in the Kabbalah is called endless, boundless; to make his existence perceptible, he had to render himself comprehensible to become active, creative; but the *En Soph* has neither will, intention, desire, thought, language, or action; these imply limit, and are finite, hence he created the intelligences; he cast off from his abstract

nature, souls, which after a period of action, of probation, became absorbed again in the highest, the universal soul. We have, may be, more fully evolved the same doctrine of the evolution of the human soul from the eternal one in the Buddhist series of progressive evolutions, it is common to the Hindoo faiths, and in the Zendavesta it is an essential element of probation to spirits originally created by Ahura. They have to come from heaven, be united to a human body, and go on a path of probation, in this world called the way of the two destinies.

The god of the gnostics was equally before all beginning. Enthroned above, in unspeakable, unseen heights he poured forth from his own boundless and unfathomable essence the souls of all beings; these fall into sin and have to be relieved by the Divine essence, giving origin to a saving spirit as in the Bodhiattwas.

Among the many theories then presented to account for the passage of souls to heaven, none are more specially mechanical than that worked out by Bishop Archelaus, the Christian father. We should premise that at that period kites had not been invented, much less balloons. He said that Christ, the Son, came and prepared the work which was to effect the salvation of the souls, and with that object constructed an instrument with twelve urns, which is made to revolve by the sphere, and draws up with it the souls of the dying. And the great luminary receives these souls and purifies them with his rays, and then passes them over to the moon, and in this manner the moon's disc is filled up. Then if the moon becomes full it ferries its passengers across to the east wind, and thereby effects its own waning in getting itself delivered of its freight. And in this manner it goes on making the passage across, and again discharging its freight of souls drawn by the urns, until it saves its own portion of souls. (*Ante-Nicene Christ. Lib.* XX. p. 285.)

The mythological evolution of souls and their transcendental destinies have ever been a fertile source of supernal exposition in Iran and India, not to mention the still more ancient epoch thereof in Egypt, where the Ritual of the dead had made all men familiar with a thoroughly developed scheme of the destiny of souls and their relation to the supernal powers. Even among many semi-savage races, as the Polynesian Islanders, we find the doctrine of a future existence thoroughly conceived.

Gnosticism, of which Christianity in its symbolic elements is an emanation, never died out in the east. The unflinching monotheism of Mohammed has been baptized in the spiritual doctrines of gnosticism. Mysticism and its grades of spiritual evolution blend the soul with the deity, and open the door as it were to the wildest speculations of the status of God and the soul. The Sufis of to-day represent the gnostics of old. According to Palmer (*Oriental Mysticism*), they hold that God is the end and limit of all things, incomprehensible, unchanged, indivisible, and immaterial; that he is not subject to the laws of time, place, or direction. His nature is that of an infinite and illimitable light; a boundless, fathomless ocean, compared with which the entire universe is more insignificant than a drop of water in the sea. There is no single atom of existent beings which God does not pervade, comprise, and comprehend. Unlike the Platonists and the old gnostics, matter with them is not an eternal similitude, but the primal created element. With them there are nine heavenly spheres, the highest, the heaven of heavens, the throne of God; and like Plato's Demiurgus, each possesses a soul and an intelligence. The universe is the mirror of God; the heart of man the mirror of the universe. To know God, man must look into his own heart. As the fish in the water, so man lives in God and knows Him not. When the soul of man is assured of the truth of revelation obedient to God, he has

reached the stage of worship. When he has expelled the love of this world from his heart and contemplated the mighty whole, he becomes a *Recluse*. If in addition he knows God, he is an *Arif*, a knowing one. Advancing until he obtains the love of God, he is a *Weli* or saint. If then he is gifted with inspiration, he becomes a *Nebi* or prophet. He may even advance beyond this to be an apostle or *Rusul*. Again, beyond this stage he may become a *Missioner*, one who preaches a new dispensation; when this is final and achieved he becomes *Khatm*. These stages of soul-evolution are also known as those of worship, love, seclusion, knowledge, ecstasy, truth, to that of union with God, which means reabsorption in the deity or extinction. Thus according to the Sufis, the soul of man in this life may progress from the lowest human to the highest Divine stage, when it becomes a portion of the deity; a series of changes, that in the metempsychosis systems of the Brahmins and the Buddhists, requires untold ages and thousands of subsequent forms of life to produce the same result, ending at last with all; in that Nirvana, uncreate and ineffable; that holy home of the soul's repose; that other shore beyond the power of death, called by the Siamese the jewelled realm of happiness; by the Chinese, absolute stillness; by the Thibetans, emancipation from the ties of being.

CHAPTER XVI.

Modern Types of the Deity.

At the present day we are conscious that the minds of men are engrossed by an infinitely varied series of concepts regarding the nature and presence of the Divine power. In our own country we are aware that some men are influenced by the many varied god-powers which have had acceptance in past times, some derived from the pagan institutions of barbaric men, others from the tutelar sentiments of the mediæval ages, from metaphysical ideas, from abstract conceptions and the philosophical deductions of modern investigators, into the actions and conditions of the natural world and the relations of the human soul thereto. Out of these multiform presences, have evolved many distinct appreciations of god-power. Still more, if we pass beyond the limits of our own country and note the varied ideals of the divinity in Christian Europe and in the Eastern Christianity, and beyond them, the more abstract and representative tutelar, ancestral, and mystic god-natures and powers that prevail among the great historic races of the Asiatic continent, and the newer individual concepts ever arising and varying the old Divine sentiments. Beyond these we have all the low fetish and mystic sentiments of impersonal supernal powers that now continue to exist, not only among barbaric hordes, but

everywhere in low class minds where the higher dispensations of deity have been evolved.

The higher series of concepts regarding the one universal god-power may be classified under the following general heads. First, those physical ruling forces that from being eliminated as nature-powers advanced by human selection to supreme command, and then were elevated into abstract concepts, as the Shangti of the Chinese. Secondly, purely abstract metaphysical powers manifesting themselves through their ministers, these the surviving forms of physical forces, tutelar human agencies, the souls of departed mortals, and various metaphysical spiritual idealities. In this category are contained the abstract Brahm of the Hindoo, the uncreated Buddha, the boundless will of the Parsee, and various abstract entities which have been derived from the affirmations in the Christian and Moslem faiths. Thirdly, the various metaphysical gods of the Christian, and other sects, in their diverse entities, regal powers acting in concert with many subordinate forces permitted, even when opposing the Divine will, the Providence of the Eternal One ever governing every individual action of all beings. In some cases, as with the Moslem, the Sikh, the Jew, the action of a like god-power in its providential relations with all beings is modified by the shadowy presage of a metaphysical necessity or destiny foredooming in a mysterious manner all ultimate results.

In and among these varied expressions of the Divine nature we find ever the expositions of individual wills, which separating from their immediate surroundings form concepts of an universal god-power, its attributes the result of the individual's centralizing thoughts, and this special power it accepts as sustaining the Kosmos and all within it, balancing their forces by the necessary laws of their being, itself only knowable through the co-ordinate

relations of all, and the capacity in human thought to assimilate them.

While, among these variously defined dispensations, each class or sect accepts a common general theorem or code of faith, each individual in his own soul modifies the general thought or any precept or doctrine to the range of his own mental deductions, and that consequently the whole series of metaphysical abstract and natural conceptions may be blended, rearranged, and variously transposed according to any possible form of thought.

In taking a review of the general aspect of the theory of Divinity among the now existing races of men on the earth, we become conscious that all the sentiments of deity we have been enabled to trace the evolution of among men still prevail, not only as distinct impelling ideas locally adhered to, but as special concepts in the minds of individual men in mixed communities. The more varied the distinctions among men in a community the more varied are ever found the expressions of the nature of the supernal. Even in the most advanced communities in which the highest social institutions have evolved, groups and classes of men will be found whose capacities are only attuned to the reception of the crudest Divine concepts. This accounts for the fact that among the lower groups of men religious homogeneity prevails, and the higher and more variably evolved the race the greater the tendency to form sects, institute heresies, and create supernal distinctions.

This, in a general way, arises from the many relations and forms of thought that prevail in multiple communes, but this fact does not wholly express the nature of the case. The living thought of the day is not wholly derived from the series of local conditions; the special environment has much to do with the form in which thought will be manifest, but the leaven of the past, brought forward from

the minds of previous generations, is assimilated with the perceptive results of the present, and in addition a most important factor tends to modify the result, the distinct range and class of capacity in diverse men. Too much stress cannot be put upon the influence of this integer. In the earliest stage through the limitation of these conditions the range of divergence is but trivial, but as society advances and the conditions become more complex, the better mind-powers evolve higher concepts while the lower class retain as living forces the primitive beliefs; hence there arise, consensuous with grades of thought, grades of spiritual affirmations.

Nowhere are these distinctions more obvious than among the multiple mind-evolvements and multiple God-powers in India. Ages and ages ago the soul of the Hindoo seethed through all the lower forms of Divine manifestation, yet each is a pregnant power at the present day. Even the higher theorems of divinity that philosophic speculation conversant with the many forms of nature and the varied concepts of men, had continued to be expressed, and produced that remarkable multiplicity of sects and variations of supernal thought so notable to every student of the manifestations of the Hindoo mind.

In India at the present day, we observe groups and tribes of men who worship not only stocks and stones but fetish objects of an impersonal nature, or their only concept of Divine power, fear of the fetish force manifest in some uncanny peculiarity whose intent or cause their mental powers cannot grasp. Some find in tree or plant, hawk or lion, that blending of the living and supernal protective worlds that satisfies the longings in their souls, or they go forth among the various aspects of nature and build up Kosmic spirit-powers out of the interactions of all material things. Others, again, trace an intelligent power in the work of their own hands

in plastic and carved and cast figures, in utensils, in ornaments, even in things that carry luck by being profitable.

Another great class of sentiments out of which many varied god-powers are still evolved, had its origin in the worth of departed chiefs and those notable for great mental or supernal manifestations; this was followed by the worship of ancestors. Some of these various mortal beings, as Lyall has demonstrated, even at the present time may be advanced to every grade of supernal power, from the mere ghost to abstract supernal entities. In his *Asiatic Studies* he traces the progress of the god-evolutions now going on there as being on the same lines that we have noted in the past. He observes that "in Berar we have the worship of elements as fetish, of elements inhabited and directed by local spirits, and of elements with mythologic origin or descent from the gods. The honours paid to a running brook are intended for the living water by a large class of its votaries; further on the water power is no longer deified nature but controlled by a supernatural spirit. After this we ascend to mythological fictions about the origin and descent of the great rivers from the Hindoo heaven. Fire is a great Hindoo fetish, the Sun is a tribal god. Tree worship has a wide range, and the worship of animals feared rises to that of a deified Hanumanan, the sacred monkey. Four of the most popular gods of Berar whose images and temples are famous in the Deccan, are now grand incarnations of the Supreme Triad, yet, by examining the legends of their embodiment and appearance upon the earth, we obtain fair ground for surmising that all of them must have been notable living men not so very long ago. The regular process of theogony or the generation of local gods is constantly going on before our eyes in Central India. We have before us there the worship of dead kinsfolk

and friends, then the particular adoration of notables recently departed, then of people divinely afflicted or divinely gifted, of saints, of heroes known to have been men; next, the worship of demi-gods, and finally that of powerful deities retaining nothing human but their names and images.

"It is suggested that all these are links along one chain of the development of the same idea, and that out of the crowd of departed spirits certain individuals are elevated. At this point a different selecting agency comes into play, and by the luck of acquiring first-class reputation for efficacious answers to vows, that some few Manes emerge into a still higher and more refined order of divinity. This is the kind of success that has made the fortune of some of the most popular, the richest, and the most widely known gods of Berar. It should have been remarked that the earliest start of a first-rate god may have been exceedingly obscure. One of the largest annual fairs in Berar now gathers round the grave of an utterly insignificant hermit. Nowhere but in India can we now survey with our eyes an indigenous polytheism in full growth. It would seem as if the old order had been continually but slowly changing, giving place to new, as if the manifold deities from below had always been pressing upon the earlier divinities." (*Asiatic Stud.* p. 13, &c.)

Nor is it only reduplications of the old god-natures that manifest supernal influence on the mind of the Hindoo. The same search for the ultimate, the same desire to find the All-good, the same concept of Divine Love that has been manifested in modern dispensations under other faiths, has found a place in spiritual Hindooism. Brahmoism passes beyond Nirvana, its heaven is the annihilation of egoism. God acts upon the soul and the soul acts upon God. It aspires to put on divinity. There is no abstention

from old feelings and sensations recorded of the ancient Rishis but the modern Brahmo aspires to excel. In 1874 Keshub excited the enthusiasm of his followers so that they remained six hours in continual communication with God. At one time he organized a pilgrimage to the Himalayeh mountains with a small company of devotees. They took up their abode at a romantic spot commanding a vast panorama of snowy peaks, and went out every morning each in a different direction to give themselves up to prayer and meditation in solitude. Even the orthodox Brahminism that admits the extreme forms of the divinity in its higher manifestations, seeks for communion with the one Universal Spirit, and the sleeping Triad is more than half awake in the modern Paramesvara.

Thus, in Modern India all that was special in any preceding age, as forms of supernal faith, sources of supernal protection, still exist as survivals, side by side with the new evolutions of supernal sentiments, and though we may nowhere find such living evidence of the continuous persistency of old spirit ideas, nevertheless, in all countries they always retain their influence on the descendants of the old worshippers. There are no people so advanced as to throw off the old increments of faith. A placid monotheism may distinguish the social surface, not a ruffle or change of tone break the orthodox unity, and yet the seemingly homogeneous harmony is full of the distracting survivals of heretic doctrines, old pagan tendencies, hankerings of the soul for the old protective impersonal charms and spells.

There is no race or people but carry in the secret archives of their thoughts the presentations of all their old affinities, fetish forms, fetish sentiments, impersonal concepts of protecting luck, low-class ghost and spirit conceits, the lares of the departed, tutelar spiritual powers, and often special supernal attributes. Even in our own

country and among the neighbouring nations of a like origin, every now and then crop up evidences that the old necromantic sentiments, the old witch and ghost ideas still have influence on the minds of the people. Odin and Thor not only live as names in our days, they are present in the survival forms of *fêtes* and festivals, in sentiments and modes of speech. The low fetish devil and spirit forms of the past are often more than mere forms of speech; in charms and wishes, in forms of luck, in presages, they ever come to the fore as still living sentiments. Even when a man appeals to his God, without inquiry we should not know the attributes he attached to this highest concept of entities. It might represent any antecedent manifestation of the Divine from a being whose every attribute denoted a blessing to a regal tyrant, a torture-loving power, a mere tutelar chieftain spirit, a malignant spirit, whose impulses for evil were only checked by merciless offerings and lavish personal self-degradations. There is not a race of men but have thus stratified in their souls the fossils of past impressions, and if we do but explore these relics of past forms of thought we shall find that betimes they spring into living action and demonstrate both in the individual's soul and in those of groups, that thought once expressed never dies.

In Dalyell's *Darker Superstitions of Scotland* we have ample evidence how much of the old pagan leaven still lingers in modern forms of thought, fetish worship of plants and animals, ghosts and wraiths, the transformations of human beings and animals, sun and moon worship transferred from stone circles to Christian churches, and by dances round the Beltane fires. In like manner the form of human sacrifice survives in sham burials and sacrificial rites, implying the casting of lots for the victim and the redemption of his life by leaping

thrice through the holy fire. The old warlocks and wizards, the wise men and the wise women, ply their nefarious pursuits, as when the shamans and medicine-men were selected by the tribes for their occult powers. These still transfer diseases into cows, dogs and sheep, still throw a glamour over those they hate, blighting them with their curses, or, calling in the aid of foul spirits and mystic impersonal spells, work out their dooms. Fetish supernal powers still exist in the stones of might, the toad-stone, the snake-stone, the cockknee-stone, or they are transferred to the holy relics of saints, the thigh-bone or skull of whom was washed every Sunday and the water therefrom drank by the sick and impotent for its Divine curative power. Need we then wonder that man and woman, child, beast and fowl, even the house and byrne were supposed to be protected from the machinations of wicked men and evil spirits, by spells, by charms, by hiding fetish bones, hairs, and nail parings, snail-stones, and mole-stones. So still the maledictions of the spiteful become living horrors, and the curse of the evil eye still withers up the young heart or blights the unborn babe.

Spirit-powers of marvellous forms and natures were feared in all places, sprites and goblins, elves and fairies, and familiar spirits waiting on human will, or that of foul demons, as cats and monsters which preyed on the sleepless and incautious. The old-men gods of the past are still present—Geoghach, the old man with a long beard, a still surviving arch Druid. The warrior, Ly Erg, still haunts Glenmore; the giant witch, Cailleachvear, still brews the midnight tempest; still the old giant Glaslich wanders over the moors of Inverness, and as in the East the old enemies of the Aryan nations still exist as foul demons, so the old Pict foes of the Celts still survive in the Paichs, dwarfish malevolent spirits. Loch Lomond is

still, or till lately was, infested with the old-animal fetish monsters in the form of water-horses, and the bull of the water still upsets the boats of those who fail to honour the water-spirit of Loch Awe.

In Greece the old classic protecting gods still exist in their after-types, the saints and apostles of Christendom, sometimes with only a slight variation in the name the Christian saint assumed, the special office of the now extinct pagan deity. Thus Apollo became Elias, St. Demetrius took the place of Demeter, St. Artemidoros that of Artemis. Sacrifices to the dead, the burial of things for their use in the after-life have been known even of late, and the offering of food to the dead still survives in the ancient form of soul cakes in many countries in Europe.

So it is everywhere. No conquest of souls—be it by a Charlemagne or Loyola, a Moslem Imam or modern missionary—takes place but the converts blend the principles of the old faith in the new and transfuse the old sentiments into the nature and attributes of the new supernal beings. Innumerable illustrations of the intermixtures thus ensuing have been presented in many countries. Dr. Stephenson, of Bombay, found the remnants of the ante-Vedic faiths in India, gods being therein worshipped older than the advent of Brahminism. (*Sir H. M. Elliott's Folk Lore of N.W. Provinces of India*, I. p. 243.) Ross informs us that in the Corea, though Buddhism is the special faith, the old gods have not died out, but that once a year the people hold a religious picnic and go to the highest and most inaccessible peaks to offer their adorations, as they did before Buddhism was known in the country, to the god of the mountain. In various countries overrun by the Buddhists the indigenous saints and gods remained, and were accepted by the Buddhists as Avatars of Buddha. (*Griffis, Corea*, p. 332.)

The papal carnival is the old pagan Dionysia, and the Rev. J. J. Wilson says the images carried about at Malta in every procession are the lares and penates of every house. "In their afflictions the natives still fly to the ideal aid of some favourite saint. Such as suffer from the toothache apply to St. Apollonia, and each saint in the papacy like his pagan original has an assigned dominion and duty." (*Narrative of the Greek Mission*, p. 28.) Among the Transylvanian interchange of God parts we are told that Christ and St. Peter take the place of Thor and Loki, and that St. Elias, the modern Thor, is invoked in thunderstorms. (*Nineteenth Century*, XVIII. p. 146.)

Ghost-spirits of the old classic form still wander in waste places and about tombs in Greece; malicious Stichios haunt the churches to frighten the devotees. Lamias are still found in desert places beguiling the wayfarer with their charms; still Charon performs his old office, and the modern coin fulfils the duty of the old obolus. The fates reduced to old witches still work human destinies and the legend of Cyclops is laid on the shoulders of Samson. The sirens and nereids still haunt the woods and waters. St. Eleutherius takes the place of the goddess Eleutheria, and St. Charalambos accords the health-restoring powers once ascribed to the god Æsculapius; the old god, Pan, has become the modern St. Anarguris, and St. Nicholas takes the office of Poseidon.

In charms and spells, in judging of the future, in prognostics, in forecasting nativities, the old superstitions never die. Palmistry exists in this country now as in the days of the Druids, the Chinese still work the mystic diagrams or note the relations of the measures in the skies. In like manner the evil eye is never abashed, the ghost is never laid, and the ghoul spirits work their mischievous wills in the midst of our highest intellectual manifestations.

Not only have we now among all the most developed men evidences remaining of the various god stages that the race has passed through, but we have ample evidence that the lower races of men, if brought into contact with more developed ideas common to the more elevated races, endeavour, though in a very crude way, to assimilate some of their religious sentiments. Thus a semi-barbarous tribe of men may, by their conquest by more civilized people, or by occasional association through traders, missionaries, and travellers, gain some knowledge of their more exalted supernal concepts; at the same time they gain some knowledge of the forms of government on which those ideas have been founded. Hence under such conditions we find some affirmations of a higher than fetish or tutelar god-power entertained. Such acquired sentiments often form incongruous associations of attributes, such as we meet with among the Eskimo of Greenland, most of the North American Indian tribes, the negroes of the Soudan and the coast generally, the inhabitants of the Eastern Asian islands, Polynesia, Melanesia, and the wild tribes of India; even among the Australian aborigines, sentiments of the class we are now denoting are already to the fore.

Among the still rude but more advanced races of men who had acquired more elevated supernal concepts, the presence of new Divine ideas was to cause a blending of the two classes of sentiments. Such was the result in the rural pagan world on the introduction of Christianity, and the same admixture of the old faith with the new was noted throughout Western and North Western Europe, in Western Asia and wherever the early propagandists penetrated. When the modern Christian nations entered on a war of commercial and religious enterprise in the East and in the Americas, the same intermixture of the early doctrines and the new was the result. The natives, however, overruled by the commander and the priest,

always found the means to amalgamate the sentiments of both faiths, and this accounts for the prevalence of fetish ideas and customary low class supernal observances among the Indian races, in the two Americas, in Asia and the Asian Isles, and in Polynesia.

Even general crude intercourse produces as a necessary result the same concepts of the higher god-powers. They either ascribed a vague higher power to one of their older gods or they conceive that in accord with the advent of the strangers, that a more powerful spirit exists far away and beyond the range of their old deities. These varying sentiments have evolved the often monstrous compounds of supernals, that jargon of a gross Christianity now found to prevail in Mexico and the South American communities, once Jesuit settlements, and the same mixed influences may be observed to prevail from Palestine to Armenia, in North Africa, and from the Nile to Abyssinia, in Western Africa, at the Cape of Good Hope, and at many stations in the great Southern Ocean.

The special conception of a higher god-power by a rude race adopting the sentiment from a more developed people, may be noted as having caused the higher religious sentiment now prevailing among the North American Indians, among the mixed tribes in South Africa, and through Polynesia. It is working now in a modified form of Islamism in Central Africa and in some parts of Asia. So Buddhism is blending with Shamanism in Northern Asia, and Brahminism is modifying the supernal sentiments of the inhabitants of the Himalayehs, parts of Thibet, and the wild tribes of men still remaining in various parts of the Peninsular. To summarize the result we have every system of local religion prevailing among isolated races, rising from impersonal fetishism to tutelar adoration; we have mixed concepts of high and low forms of faith rising from evil spirit worship to a philosophic conception of the

unknown mystery of the universal. It is a seething of every element of faith the human mind has conceived.

In taking a survey of the attributes of the Divine as now developing among typical races of men, we will first take note of the changes working in the mind of the Australian aborigine regarding the attributes of deity since they have come under the influence of white men. The term father could never be applied to a matriarchal deity; it could not have arisen until the sexual family was completed, but the family home was established in Australia before the advent of the white man. Mr. Howitt writes that Tharamulun was spoken of as father; he thought this suspicious, but the old men averred they received it from their fathers before the white man came. Then he shows that Tharamulun, Bunjil, and the other crude tribal ghost-powers have the same vague and undefined rule as the headmen; some of these, they said, taught them the little they knew, and then went up into the skies and became stars, occasionally since descending to the earth to frighten the boys when they are made men. Of the characteristics of these ghost-gods, Mr. Howitt informs us they are without authority the same as the headman who could do no one any harm and spoke straight. The Brewin of the Kurnai is the headman with the attributes of malevolent magic powers. The Supreme Spirit, he says again, seems to represent the defunct headman. The Bunjil of the Woiworung seem to have been regarded much in the light in which William Beiruk described to me the headman of his tribe. (*Anth. Inst. Jour.* XIII. p. 186-192.) Tharamulun, the chief spirit believed in on the coast, taught the Murring all the arts they knew; he instituted the ceremonies of initiation, ordered the animal names to be assumed by men, and directed the tabu food regulations.

In Southern Australia, according to *Wood's Native Tribes*,

the various groups have evolved their own gods; some are good spirits, others bad. Many of these, if not all, were notable warriors or occasional leaders, headmen by their influence or men noted for magic powers and ultimately raised to the skies. The great leaders among their enemies become malignant spirits. Moora moora was a powerful medicine-man; he first of all made black lizards, then, by a rapid Darwinian exploitation, converted them into men and women. To do so he first of all divided their hands and feet, making fingers and toes; then he placed his forefinger on their face and made a nose on each, afterwards he made eyes and ears, then he cut off the tails and made them stand upright. (*Wood*, p. 260.) These gods have the powers they ascribe to their medicine-men; they can get up to heaven by ropes; they can take the form of big black men with waddies, or change themselves into kangaroos or great birds which pounce on the sleeping victims and eat their hearts out of their bodies.

That the ghost theory of the origin of spirits still prevails we have many records. "The Kurnai believe that each human being has within him a spirit which they call Yamba. This it was supposed could, during sleep, leave the body, confer with other disembodied spirits, and even wend its way to the celestial vault beyond which lies ghost-land." (*Anth. Inst. Jour.* XIII. p. 186.) "Quite recently King William told me that the Murup of his son who had been taken to the Melbourne Hospital appeared to a comrade during sleep, and took him up a rope and went through a hole in the sky; then looking down said, 'Tell my father I will wait for him here till he comes.' The belief in the temporary departure of the human spirit during sleep still exists in the last surviving Woiworung, after almost a lifetime of contact with the civilization of Melbourne." (*Ibid.*) "On the death of a member of the

tribe, "one of the nearest relations sleeps with his head resting on the corpse until he dreams of the guilty person." (*Woods' Nat. Trib.* p. 199.)

The Australian gods are mere fetish men-ghosts; it is absurd to speak of any of them as representing a great spirit. They have no higher supernal attributes than those they ascribe to their medicine necromancers. Though the gods are diverse over the Australian continent the same supernal ideas prevail everywhere. They were all once men, and yet with characteristic logical inconsistency they speak of the gods making men. Even the nature-powers the sun, the moon, the stars were once men. They have no conception of a first cause, but muddle up the process of creation, evolution, or transformation with the personality of the created. We may even trace in the nature of the Australian gods the elements of all the great classes of the after evolved gods. In the idea of the spirit or ghost-father we have the first stage in the evolution of ancestral deities. Their nature-gods are ill-considered and undefined. Fetish influences and spell-powers are general but very crude, and the wildest magical forces are admitted without any definite idea of special restricted powers. All the gods are rudely tutelar to the tribe. Some are both good and evil in their actions; they always act impulsively, without plan. Like the natives themselves any of the god-powers would waddy a solitary black man at night. The gods in their persons, polity, and powers are essentially representative of the native tribes.

J. D. Woods describes several of the gods known to the Narinyari tribe. These all appear to have been local headmen, some like Wyungare noted for their success in fishing. Wyungare reached heaven in a true Australian fashion: he tied a line to a spear, then hurled it in the heavens where it stuck, so he pulled himself up by the line into the sky and afterwards drew up his two wives.

There they became stars, and he sits up in the sky with his fishing spear fishing for men. Another chief man is described as getting up to heaven by a conjuring feat. He hurled a spear which stuck point up in the sky, then he cast another spear the point of which entered the end of the first, and so on until he formed a chain or line of spears reaching down to the earth, up which he climbed to the skies.

Fetish powers produce everything and all men are under some fetish influence. The doctrine of totemism is general; each tribe or group has its ngaitye or protecting totem, a snake, wild dog, bird, or insect, and no native will kill his *ngaitye*. The origin of many animals was from transformed men. One large fish cut up made many fish, rain was first made by singing. (*Woods' Nat. Trib.* p. 55, &c.)

The great native races of the North American continent when first known to Europeans, even in the great states of Mexico, Tlascala, and Nicaragua, had no conception of a great Supreme God. They were feudal chiefs with a feudal suzerain, and the regal element both socially and supernally was but in process of evolution. Yet from contact with the white races their descendants became acquainted with the ethical aspect of the word royal, with Spanish kingly powers, the rule of a King George, and after that of the great father at Washington. Through their knowledge of these regal powers they came into the habit like the white men of speaking of the supernal power as the Great Spirit. But the rude Indian in his native woods had only a very vague concept of a King Phillip or King Charles. How was it possible for him to entertain any just ideas of European royal state, ministerial rule, and the many links of deputed powers that expressed kingly rule. So with the accompaniments of royalty, its courtly usages, ceremonial customs, and the

elaborate arrangement of every incident in the life of a sovereign, his palaces, castles, ships, armies, and the multiple duties and obligations appertaining to all about him. They could only conceive of him as one of their chiefs, even though they ascribed to him better clothes, better wigwams, and superior fittings; the ideals he formed could only be derived from his own surroundings. So with his conception of a deity. The words he used have been translated into Great Spirit, and the white missionary, soldier, or traveller who heard him use that term read it not in the red man's symbol of supernal power, but in his own. Hence it became common not only to speak of the Great Spirit as worshipped by the Indian, but it was affirmed that this spirit or ghost was the counterpart of the Supreme God of the Christians, with his exalted moral nature, his universal attributes, his personal spiritualism, a theory as inconsistent as it would have been to affirm that his idea of the sacred majesty of the Catholic King was contained in the proud, painted, feathered and long-haired Indian chief.

On this subject Stephen Powers, in the Ethnological Report of the Geographical Survey of the Rocky Mountains, makes some very terse observations. He writes: "With the exception, perhaps, of a few tribes in the northern parts of the State, I am thoroughly convinced that the great majority of the Californian Indians have no conception of a Supreme Being. Nearly all now speak of the Great man, the Old man above, the Great One above, but they have the word and nothing more. This is manifestly a modern graft on their ideas, because this being takes no part in their affairs, is never mentioned in the real and genuine aboriginal mythology or cosmography, creates nothing, upholds nothing. They have heard of the white man's God as some of them have taken enough interest to translate the word into their own language, as

Pokoh, Lush, Sha, Komus. It is an idea not assimilated. The Indian asked knows no more than the name, but questioned on man, fire, and familiar objects his interest is aroused and coyote comes forward; the coyote did everything, made everything that his father told him, and his father's father. I affirm without hesitation there is no Indian equivalent for God. There are numerous spirits, chiefly bad, some in human form, some dwelling in beasts and birds, having names which they generally refuse to mortals and haunting chiefly the hills and forests. Some of these spirits are those of wicked Indians returned to earth, others appear to be self-existent. There are great and potent spirits bearing rule over many of their kind, and there are inferior. All these spirits are to be propitiated and their wrath averted. There is not one in a thousand from whom the Indians expect any active assistance; if they can only secure their non-interference all will go well. Nature was the Indian god and the only god he knew, and the coyote was his minister." (III. p. 413.)

Mr. R. Dorman (*Anth. Ins. Journal*, XI. p. 361) writes "that the Great Spirit of the red man or Supreme God of the Indians is almost certainly nothing more than a figure of European origin reflected and transformed almost beyond recognition in the mirror of the Indian mind."

The same god derivation has been noted in Guiana. "Various words have been supposed to be names of a Supreme Being, a Great Spirit, as among the Caribs,—Tamosi, the ancient one; Tamosi Kabotano, the ancient ones in the skyland; Macusi Kutti, probably the Dutch 'Gott;' also words denoting our Maker, our Great Father. These express only three ideas, one who lived long ago now in skyland, the maker of the Indians, their father, neither of which involves the attributes of a god." (*Ibid.* XI. p. 378.) "More, there is nothing to indicate that the

Indians believed in any spirits except such as were once situated in material bodies, and differ in rank and power only as one man differs in these respects from any other. The difference of brute power or malignancy is quite distinct from any belief in the possession by certain spirits of authority over other spirits and men. The latter belief is totally absent from the Indian mind. As far as the Indians of Guiana are concerned I do not believe that they distinguish such beings as sun and moon, &c., from men and other beings." (*Ibid.* XI. p. 377.)

That the African races should have other ideas of god-powers brought to their low intellectual perceptions than their own original fetish and nature spirit-powers, through the various forms of higher class deities presented to them in many places both by Moslems and Christians, is very probable. The Arab traders who skirted the east coast of Africa to the Cape of Good Hope—those who reached Central Africa by the Upper Nile route, and the other army of buyers and traders who traversed the great desert, and wherever they established marts practised and often expounded the principles of Islam—these not only spake of a higher deity, but by the exposition of their own principles of government, and the institution, wherever they gained a footing, of the idea of Sultan rule, gave a living application of the theory of a Supreme God. So in like manner by the many settlements of Europeans around their coasts, the same idea was shown to be very general among all the white races, and kingly rule was manifested in like manner by the local forms of government introduced.

Hence, that a vague supremacy should be attached to one of their native men deities, or that they should apply derived phrases to the new vague power they attempted to conceive, were possible probabilities, but in no case do we find this superior being an emanation from the exalted

thought-powers of the natives; it is always a borrowed idea and has no affinity with the native fetish or nature deities. It has no part in the supernal actions of their every-day life, and is a mere graft that never enters into their general thoughts of either human or Divine relations. We meet with this vague concept on the Niger, it has been affirmed of the Hottentot and Bechuana races, crudely in Central Africa, and even in East Africa where the Arabs and Jesuits have inculcated it for several centuries. Grave English professors and devotee missionaries have found this supreme intelligence in mere men and nature deities, even when the myth is accompanied by the traditionary evidence of their tutelar origin. Dr. Livingstone's statement is amply demonstrative of the fact, that wherever this Supreme Being doctrine was admitted it had never become a part of their home life, never entered into any of their social relations, but stood aloof from all their customary usances, as an exotic unassimilated sentiment. He writes: "The uncontaminated Africans believe that Murungo, the Great Spirit who formed all things, lives above the stars, but they *never pray* to him, and *know nothing* of their relation to him or of his interest in them. The spirits of their departed ancestors are all good, and on special occasions aid them in their enterprises." (*Exp. to Zambesi*, p. 46.) The doctor further shows that ancestor worship and fear of the evil fetish spirits absorb all their active supernal sentiments. Thus, a man "with the headache was heard to say, 'My departed father is scolding me. I feel his power in my head.' He was then observed to remove from the company and make an offering of a little food on a leaf, and pray, looking towards where he supposed his father's spirit to be." (*Ibid.* p. 521.) He also observes: "They believe that many evil spirits live in the air, the earth, and the water. These invisible malicious beings inflict

much suffering on the human race, but they may be propitiated by offerings of meat and drink. Thus, on the Zambesi the paddlers place meal on the rocks as an offering to the turbulent deities they believe preside over fatal spots." (*Ibid.* p. 41.)

Dr. Livingstone in his earlier work, *Missionary Travels*, had observed "that all the natives of this region (Tete) have a clear idea of a Supreme Being, the maker and governor of all things," but our quotations show that afterwards he had foregone his first hasty deduction; and the Rev. R. Moffat, the father-in-law of the doctor, who, according to his own statement, had made particular inquiries regarding the origin of the higher god sentiment, writes: "Uhlanga is used by the Kaffirs to denote a Supreme Being, but from what I know of the tribes I perfectly agree with the Rev. S. Kay, that Uhlanga or Thlanga is the name of the oldest of their kings, and Mr. Pringle expressed himself doubtful whether the god Uhlanga be not merely a deified chief like Thor and Woden of our Teutonic ancestors." (*Missionary Labours*, p. 68.) He further writes: "I made many inquiries respecting the name they had to denote the Divine Being, but could not come to any satisfactory conclusion. The name they use is Tsuiknap, the Utiki of the Hottentots. An aged sorcerer said that he always understood that Tsuiknap was a notable warrior of great physical strength, and that in a desperate struggle with another chieftain he received a wound in the knee. To him, as to many others, this Tsuiknap was an object neither of reverence or love. May not this Tsuiknap be like the Thlanga of the Kaffirs, an ancient hero? The Morimo of the Bechuanas did not convey to the minds of those who heard it the idea of God, nor did Barimo convey to the Bechuana mind the idea of a person, but of a state of being bewitched. They could not describe who or what Morimo was, except

something cunning or malicious. Morimo, like men and animals, came out of a cave." (*Ibid.* p. 69.)

That, when the social condition of the negro races is sufficiently advanced for them to entertain the idea of supreme power, the concept of a Supreme God should take root, is evident from some remarks in *Wilson and Felkin's Uganda.* We therein read that the Bari's low tribes in the Soudan show no trace among them of the belief in a Supreme Being, but of the Waganda who have advanced into a sovereign state they write: "They believe in a Supreme Being, who made the world and mankind, and whom they call Katonda, but they offer no worship to him, as they regard him as too exalted to pay any regard to mankind. Their principal objects of worship are inferior gods or devils called lubari. The most regarded of these gods, the most feared, is Mukusa, the God of the Nyanza; he is supposed to control the waters and influence the neighbouring country. Chisouka and Neuda are gods of war and inhabit certain trees. Another lubari is called Ndaula and appears to be identical with one of the former kings of Uganda; he resides on the summit of Mt. Gambaragara. There are river-gods, and the former kings of the country are demi-gods." (*Uganda,* II. p. 98; and I. p. 206.) It is evident that the supernal system at Uganda is based on nature and man-worship, and that the crude idea of a Supreme God is in little affinity with the native mythology, or religious observances would have been derived from the god-worship of the Moslems, who have been settled there for sixty years and have probably traded with them for centuries.

When the native mind assimilates the higher god sentiments it blends the new idea with the old customary sentiments as elsewhere. Thus at Tette, on the Zambesi, where the Jesuits have been established for centuries, we

read that "earnest though the Fathers may be, they must view with sadness the failure of the work of their predecessors, who centuries before wandered amid the savage aborigines. To-day, if you make inquiries of a native grown to manhood within the sound of the mission bells, he will tell you an extraordinary story regarding his ideas of the meaning of religious ceremonies. Crucifixes, pictures, and all such aids to devotional life are only looked upon as fetish." (*Kerr, Far Interior of S. Afr.*)

In *From Benguella to Yacca*, we read that "Huco or Suco is an invisible god, but the idea is due simply to the contact of civilization. It is formulated on our own idea of God, yet they omit to worship it. The idea does not belong to them, but has been plagiarized and ingrafted on an ill-prepared stock, and is consequently worthless. They have heard speak of something which they had a difficulty in comprehending, and gave it a name precisely as the Maquiocs had their N'gana N'Zambi, of which they knew little" (II. p. 246). D. Leslie, in his work *Among the Zulus*, writes: "The natives have no traditions as to religion and origin except the *Ehlose*, and one confused idea about Inkulnerkula, the big one of all" (p. 149). C. New, in his *Wanderings in East Africa*, observes of the Wanika: "Their notions of a Supreme Being are very vague, though the idea of a god is not lost to them; yet it is a singular fact that they have no other name for God than the word which they apply to the visible heavens, Mulunga. When asked what God is they look at you vacantly, and often answer that they do not know; when pressed they point to the sky. They attribute everything beyond the power of man to Mulunga. Of God's omniscience and omnipresence they have no idea, the only moral qualities they attribute to him are vindictiveness and cruelty. Mulunga, they say without hesitation, is bad" (p. 103). "Who is it that afflicts the world with locusts, pestilence, drought, and death?

Who," they exclaim, "carries off our wives, our brothers, our sisters, to the grave?" All this they think the work of God. They have no idea of prayer in any sense. The exorcism of evil spirits, the propitiating of the angry powers, and the supplication of the unknown deity, are all comprehended under the expression, "Pray God!" (*Ibid.* p. 104).

The Gallas have the same vague concept of the sky being a great god as the Wanika. The writer we last quoted observes: "The Gallas have but little idea of religion, they have an indistinct notion of a Supreme Being whom they call Waka, but the word is also applied to the sky, as if they confounded the one with the other" (p. 273). With another East African tribe the superior god appears to have been derived from the sun, as among some of the West African races. C. New writes: "The Wachagu have some notion of a Divine being whom they call Erua or Eruva, a word that also stands for the sun, and they pay greater attention to Mganga (sorcerer-priest) than to the unknown being called Erua" (*Wanderings*, p. 458). Dr. Krapp in his *East Africa* also refers to the common notions of a superior god. He writes, "The Wakamba, like the other East African tribes, call the Supreme Being Engai; he dwells on the white mountain whence comes rain" (p. 365). (For other references to African nature-gods as supreme powers, see *Anthropological Institute Journal*, XV. p. 11.)

It is evident, from the instances we have quoted, that the concept of a great deity has had diverse origins. There can be little doubt that the vague concept of a spiritual god is wholly derived from more developed races, Moslem or Christian, and that, when it is not so, the great god, or the one above, is a nature-god, the sun, the sky, or the god of the mountain, or a man-god noted for his prowess or skill, may-be a tribal head who first taught them the arts of life and banded them into the elements of a nation.

During the last few years several works have been written by Major A. B. Ellis, which contain a very exhaustive synopsis of the various supernal powers now accredited by the negroes of the Gold and Slave Coasts of Africa. These so ably illustrate the nature of their spirit and god ideas, and at the same time the process by which the higher sentiments are evolved, that we will refer to them as demonstrating the lines of spirit evolution that we have found general with other races. First, as regards impersonal supernal powers, they have spells, charms, omens, magic powders and unguents, a great variety of protective amulets, and several processes of divination. The cry of the owl signifies death; it is called the bird which makes afraid. Sneering is ominous. So the flocking of the hooded crow is a bad omen; it affects the rainfall. The cry of the kingfisher heard on the right side is a good, on the left a bad omen; so the cock-crowing at night is a bad omen. The preservative charms are of the same varied characters as with other people. A dog beaten to death and hung in the market-place prevents disease. An amulet made of the teeth or claws of animals, especially of beasts of prey, protect from beasts of prey. Tibuli are charms used by thieves to render them invisible, or they send the occupants of the house being robbed to sleep. A human tooth and a Popo head are worn as a Bo charm against sickness. Another charm for sickness is a flat rectangle of clay covered with cowries and pieces of broken pottery. Tail of horse, cow, or goat, is worn to preserve from bullets. There are also charms or spells to kill enemies; a magic powder which opens windows and doors; another which, thrown on the footstep of an enemy, will make him mad; a third neutralizes the last; a fourth destroys the sight. So magic unguents, rubbed on the body, compel a man to lend money, make love, &c. The Dahomans place round the house a grass rope festooned with dead leaves, to prevent

the building taking fire. They also have amulets with scraps of the Koran written; these smeared with blood, palm oil, and yoke of eggs, had increased efficacy. Among their processes of divination Major Ellis records the following. They throw palm wine on the ground and the future is foreshadowed by the forms it takes. A rope is hauled taut and the names of the contending parties are called until it breaks, the one then mentioned is considered guilty. Other modes are short pieces of sticks or knotted cords thrown down on the same, with cowries or nuts. They also impale a fowl, and divine by the time it takes to die.

In the fetish protective objects that individuals select as their guardians or suhmens we have a blending of the early spell and charm worship, with the more modern concept of spirit influence. The supposed spirit is induced to enter the object by a spell that is squeezing the juice of certain leaves on it. They consider an enemy may be made mad by pouring rum on the shuman. "A shuman has different articles made for it, each for a specific purpose; they are rather of the nature of charms or talismans. These charms may be small pieces of twig tied as bundles of brushwood, and suspended over a door or window to prevent a thief entering, or a *seedenteh* pierced with a hole and hung up over the door of a house to prevent people talking scandal about the inmates, or a corn cob baked and bound with bamboo filaments and hung up in a doorway to prevent an enemy entering the house; the root of a plant scraped and threaded on a string with white beads to protect the wearer from injury and make him bold. In an emergency he bites a bit off and chews it. Three feathers of a parrot tied with bamboo filaments; this allows a portion of the shuman to accompany the person carrying the feathers. That a spirit is now presumed to enter the shuman we may infer as small quantities of food are offered to it." (*Tshi Speaking People*, pp. 101-104.)

Other observations by Major Ellis still more emphatically present the selection of the shumen as being of the same nature as a man selecting his protective charm. To procure his individual totem, the man goes into the gloomy forest, and, having poured out a small quantity of rum upon the earth, he either cuts a branch of a tree and shapes it rudely as a man, a mere cylinder with rude head, notched for neck, or he takes a stone and binds it with bamboo filaments, or the root of a plant which he grinds into a paste with the blood of a fowl or some red earth mixed with blood or rum: feathers of a parrot are sometimes added. (*Ibid.* p. 100.)

With regard to the nature of the ghost and the indwelling spirit Kra, Ellis insists that as with some other races of men they are distinct. "When the indwelling spirit leaves the body of the man it inhabits he suffers no inconvenience. It goes out in sleep without his knowledge, and if it leaves when he is awake he is only made aware of its departure by a sneeze or yawn; he suffers no pain, but when the soul leaves the body that becomes cold and pulseless, and if it does not soon return the man is dead. Swoons, trances, and death are phenomena directly caused by the soul quitting the body. Apoplexy, epilepsy, hysteria, delirium, and mania are connected with absence of the indwelling spirit and another spirit entering, and the struggle between the two when the true spirit returns." (*Ewe Speaking People*, p. 106.) Further on he admits that the two entities are partly confounded together at Porto Novo, Whydah, and Dahomey, but he writes "the ideas of the natives are so indefinite, that they believe at the same time the soul may come and enter a new-born child, yet still continue in Deadland." (*Ibid.* p. 116.) Captives are gagged after receiving a piastre and a bottle of rum, their expenses to spirit-land. They are then decapitated with instructions to deliver in Deadland to the late king. One was to go to the

market-place and report the great custom, another to report the same to travellers, a third to fishermen in Deadland; in like manner antelopes are sent to inform the ghosts of antelopes, and monkeys the monkey-ghosts. (*Ewe Speaking People*, p. 137.)

Not only do they esteem that animals have souls, but they also affirm that the spirit of a dead man can enter an animal. A missionary presented a pet ox to Mepon, King of Porto Novo. It used to come every day to receive green food from his hands. On the day he died it came, and receiving nothing began to bellow, on which the priests said that the king's soul had passed into the animal, and it was reverenced, allowed to go where it willed, and when dead it was burned with great honours. Sheep and fowls were sacrificed, libations of rum and palm wine poured out amid the din of horns, drums and musketry. It was buried with fresh sacrifices.

With regard to the nature of the human ghost they hold that natural imperfections reappear in the ghosts, but the loss of an arm or the head by decapitation is not repeated. Diseases are caused by the departed spirits of friends wanting them to come to the after-world. One sick man informed by the priest that it was his brother who wanted him, told the priest to remind him that he used to thrash him when alive, and if he did not leave off troubling him now he would have a bad time of it when he got below. (*The Land of the Fetish*, p. 51.) The after occupations of the ghost were the same as in this life. An agriculturist will till the soil, a fisherman fish, a slave attend on his owner, a chief act as chief. They have the same appetites and passions as in this life; take food, smoke pipes, and store up gold dust. The Kra, or ghost, may enter the bodies of animals to have its revenge on an enemy.

We have seen that not only men but animals have

ghosts, and the same sentiment is applied to all the natural phenomena whose power they experience. They consider these as beings who act and have the power of volition; these invisible agents he imagines analogous to himself. Each town, village or district has its own local spirits or gods, the lords of the rivers, the hills, the valleys, the rocks and the forests. These spirits, throughout, present the same general characteristics, with slight local modifications of the original idea. Some as Mawu and Nyankupou are the indwelling spirits of the sky. Khebioso is the lightning spirit who dwells in the clouds. Dso is the god of fire. Uu is the ocean-god, Nati the fish-god.

Not only does the negro recognize spirit-powers in the dead, as well as in the physical features of a country; he ascribes spirit or ghost powers to animals and trees. Out of this concept he has evolved the doctrine of totems, and these protective agencies may consist of animals, trees and natural objects. Thus, Major Ellis describes the following as totems:—The buffalo, leopard, bush cat, corn stalk, dog, parrot, plantain, red earth, palm oil grove. Like as with the American Indians, men have descended from animals. Thus the horse-mackerel family were descended from a female horse-mackerel. In another case a fisherman caught a fish, which said to him, "Do not kill me and I will be a wife to you." She became a woman and told him their offspring would be Appei, but they must not eat the appei fish from which they were descended. (*The Tshi Speaking People*, p. 212.) As a rule of this spirit notion, there are various tabus of food along the Gold Coast; some abstain from certain animals, birds and fish, others on certain days only. The first represents a pure totem family, but when a family separates the totem only remains with one section, then the priest, after rinsing the tutelar deity in water, gives each member some to drink. Then

each is ordered to abstain from the totem food on certain days, so that the remembrance that they were under its protection might not be lost.

As men differ in status and character, so do their ghosts. The head of a family after death becomes its Divine protector, and the chief takes the same position over a tribe. Major Ellis describes four instances of the deification of men. One was a King of Dahomey in 1818. They say he is not dead but become a *vodu*, another was also a local king, and two others were the benefactors of their tribes. (*Ewe Speaking People*, p. 90.) Ancestral worship has not developed as yet to that perfect system we find so often expressed in more advanced communities, but all the elements out of which full family worship might be developed are present in the social institutions of the natives of the Gold and Slave Coasts. The dead are believed to be cognizant of what is taking place in this world, and to retain some interest in the welfare of their descendants; hence they are sometimes appealed to for aid on the Gold Coast. On the Slave Coast the idea is more developed, and the ancestral ghost may cause sickness, requiring the service of the descendant in Dead-land. In Dahomey it is the custom to have the skulls of the family dead exhumed after a time, and placed in earthen pots in the house. Before these the dead are appealed to for advice and assistance. (*Ewe Speaking People*, p. 111.) At the water-sprinkling custom the king repairs to the graves of former kings, and sacrifices on each grave in succession to induce the ghosts of the old kings to lend their aid in time of war.

It is from these various spirit-powers all supernal interference with humanity is derived, and the nature and status of each deity represent the extent of his influence. In all cases these are looked upon as Divine protectors acting in association with human beings, and in return for

the goodness they are supposed to manifest, their worshippers reverence them and offer them sacrifices and libations. The lowest class of these assumed protectors are, as we have shown, mere impersonal fetishes, charms, which, like all amulets, are supposed to have protective virtues; others are supposed to contain indwelling spirits, which, by spells and charms, are induced to take up a position in the fetish object.

Beyond these individual protectors we have family, and clan, and tribal protectors. Family tutelar deities may be obtained from the priests in the same way as individual fetishes. These are kept by the head of the family, and at his death pass into the keeping of the successor to his stool. Another mode of obtaining a family deity is through dreams. A man may dream that his deceased grandfather, uncle or other relation appeared to him in a dream and counselled him to go to a certain spot and select a stone or piece of a tree, and that becomes the habitation of a protecting spirit. If ill-luck succeeds, the bohsum is tested by a priest casting it in the fire. If it is ever so little burnt it is no bohsum. The head of the family is the person who has charge of its tutelar deity. On the day sacred to it, all the members of the family dress in white: no work is done. If one is absent he must halt on that day. Eggs, fowls and palm oil are the usual offerings. These guardian spirits have special charge of the chastity of the young girls before puberty, when their duties cease. (*The Tshi Speaking People*, p. 93.)

The clan-gods are of the same type as the family, and the individual protectors. These are not mountains or rivers, but usually an object that serves for an abiding place for the spirit. It may be a wooden figure, a stone, a calabash, or earthen pot containing a mixture of earth and blood. These are surviving forms of protective charms. When a new one is required they go to a priest,

who, after due preparation and foaming at the mouth, indicates where the new god is to be procured. It may have to be made out of the wood of a certain tree and tied round with bamboo filaments. The new deity is sometimes tested by a fellow-priest from a distance, and if he differed a third priest would be called in. (*Ibid.* p. 83.)

The gods of the tribes, like the gods of the towns and districts, are spirit-gods derived from some local physical characteristic—a mountain, river, or the sea, or a special animal or other totem. Such is the crocodile-god worshipped at Badagry, the leopard at Dahomey, the python at Whydah. A native of Whydah who meets a python in his path prostrates himself before it, rubs his forehead on the earth and covers himself with dust in token of humiliation, exclaiming, "You are my master, you are my father, you are my mother; my head belongs to you." (*The Ewe Speak. People,* p. 58.) Major Ellis writes: "Each town, village, or district has its own local spirits: the lords of rivers and streams, the hills, the valleys, the rocks, and the forests. These are supposed to be of human shape—some male some female. The sea also has its local spirits. 'As a rule, every portion of the shore where the surf breaks unusually heavily, or where the presence of rocks causes the water to become broken and dangerous, has its own local spirit, and the drowning of fishermen is taken as proof of the existence of the malignant spirits." (*Tshi Speak. Peop.* p. 12.)

It is from these local animal and nature spirits, first considered as the protecting genii of small local groups, that the after evolved higher god-powers were developed. When one small community was subjected by another, the god of the conquering tribe did not wholly supplant the god of the conquered, but he became, as it were, his suzerain, and he was naturally considered the more powerful god. Of course, by a succession of conquests the

god-powers become mixed, and they grow into conclaves. "In 1770, Huntin, the indwelling spirit of the silk cotton tree, was second of the three gods worshipped in the kingdom of Whydah, and like the two others had a province under his protection. After the conquest of Whydah by Dahomey, the god was relegated to a somewhat lower position." (*Ewe Speak. People*, p. 50.)

The natural process through which the god-spirits become assimilated assume new attributes, and from mere local expression of the supernal become general deities may be traced in the following observations of Major Ellis:—"On the Gold Coast we found a multitude of village gods, a few tribal gods, but none worshipped by all; but amongst the Ewe-speaking people—probably due to the greater facility for the interchange of ideas—we find a thousand different villages possessing each a god resembling all the others in general attributes and functions but separate and individual; so the same gods are worshipped under the same name in every town and considerable village and represented on a common plan possessing identical attributes and functions." (*Ibid.* p. 13.)

The assimilation of the god-natures is influenced by the direct action of the priests. They "see that it is prejudicial to the profession to have one set of men in one village worshipping say a lightning god with one set of ceremonies, and another set in a village a few miles distant worshipping another lightning god whose functions are essentially the same as the first with totally different ceremonies. They see it would be better to have some common plan, and by degrees they contrive to blend five or six hundred local lightning gods into one general lightning god, who is everywhere represented by the same image and served with the same ceremonies. With the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the gods of

similar type have been aggregated, but those on the Gold Coast are still segregated." (*Ibid.* p. 27.)

The natural consequence of this fusion of the god-natures is first to raise and depress the power of some gods, create new gods, and depose some of the older divinities; and lastly, through the influence of higher races and their own self-advancement, abstract principles have been deified and an advance made to the conception of a general supreme god. Bobowissi was originally a local tutelar deity at Winnebah, and Tando was tutelar at Ashantee; in each case as the power of the state extended, so did the influence of its god. The seat of Bobowissi is a conical hill near Winnebah; he is the chief god of the southern tribes on the littoral of the Gold Coast, as well as by the inland tribes of Wassaw, Arbra, and Assin. He is lord of thunder and lightning, storms and tornadoes. Major Ellis writes the following:—"Local gods have only ceased to be worshipped in the memory of man. Djwi Jahnu, mediator, formerly god on Connor's Hill—he is in the shape of a serpent, also as a leopard—his worship has been extinct for twenty years. The acquisition of the hill by the Cape Coast Government proved fatal to the cult. Another was Kottor Krabah, who resided at the wells. A land crab in shape, he had shown them where to dig for water by scraping his way into the mud under the rock. So the guardian spirit of the landing place at Cape Coast by its enclosure has ceased to be. But as some of these local gods die out others are installed. In the Ahanta district a rock on the sea without a name, a few years since, was accorded an indwelling spirit under the cognomen of the Slayer of the White Men, because a ship was wrecked upon it. Among the new gods the most important place must be awarded to Nana Nyankupou, the Lord of the Sky—the God of the Christians—as they esteemed, because of the superior weapons, ships, and manufactures

of the whites. They considered he must be a greater power than any that they worshipped. He was considered the god of foreigners, and consequently was never popular. He has no priesthood. In time he became considered as lord over the local deities. Small-pox and famine, unknown in the old times, were now ascribed to Nyankupou. At the present day, Nyankupou is ignored rather than worshipped. He is considered too distant to interfere ordinarily in human affairs, but in times of famine or pestilence the people will sometimes call upon him." (*The Tshi Speak. Peo.*, p. 30.)

"Mawu is becoming an abstract god who leaves all the work to the other gods; they believe that he remains in a beatific condition of perpetual repose and drowsiness, the acme of bliss according to the notion of the indolent negro. He represents *the above* beyond the clouds. It would be a work of supererogation to pray to him; they reserve their prayers to those who may injure them." (*The Ewe Speaking People*, p. 33.)

The same blending of the god idea of the higher races with the local original manifestations of nature and men-gods is so general that we need only refer to a few isolated districts in which the new sentiment of divinity is progressing. Along the eastern shores of Asia and through the Indian Archipelago to Borneo and New Guinea, the influence of Islamism is manifest, introducing the concept of a spiritual god with the attribute of unity. Already in Melanesia the beginning of the transformation has taken place. Christianity in its many forms and the influence of the Moslem Malays are awakening the souls of the natives to the idea of an all-powerful God whose moral nature is opposed to the old barbarous rites and usances that have so long prevailed in those most beautiful aspects of nature. In Polynesia the work is all but complete, though everywhere the curious eye detects many com-

promises between the old forms of faith and the new. Quietly, and in general secretly, many rites and customs of the old nature-worship still obtain. A vast revolution is now and has been going on through the whole of the present century in the character of the religious rites and sentiments entertained by the inhabitants of the many islands scattered over the great eastern and southern oceans, and we may anticipate the time when the ethnic archæologist will have to grub into the old traditions, folk-lore, and mythic survivals among men to unearth the evidences of their primary concepts. That under such forms much will survive, we may affirm from the present continuation of like archaic sentiments amongst the highest evolved races.

We need not dwell on the subject of the persistence of the intermediary religious concepts, and of the so-called revivals of antique sentiments among Anglican and Wahabee devotees. Ever men look into the past for that perfection of faith or duty they fail to discover in the present. In the real world of to-day they are elbowed not only by modern decadence and crude supernal concepts, mediæval and archaic sentiments, but all the new evolvements which discard old tradition and long prevailing opinions, and know nothing of dogma or reverent precepts, confront them with new affirmations of the absolute. No wonder that in their simplicity they conceive that unity of principle and practice were the common heritage of the early faith.

But while the spiritual concepts of some men wander back to an ideal past, others take up some intermediate form that appeals to their special natures or to which by association they have been brought into unison, or with the energy of a self-seeking will they aspire to work out the new forms of the infinite seething in the minds of men. Nor are these diverse schools of Theology limited by race

or faith; they have been alike evolved by the Moslem, the Hindoo, and the Chinese Buddhists, as by the various Christian sects. In this respect they are at one, and among the several groups in each series of religious manifestations the like tones of thought, the like mental evolvements will be found to abound.

We do not mean to affirm that the various low primary ghost and fetish forms prevail to the same extent among European races as among the Hindoo and Chinese. With many it is purely a question of association and general education, and consequently where these have advanced to a good standard in the general community, the nature of the supernal concepts are more or less in corresponding accord, but there are other individuals whose capacity and range of mental conceptive powers are limited. Men and women who fail to accept the forms of thought brought before them, and who rely on the lower range of mental concepts, their own instinctive impulses urge them to affirm. They may be so far advanced as to perceive their own sentiments would be inopportune, but the consciousness of this only induces them to be secretly treasured. It is only under special individual or general calamities that the flood gates of the supernal are withdrawn.

Underlying the grand scheme of the natural world and the concept of the infinity beyond, even the ideal absolute, we find more or less allwhere present the crudest concepts of spiritual natures, personal gods acting as partisans in human warfare, and sanctifying the lust of dominion by their preferential intervention, a clinging for life and soul safety, to some beatified man or woman, the fear of the evil eye, the spell, the charm, or that vague sentiment of special dread attached to the bark of a dog, the flight of a bird, the presence of something uncanny, and therefore out of the influences of the natural. The individual worshipper may attend the cathedral service, bow in adoration in the

holy assembly to a spiritual, moral, universal God, and yet in his inner nature he may pass by the sentiment of the all-governing and all-sustaining Divine essence, and suppose that like a tribal necromancer this infinite majesty can select for special approbation, and bless this or that tribe or nation, this or that individual man, descending from the skies to crown them with a fetish success, or that a second-rate subdivinity qualified by prayers or offerings will interpose to suspend the natural laws, and convert imbecility or diseased organic conditions into a robust healthy state of being.

We have no fetish temples in this country. Our high places have no openly declared idol shrines. We have no lares or penates, no system of hero and ancestral gods, yet all the old developing principles of supernal natures still exist amongst us. The dead are appealed to, the living are reverenced as if the Divine emanation pervaded their bones and muscles, and totem guardians, both individual and general, are esteemed as protecting agencies. The old principles of faith come before us in many new phases, as well as the old-fashioned charms and spells. These sentiments may be played with in public, converted into merriment, not even admitted to their own souls and treated as idle folk-lore, and yet should a live coal spring from the fire, or the gas burst intensely forth, then the endeavour to quiet the one with the poker, and the subdued action of the heart in the presence of the other, intimate the depth of the supernal concepts entertained. We have only to peruse the mysterious influences recorded by folk-lore societies to judge how vast are the ranges of supernal influences now. In *Notes and Queries* for 1882, we read of an individual who wore a dead toad, wrapped in silk and bound with tape, round his stomach for ten years as a charm against scrofula.

The days of miracles are not yet passed. There are few

sects which do not maintain some wonderful interpositions of Providence, some strange records of Divine grace, some striking mementoes of faith cures, but it was reserved for infidel France to demonstrate how abjectly low the general European mind still was on the question of the government of the universe, more especially in regard to the relation of disease to the human organization. Special appearances of the Virgin Mary and other assumed holy personages, often on very trivial matters, had been recorded as occurring in Spain and Italy, but it was reserved for France to give a world-wide reputation to one of the latest of these manifestations. It may be remembered that it was only a few years ago, and that too not in ancient Babylon or old Ephesus, but in modern Rome, that a grave assembly of religious notables held a sacred convocation to decide whether a Jewish girl in a rural village in Judea more than 1800 years ago, where there were neither newspapers nor poor law guardians, or police inspectors to take note of deviations from virtue, had like many other young girls in all countries been indiscreet in her conduct, or whether as had been assumed, the Divine effluence had conceived in her womb. Common people of the world would have affirmed that a body of priests bound to celibacy, and consequently ignorant of the ways of the sinful world, were the most incapable jury for such an investigation. The common mind, if it had not remitted the investigation to a school of doctors, would certainly have appointed a committee of old women for that purpose. However, in Rome they do as Rome does, and the pious bishops not only gave her a clean bill of health, but decreed with all due honours the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The whole Catholic world was thereupon stimulated to the highest pitch of devotion in favour of the purity of the Virgin Madonna and the human personification of the deity. Even a simple peasant girl of Lourdes caught the

Divine infection, and when on her knees praying to the Virgin, her highly ecstatic perceptions were conscious of the Virgin being present before her, who demanded of the ignorant maid that a chapel should be built on the spot to testify to the immaculate origin of her Divine child. As a matter of course, miraculous appearances had of late become so common that not only in one instance had the Pope refused to accept the miracle, but had even excommunicated the visionary to whom with unseemly pertinacity the Virgin had appeared. But fortunately for the credit of the maid of Lourdes coincident with the vision, a spring of water not specially noted before, gurgled out of the rock, and this when taken by the sick, the blind, the helpless, the incurably deformed, restored the believing recipients to their wonted health, strength, and the use of their members. In consequence the religious enthusiasm became intensified, the pilgrim sick rushed in droves to the Divine well, and a shrine sprang up in echo to the exhortations of the priests. The wonder was that any sick or deformed persons were left in France, or that the holy waters were not diffused over the neighbouring nations and poured in streams of health into the now useless hospitals. It does not, however, appear that the medical professors considered their mission over, or that the schools of medicine in Paris received a less number of pupils, though the pilgrims passed in thousands every week to the healing shrine, and even extra trains had to be put on for their convenience. The widespread influence of the belief in the miracles may be estimated when we know that the book containing the records of the many miraculous cures effected by the waters of the holy spring, in a few years reached over one hundred editions. Nor in reviewing the modern expositions of the deity should we forget the yearning desire in the souls of so many individuals to cling to some intermediate agency. They cannot aspire to, or feel comfortable

in, the immediate presence of a Supreme God; and while they hold, or believe they hold to him, substantially they seek affinity with the supernal through tutelar deities, saints, martyrs, may-be some living man who becomes to their imagination a Dalai Lama, a present god, even though in the form of a father confessor, as one endowed with spiritual wealth.

There are a large class with whom the sentiment of special providence, that is the direct personal interposition of the deity in the affairs of an individual man, is a present reality. Like the founder of the Huntingdonians, they had only to pray and they obtained whatever they required, whether it were a dinner, a new suit of clothes, or a cheque for a thousand pounds. It is wonderful how much incredulity there is in the world. If men would but have confidence in the Divine precept there would be no need for asylums or railways, or any of the other manifestations of the means of doing; they have only to pray aright and the humblest member of a Methodist flock might out-magic the wonders of the Thousand and One Nights, and, like William Huntingdon, marry a rich lady, have his own carriage, and luxuriate on a comely estate. We may not all go so far as the worthily esteemed, canny Nonconformist, nor can every man ride in his own coach, or command an army of willing followers, and the recourses necessary to sustain them like General Booth, yet it is remarkable to what an extent, even in the closing years of the nineteenth century, men can see in the divinity a mere man-like partisan god. We have had three generations of German Emperors address the deity as if He had selected them to carve up the nations of the earth. During the French war the veteran William saw the immediate presence of his patron God in all the accompaniments thereof. No wonder that the poor French did nothing successfully, when, as William affirms, God picked out Moltke and Bismarck to aid him. In like manner

God purposed to thwart the energy of Gambetta, the untiring devotion of Thiers. So certain was the Emperor William of the devotion of his God to him and his, that, after the attempt of Nobilin, he wrote, "The Almighty willed that I should be so circumstanced in this world that His grace, which watched over me, should settle upon all around me. And in this I recognized His love and mercy, which equipped me for the fulfilment of His will here on earth." On another occasion he wrote, "The Divine will gave me the assistance of certain men for the accomplishment of such great things. His will steeled the hearts of my soldiers in a devotion and endurance and unheard-of bravery, so that new honours and imperishable fame accrued to the banners of Prussia and those of her allies." And so on in many a despatch that repeats the same boasts of Divine assistance as are recorded by a Rameses, a Sargon, a Nebuchadnezzar.

Whether through the love of lucre or of power, or impelled by the spirit of creative devoteeism, the advent of new doctrines, new faiths, prevails as much in the nineteenth century as in any previous period of human history, and while some endeavour to unfold the highest attributes of a spiritual deity, others with a downward tendency find a refuge for their souls as well as their passions in diverse principles of divinity. It was evident by its success among so many detergent circumstances, that Mormonism filled up a want in the American soul. There no line of supernal doctrine stood between the fetish nature worship of the Indian and the Trinitarian personal providence. Hence when Joe Smith propounded a living faith, a new dispensation in a very old form, a faith in which Divine power acted as freely as under the old monks in mediæval times, though it came in the suitable forms of spiritual gifts, prophecy, revelation, visions, speaking in tongues, the interpretation thereof, healing the sick, the laying on of

hands, the influence of the healing oil, and the direct interposition of the comforter.

Mormonism is something more than a form of Christianity, it is a new faith in the same manner and by the appeal to new principles and motives, as was the case with Islamism. The god of Mormon is not Elohim, it is not Yahweh; He stands up distinct from Allah and is most in sympathy with the old Nineveh and Babylonian divinities.

And there are many sons of God, one for each world. The Holy Ghost, composed of an infinite number of atoms, is diffused everywhere through space, and blends in all men the supernal with the mortal nature. The soul of man is not only of this life, it has pre-existed in other forms and natures, and the Mormon has hit upon the happy knack of interlocking the destiny of the souls of the dead with the newer conceptions of the living. With the old Egyptians and the early Catholics it was necessary for the soul to have secured its place in the after-world when in this life; the mediæval worshipper after he had passed away might be relieved from the pangs of purgatory by the prayers of the living and the interposition of saints; the Buddhist might have to endure, in a new state of being, the punishments accruing from his sinful actions in this life; but the Mormon born in a blessed state, or his ancestors for generations before, however reprobate they might have been, even though they knew nothing of Mormon or of laying on of hands and the immediate presence of the saints, though they had lived and died in fetishism, in nature worship, or the adoration of their sinful ancestors, yet under the institution of the Baptism of the Dead in the person of a substituted living man for a man, and woman for a woman, has found the means whereby all antecedent lost souls may be redeemed. With them the dead are ever living, and it is only necessary for the living relatives to make suitable arrangements and their dead progenitors

may not only in the persons of their living descendants be instructed in the doctrines of the faith, confirmed and joined in church-fellowship with all the preliminary forms of initiation and anointing, but they may even marry wives for their defunct friends and hold them in their behalf in this life, and at the great day consign them to the departed worthies for whom they were destined.

We might refer to many inferior attempts to create new systems of faith, most of which by untoward circumstances have been nipped in the bud. New god-systems, as Sir Alfred Lyall has shown, have but lately been introduced in India, substituted Buddhas are not unknown in Eastern Asia, and recreated Mahdis among the worshippers of Islam. All these are but manifestations of the fact that the god-systems of humanity have by no means reached the boundary of man's inventive powers, and that however potent may be one form of the godhead, it has a limit to its influence, and may one day become a mere relic embalmed in the mysteries of folk-lore.

The mental concept of supernal power began, as we have seen, in fear; it passed into reverence, and later on into the conception of goodness, truth and love. At first its manifestations were isolated and confused; it was sought in many chance, many scattered impressions, graduating through the whole successional schemes of human governments, until it became a philosophic concept, an universal Supreme Unity. This mind-embodied deity expresses all that finite nature can conceive of the illimitable, whether in time or space, cognizance or power; and each deep reasoner has endeavoured to work out this master problem as if it were a mathematical theorem, not a principle of growth or evolution. Every great thinker who propounded from his own mental abstractions the theory of the illimited believed he had solved the god-problem for ever. Yet it is self-evident that each mind

could but work out its solution on the premises present to it, multiply, extend and enlarge these premises, and the calibre of the god is proportionally advanced. Men in all ages have taken their measures of the deity by the standard of their own mind-manifestations. There was a time when love, benevolence, mercy and justice were unknown as attributes of deity; and we cannot admit that even now, in the higher orthodox dispensations, the highest Divine attributes of universal moral goodness are as yet conceived. The higher natures of some men look beyond the present moral scheme, both human and divine, to something that discards much of the vague sentiment of the day. There is no finality in the conception of the divine any more than in the theory of human progress.

The human soul, at first satisfied with accumulating knowledge, entered not into the inner consciousness in its own nature; when it did so the result differed, as it naturally would, according to the special nature of the mind-powers in the inquirer. The devotee with strong social sympathies rested his idea of a deity on the assimilitude of the Divine love with the sisterly, brotherly, filial, or parental affection evolved in its nature; this tinged every form of its thoughts, and gave a preponderance to the spiritual sentiment of love. To the devotee strong in his self-negation, whose every thought was impinged by the shadow of sin, the abstract God of his inner being was only to be approached by ascetic mortification, self-prostration and unbounded deprecatory ceremonial usances.

The soul of Faith knows God, not through its feelings, not by its ethical wants, nor by its imagination, that fertile source of prophetic and mythological idealizations. Faith was as powerful in the soul of the tutelar worshipper, in the ancestral adorer, as in the worshipper of the regal lord of many worlds, the abstract conception of the infinite. Faith never thinks on its God; it feels its presence, as the

atmosphere in which its soul exists, lives, moves and has its being. This is Max Muller's religious faculty, the innate sense of God so much approved of by those who even in this life have attained Nirwana, and cannot doubt, cannot question.

There is a beautiful affirmation of this doctrine in Calderwood's *Philosophy of the Infinite*. He revels in the great feats of thought-conquest in the realms of the unconditioned; he plays with Sir W. Hamilton's incognisable, and rests, with ample satisfaction, on his affirmation that belief always precedes knowledge. With Schelling, he can conceive the soul sinking back into identity with the absolute; he even reasons out M. Cousins infinite as cognisable and conceivable by the consciousness and reflection—We do not perceive God, but we conceive Him; he even reasons on the identity of human and Divine reason, and the unknown quotient contained in the finite attempt to conceive of the infinite; and then triumphantly closes the theme with his own absolute and unconditioned affirmation, that there is in the mind a necessary belief in the existence of One Infinite Being. This is faith, but he qualifies it by adding, deduced from the consciousness of our own being and the recognition of finite objects. Yet he does not affirm that our knowledge of the infinite is obtained by commencing with a finite object, and gradually in imagination enlarging it until we reach the infinite; a process which in each term only expands the area or multiplies the numerical ratio, but never approaches the infinite. The proposition, whether it expresses one or a million, has no fractional relation with the illimitable. The circle of vision, capable of being ever enlarged, is practically boundless; but by it we cannot mentally realize the absolute infinite, only that enlarged area present to our enlarged circles of perception. Between a never-ending series of thought-power, or perception, and a simple

thought or perception that can grasp infinite time, space, or power, the difference still remains as vast as it ever was between the finite and the infinite; the one is within the range of the individual comprehension, the other outside the capacity of what we know as mind. We cannot express a power we cannot conceive, and the same psychical law that limits the capacity in ourselves limits our capacity to affirm the nature of the mind-forces outside our being.

On the human conception of the infinite, Mr. Calderwood observes: "Look upon man with his intellectual powers, look upon the moral nature of man, look upon the religious nature of man, look upon men in all their social relations, and what is the answer which the mind instinctively returns? That there is one Supreme Infinite Being, Creator, Sustainer, and Ruler of all, without any reasoning and doubt on the matter the mind acknowledges One Infinite Being." (*Philos. of Infinite*, p. 42.) But Mr. Calderwood forgets that the mind can only arrive at this result when it has been evolved to a special status. Mr. Calderwood depends on his own mental judgment of the supernal, unconscious that in this respect it is the reflex of millions of concepts of supernal power. Not only our mental powers, but our organic nature is built up of memories, perceptions, sensations, and concepts realized in other minds ages gone by. The essence of Mr. Calderwood's thoughts is both physical and mental, and was derived from his ancestors and local modifying influences derived from past races of men. Now he has a definite instinctive affirmation of Deity, the combined result of the many forces we have described, but if we carry back our investigation to the tenth ancestral generation, we shall find they held a very different conception of the Deity; and still more, if we question the hundredth or thousandth antecedent generation, the answer would be corresponding with the social and supernal concepts evolved in their

minds. To some, the only god was a fetish terror clung to because it held the hope of protection from other supernal terrors, or it may have been a mere ghost-spirit as rude and savage as the brute men about it. It is wholly begging the question to speak of his present mental sentiment as the necessary result of the simple action of Mr. Calderwood's thought-power, like every germ of his thoughts, every cell in his organism, it represents millions of previous vital and mental forces.

More, Mr. Calderwood writes: "The belief in the existence of the Infinite Being is a necessary part of our nature. It is a conviction that does not come to us from without, but is lodged within and rises spontaneously in answer to every inquiry concerning the origin of finite existence. Call it a natural, necessary, innate or intuitive belief, it belongs essentially to the nature of man." (*Ibid.*) So it does, but not in the manner Mr. Calderwood infers, the idea in its purity and fulness is very modern, so modern that we may not suggest a date for its inition. It was unknown to John Milton when he composed his grand epic, Calvin knew it not when he consigned the non-elect to an eternal perdition of torture in the name of the Imperial Autocratic Deity his mental powers accepted. Think you that St. Athanasius was conscious of the presence of the Perfectly Good when he saw no hope for the damned, or that any of the monkish devotees who clung to the skirts of half-witted saints and childish Madonnas knew of the Perfect Infinite. No; it is a growth that has culminated in his own soul, and comes to him so self-evident, so pure, so holy, he cannot conceive but that all must possess, love, and adore it, as he does. Simple, child-like trust! Ask that wretched rustic, his neighbour, living under the same sky, breathing the same air, his soul nourished with the same holy pabulum of spiritual consistency, yet to whom a witch or ghost are the highest embodiment of the infinite its

supine nature is capable of coming into supernal relations with. To such, Divine love and justice and righteousness are of less value than a controlling spell, a fetish charm. Or that almost inane devotee torturing his own body to satisfy what he conceives the Divine craving for human torture. The thought he conceives as so simple, natural and truthful, represents myriads of preceding thoughts.

Mr. Calderwood can entertain the Divine concept, because he has other powers than he believes those had or knew how to apply who preceded him. He notes how minds like Kant's, Hamilton's, Schelling's, Cousins, and Comte's, have struggled with the thought. He feels its consciousness, his soul is in accord with it, hence he believes in it. Yet he himself, on his own showing, comes forward to advance the God-theory another stage in its evolution, and so satisfied of the certainty of his deduction is he, that he believes it is the common product of all minds, though, as he affirms, Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, and Hamilton failed to recognize it. He wholly ignores the two great factors in the expression of supernal relations—the growth of thought-power from the lowest integer, and the essentially varied character of thought-expression by diverse minds even under cognate influences. To be a man, with him, is to be capable of grasping the infinite.

There may be some elements of truth in Mr. Calderwood's theory of self-consciousness of Deity, and in Max Muller's religious instinct. The higher powers of reasoning are very limited, and according to the individual idiosyncrasy are the nature and the extent of the proofs that satisfy the individual mind. We now know that though the highest form of belief is perfect ratiocination, there are other grades of belief simply dependant on the special character of the individual consciousness, and which we are able to systematise and classify.

Again, we have to remember that the higher forms of

Divine belief expressed by the most advanced minds at any time and in any country, though not fully accepted, always exert a commanding influence on the lower ranges of mind-powers. The concept of God among the unthinking in the present agnostic age teems with abstract characteristics very different from the vulgar concepts of the regal Church and State-God of last century. It is in evidence that a new god-power has loomed over the soul of the Red Indian all over the North American continent—a great father-spirit in affinity with the supreme attributes of king and president, now familiar to them, but wholly unknown when the Pilgrim fathers and the Jesuit missionaries first established a footing in the country. In numerous Polynesian isles, in Melanesia, and New Guinea, among the Zulus and the fetish African races, wherever social supremacy has been introduced, so surely new attributes of a corresponding nature are ascribed to one or more of the local deities. Nor is it only Christian influence that produces this change. It has been noted that the character of the god of the vulgar is elevated wherever in Asia or in Africa the state supremacy and the God of Islam have been introduced. Even the Buddhist and Brahminical propagandists among the wild tribes of Northern and Eastern Asia sympathetically evolve a like god-nature in accord with the introduced system of human authority. In time the ethnologist, seeking for the primitive local self-sufficient god-powers, will find them, all the world over, translated into the travestied godheads of the more advanced but now universally diffused higher races.

We err much if we suppose the nature of the supernal concepts in the lower classes and races is elevated because of this adscription of Divine names or natures. These are only applied figure-heads, not natural grafts, and the fetish, totem, or medicine necromantic spells are as vigorous as ever. Have we not thousands in our own cities to whom

the higher God-name has no nobler purpose than to measure the force of an oath or the extent of savage fury. They possess the term, but in soul are scarcely advanced to the highest fetish manifestation of Divine superintendence.

CHAPTER XVII.

The concept of the Illimitable as an abstract deduction resulting from the highest capacity of generalizing.

Our researches into the origin of human supernal concepts have demonstrated that co-ordinately with the principles of his social advancement have been the aspirations entertained by man of the Divine. Ever the God-idea differentiated in sympathy with man's surroundings, advancing from an unrecognizable impersonal power through a series of manifestations of ghost and spirit personalities to an abstract deity. But while in each stage of human development a more or less homogeneous supernal sentiment prevails, ever accruing from the varied capacities of the human mind, not only may the then standard be affirmed by an individual but he may dwell on and respond to any earlier development. In low concepts of supernals most recognize the ordinary sentiment of the time and place, but under the higher phases various standards become affirmed, then each soul forms its own scheme of the nature of the Divinity and, like Jacob, settles its own covenant therewith. Under the higher mind-manifestations when the soul is capable of separating the common sympathetic forms of thought from the working of the universal in its concepts, the local ideas become subservient, and the finite becomes absorbed in the infinite. This change of position may be limited or comprehensive, accommodating the seeming with the real, or the illusion may pass away and the soul exist only in its own conscious-

ness. As a consequent result, all the forms of personal godheads we have had the opportunity of describing, and all the acquired relations of affinity between the infinite impersonal entity and the thought-power in man, have been presented to us. Among these numerous self-satisfactory expositions of the infinite there are those mind-powers which rest satisfied with the Teleological and Cosmological evidences of a presiding intellect in the world of nature, that has arranged every material organic and inorganic adaptation, some may be superadding the evidence of the persistence of such supreme presiding power in the historical continuity of the natural and moral laws of being. Other mind-powers denote by their special concepts of the Deity the prevailing influence in their minds of feelings of a diverse nature, love, hope, truth, goodness, the sense of an all-blessing or selective providence or the consciousness of universal law.

We have now to show that when the general soul of humanity reposed on the concepts of the multiple god-powers it was still possible for a greatly endowed human mind to work the higher concept of the Divine nature either from its inner consciousness or from the grandeur, order, and unity, of the natural world. Such presentations of the good and the universal come to us from all times and all races of men and they have a oneness of character that demonstrates their common mental origin. Our selection of these concepts of the higher Divinity come from men in all stages of civilization, in all times and countries; they are untouched, simple photographs of human souls.

Of the primary manifestation of the God perceptive-power we quote the following statement from the *Missionary Tour of the Rev. T. Arbousset at the Cape of Good Hope.* A Basuto native with whom he was brought into free converse observed to him, "A dozen years ago, I went in

a cloudy season to pasture my flock along the Tlatse. Seated on a rock, in sight of my sheep, I asked myself sad questions; yes, sad, because I could not answer them. The stars—who touched them with his hand, on what pillars do they rest? The waters—they are not weary, they know no other law than that of running without ceasing, at night and morning alike; but where do they stop or who makes them thus run? The clouds also—they go, return, and fall in water on the earth; whence do they arise? Who sends them? It surely is not the Barokas who give us rain, for how could they make it? And why do I not see them when they raise themselves to heaven to search for it? The wind it is as nothing to my eyes, but what is it in itself? Who brings it or removes it, makes it blow, roar, rebound and frighten us? Do I know how the corn grows? Yesterday not a blade of it was seen in my field; to-day I returned to my field and I find something. It is very small, it is scarcely perceptible, but it will grow, it will gradually develop itself, just as a young man grows. Who can have given the ground wisdom and power to produce it?" (p. 120).

The Hottentot who addressed his chant to Tsui Goa, had realized the human affinity of God and his own dependence thereon :—

"Thou O Tsui Goa, thou Father of fathers.
Thou art our Father. Let stream the thunder cloud,
Let our flocks live, please. Let us also live.
I am very weak indeed from thirst, from hunger,
Oh! that I may eat the fruits of the field.
Art thou then not our Father, the Father of fathers,
O Thou Tsui Goa?—Oh! that we may praise thee;
That we may give thee in return. Thou Father of fathers."

The Hawaiian poet sings of the one universal ruling Deity when the great body of his contemporaries were each adoring his own individual or local deity.

"He abides—Taaroa by name!—in the immensity of space,
There was no earth, there was no heaven, no sea, no men.
Taaroa calls on high.—He changed himself.

Taaroa is the root, the rocks, the sands.
Taaroa is wide spreading.—He is the light.
Taaroa is within, He is below.
Taaroa is enduring, He is wise.
He created the land of Hawaii.
Hawaii great and sacred, as a crust for Taaroa.
The earth is dancing, the foundations, the rocks, the sands.
Press together the earth—Press, press again,
Create the heavens, let darkness cease—anxiety cease,
Immobility cease. Fill up the foundations, fill up the rocks.
The heavens are enclosing, hung up are the heavens.
In the depths finished is the world of Hawaii."

(*Fornander, Polynesian Race*, I., p. 222.)

Equally expressive is the Polynesian hymn to the Divine Source of all things.

"O the Great Supporter, awaken the world!
O wake up!
O wake up, here is the rain,
Here is the daylight,
Here the mists driving inland,
Here the mists driving seaward.
The swelling sea, the rising sea,
The boisterous sea of Iku
It has enclosed us.
O the foaming sea,
O the rising billows, O the falling billows,
O the overwhelming billows
In Kahiki! Salvation comes from
This death by you, O Lono.
An altar for you, O Lono.
O Lono of the night—
O Lono of the thunder—
O Lono of the lightning—
O Lono of the heavy rain—
O Lono of the terrible divine face—
O Lono, O Lono of the restless eyes!
Ah! fly to the northern sea:
Ah! fly to the southern sea:
To the eastern sea;
To the dark shore, to the white shore:
To the dark moon, to the bright moon."

(*Ibid.* I., p. 94.)

In the polytheistic records of ancient Egypt one monotheistic character stands prominently before us, the royal

heretic, Amenophis IV, who only knew of one power in the infinite, but long before his day Patah Hotep, whose wise sayings have reached our times, expressed himself regarding the Divine as a Job, a Cleanthes, an Isaiah might have done. In the record of his sayings God (Nutar) is spoken of without a cognomen as the One-presiding Essence of being. "If anyone beareth himself proudly he will be humbled by God who maketh his strength"; and again, "God loveth the obedient and hateth the disobedient."

Bunsen (*God in History*, I., p. 287) from Haug shows that the same sentiments of Divine origin that the simple African propounded to the missionary have in past ages been expounded in the Jasna.

"I would fain ask thee—
Tell me it right thou living God—
Who was in the beginning the Father and Creator of truth,
Who traced their courses for the sun and the stars,
Who causes the moon to wax and wane,
Who upholds the earth and the clouds above it,
Who made the waters and the trees of the field,
Who gave to the winds and storms their wings,
Who governs all things in his goodness,
Who made the waking and sleeping,
Who made the day and the night—to remind
The wise man continually of his duty?"

Again, this universal-creating God, the All-Father of the Norseman, is described as—

"He who before all time by his own light
Kindled to life the myriad lights of heaven,
By his own wisdom has brought forth the Truth.
Thee—O wise Mazda, Fount of all existences,
Lord of the earth and the heavens—my soul adores,
Since I discerned Thee with my Spirit's eye,
Knew Thee to be the parent of good thoughts,
The Essence of the truth, the Cause of life
That lives and works in all that moves and is.
The sacred earth rests evermore in Thee
Who in thy wisdom hast her frame contrived,
And, travelling on the paths ordained by Thee
From dawn of time to latest age, she brings

Rich gifts and joys to him who tends her well,
But leaves unblest who scorns to till her soil."

Nothing is more common than for the intelligent, thoughtful polytheist, conscious of the unity pervading the natural world while believing from habit in many distinct God-presentations, to address this central unity as the One God of the Universe, forgetful for the time of all the inferior dominions, principalities and powers,—pour forth his song of prayer or praise as if that were the sole ruler in the heavens. Numerous evidences of this law of thought may be found in the old hieroglyphic and cuneiform hymns and inscriptions, the Vedas are full of such outbursts of thought-power by the votaries. The sacred writings of the Chinese are characterized by the same sentiment and, as we shall show, the whole of the pagan literature of Greece and Rome is prominently marked by the express devotion of the authors to the One Supreme Ruling Deity. So the pious Moslem forgets the Prophet, the Jew Abraham and Moses, and the Trinitarian Christian that there are more persons than one in the Godhead. The soul, left to its own inmost aspirations, knows nothing of creeds and names, of affixes and suffixes, of dependant, secondary, mediatorial, ancestral or representative power. God is—and that is enough; to it all else are but the shadowy phantasies of fetish priests, subtle mystics and terror-creating legislators.

To the Hindoo mind this Father of all, the supreme ruler in heaven and earth, may come as Dyaushpitar, as Prajapati, as Brahmanaspati, he may take the name of Visvakarman—as in the olden times he took that of Varuna Surya or Agni—but to the souls of all the great thinkers who pass from name to purpose he is ever present as the One Creator, Preserver and Governor of all things. He comes to us in this character in the Vedas, ever and anon in the Upanishads a great writer passes out of the mixed web of Divine

entities to the pure conception of the creating Unity, existing by itself, who is in all and all in Him.

In an early type he may be the Sun.

"The golden child,
Born lord of all that is, who made
The earth and formed the sky; who giveth life,
Who giveth strength, whose bidding gods revere,
Whose hiding place is immortality,
Whose shadow death. Who by His might is King
Of all the breathing, sleeping, waking world,
Whose mighty glance looks round the vast expanse
Of watery vapour. Source of energy!
Cause of the sacrifice! the only God
Above the gods."

(121*st Hymn*, 10*th Mandala*.)

A later Vedic poet, in another name, presents us with the same unknown mystery of the universe.

"The mighty Varuna, who rules above, looks down
Upon these worlds, His kingdom, as if close at hand.
When men imagine they do aught by stealth—He knows it.
No one can walk, or stand, or glide along,
Or hide in darkness, or lurk in secret cell,
But Varuna detects him and his movements spies.
Two persons may devise some plot but He, the King, is there—
A third—and sees it all. His messengers descend
Countless from his abode, forever traversing
This world, and scanning with a thousand eyes its inmates.
Whatever exists within this earth and all within the sky,
Yea, all that is beyond, King Varuna perceives.
The winking of men's eyes are numbered all by him,
He wields the universe as gamesters handle dice."

(*M. Williams, Atharveda*, IV., p. 16.)

The same special conception of the unity and omnipresence of the Divine Entity pervades the sacred writings of the Chinese. "God is great, beholding this lower world in majesty. He surveyed the four quarters, seeking someone to give establishment to the people. God surveyed the hills where the oaks and the buckthorn were thinned, and paths made through the firs and cypresses. God, who had

raised the state, raised up a proper ruler for it." Tshuhi, one of their great thinkers, a disciple of Laotse, writes: "There is an essence indeterminate which existed before heaven and earth, O how silent is it, how void! It alone subsists without change—it is everywhere—by nothing is it shared; thou mayst call it the Great, the Vanishing, the Distant and yet again the Approaching." (*Bunsen, God in History*, I., p. 263.)

Among the many tutelar gods of the Akkadians, according to Lenormant's transcriptions, the One Universal Deity is being ever presented as in following type of the moon-god:—

"Lord, Prince of the gods of heaven and earth, whose mandate is exalted—
Father, God enlightening, Earth Lord, Good God of the gods, the Prince.
Timely crescent, mightily horned, doom dealer, splendid with orb fulfilled,
Self produced, from his home forth issuing, pouring evermore plenteous
High-exalted, all-producing, life-unfolding from above. [streams,
Father, he who life reneweth in its circuit through all lands.
Lord, in thy Godhead far and wide, as sky and sea, thou spreadest thine awe.
Warder of shrines in Akkad's land and prophet of thy high estate,
Gods' sire and men's, childhood's guide; even Ishtar's self thou didst create.
Primæval seer, rewarder sole, fixing the doom of day's remote.
Unshaken Chief, whose heart benign is never mindful of thy wrongs,
Whose blessings cease not ever flowing, leading on his fellow gods.
Who from depth to height bright piercing openeth the gate of heaven.
Father mine, of life the Giver, cherishing, beholding all,
Lord, who power benign extendeth over all the heaven and earth.
Seasons, rains from heaven forth drawing, watching life and yielding showers
Who in heaven is high exalted? Thou, sublime in Thy behests.
Who on earth is high exalted? Thou, sublime in Thy behests.
Thou, thy will in heaven revealest, thee celestial spirits praise.
Thou, thy will in earth revealest, thou subdu'st the spirits of earth.
Thou, thy will extendest life in greatness, hope, and wonder wind.
Thou, thy will itself gives being to the righteous dooms of men.
Thou, through heaven and earth extendest goodness not resembling wrong.
Thou, thy will who knowest? Who with aught can it compare?
Lord in heaven and earth, thy lordship of the gods, none equals thee."

Nor in the case of the Egyptians must we infer that their multiform deities in their many presentations satisfied the

longing aspirations of all. We know that the reasoning soul of the thinker in this country often passes over the mystic presences and the negative attributes of the Trinity to the conscious individuality of an abstract Deity, so the old Egyptian poet-thinker, passing from the description of his great river, ascends to the adoration of the One Creator and Father of all—

"The great Lord, Creator of all good things.
Lord of terrors and of all choicest joys,
All are combined in Him.
He produceth grass for the oxen,
And provides victims for every god.
The choicest incense he, too, supplies.
Lord of both regions—
He filleth the granaries, he enricheth the store-houses,
He careth for the estate of the poor.
He causes growth to fulfil all desires.
He wearies not ever of it.
He makes his might a buckler.
He is not graven in marble,
No image of him bears the double crown.
He is not beheld.
He hath neither ministrants nor offerings,
He is not adored in sanctuaries,
His abode is not known,
No shrine of his is found with painted figures,
There is no building can contain him,
There is none can give him counsel.
The young men, his children, delight in him,
He directeth them as their King.
His law is established in all the land,
It is with his servants both in the north and south.
He wipeth away tears from all eyes.
He careth for the abundance of His blessings."
(*Rawlinson, Hist. Egypt*, I., p. 405.)

We have seen that the Akkadian polytheist in the presence of the moon-deity passed into the phase of the universal, so the Egyptian beheld through Ra—the Sun—the One perfect Unity. Not in one but in many instances

have we this sentiment presented. Brugsch in his *History of Egypt* (I., p. 449), quotes the following :—

"Beautiful in thy setting, thou Sun's disc of life,
Thou Lord of lords and King of worlds.
When thou unitest thyself with heaven at thy setting,
Mortals rejoice before thy countenance,
And give honour to him who has created them,
And pray before him who has honoured them :
Before the glance of the son who loves the King Khunaten.
The whole land of Egypt and all peoples
Repeat all thy names at thy rising,
To magnify in like manner thy rising as thy setting.
Thou, O God, who in truth art the living One,
Standest before the two eyes,
Thou art he which createst what never was,
Which formest everything, which art in all things.
We also have come into being through the word of thy mouth."

In the Egyptian Liturgy to Ra (quoted II., p. 115) we have a beautiful exemplification of the higher manifold relations of God to men of an analogous character to this Hebrew exposition of the same sentiments as contained in the fortieth chapter of Isaiah :—

"Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand,
And meted out heaven with the span,
Who hast comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure,
And weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance ?
Who hath directed the spirit of the Lord,
Or being his counsellor hath taught Him ?
With whom took he counsel, and who instructed him,
And taught him in the path of judgment,
Taught him knowledge, and showed to him the way of understanding ?
Behold the malicious are as a drop on a bucket,
And are accounted as the small dust on the balance :
Behold, he taketh up the Isles as a very little thing.
And Lebanon is not sufficient to burn,
Nor the beasts thereof sufficient for a burnt offering.
All the nations are as nothing before him ;
They are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity.
To whom then will ye liken God ?
Or what likeness will ye compare unto him

Who sitteth upon the circle of the earth?
To whom the inhabitants of the earth are as grasshoppers;
Who stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain,
And spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:
That bringeth princes to nothing; and maketh the judges of the earth [as vanity.
Lift up your eyes on high, who hath created these,
Who bringeth out their host by number:
Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard,
That the everlasting God, the Creator of the ends of the earth,
Fainteth not, neither is he weary?
Who calleth the generations from the beginning?
The Lord; the first and the last, I am He."

All the little pettishnesses of this life that have clung like dust and spray, and cast off excreta to the local divine ideal must vanish and pass away when the higher soul stands in the presence of the Eternal; the many gods are absorbed in His unity, the saints, the Buddhas, the Prophets are relegated to the shadowy illusions of supernal longings. In this mental state man thinks, feels and speaks but the presence of the One. He is the All in all. In the sublimest conceptions in the Koran the Prophet is lost. "God is your Lord. There is no God but He, the Creator of everything. The eye seeth Him not, but He seeth the eyes. There is no defect in His creation—repeat thy gaze, canst thou detect a flaw? There is no change in His dealing from of old. O my son, God will bring everything to light, though it were but the weight of a grain of mustard seed and hid in a rock, for God knoweth all. O our God! punish us not if we fall into sin, blot out our sins and forgive us. Have mercy, for of the merciful Thou art the best."

So in the doctrines that have been offshoots from the Koran, however much local idealisms may have warped the singleness of the Divine presence in ceremonial usances, these pass away when the higher soul is alone with the Deity. Thus in the Adi Granth, or Sacred Book of the Sikhs, we read,

"See One, know One, speak of One, desire One, chant of One,
The One in eye, in word, in mouth.
The sleeping One, the waking One, in the One thou art absorbed.
The Cause of causes is the Creator.
In his hand are the order and the reflection,
As he looks upon it so it becomes.
He is from all and with all,
He comprehends, sees and makes discrimination.
He is always contained in all."

In the Jellaladdeen Hymn to God, of the thirteenth century, the universal concepts of the one God are more fully shown:—

"I am the sunbeam's dancing mote, I am the Sun's vast ball,
The mote abides, the Sun departs obedient to my call.
I am the whispering of the leaves, the booming of the waves,
I am the morning's joyous gleam, the evening's darksome pall.
I am the mast and rudder, the helmsman and the ship,
I am the rock that wrecks it, reared by coral insects small.
I am the snarer of the bird, I am the bird and net.
I am the image and the glass, the voice and echoes call.
I am the tongue and all it tells, silence am I, and thought.
The tree of life, the parrot perched upon its summit tall.
I am the sparkle in the flint, the gold gleam in the ore,
Breath in the flute, the soul in man, and preciousness in all.
I am the spirit of the grape, the wine press, and its juice,
The guest, the host, the crystal cup that shineth in his hall.
I am the rose, the nightingale enraptured with its scent.
The taper, and the circling moth it holds in fatal thrall.
I am the sickness, and the leech, the bane and antidote.
I am the bitter and the sweet, the honey and the gall.
I am both war and peace, the victor and the strife,
The tower and its defenders, the assailants and the wall.
I am the brick and mortar, the builder and his plan,
The ground work and the roof tree, the building and its fall.
I am the lion and the stag, I am the wolf and lamb,
The herdsman, who enfolds his flock within a spacious stall.
I am the chain of living things, the ring that binds the world,
Creation's ladder, and the foot that mounts it but to fall.
I am what is and is not, I am, if thou dost know it,
Say it, O Jellaladdeen—I am the Soul of all."

(*Bunsen, God in History*, I., p. 200.)

Sheik Adi, the Yezeedic God, is the counterpart of the God of Jellaladdeen, and, like it, scarcely freed from the influence of the local sentiments.

"All creation is under my control;
Through me are the habitable parts and the deserts,
And every created thing is subservient to me.
And I am he that decreeth and causeth existence.
I am he that spake the true word.
I am he that deputeth power, I am the ruler of the earth.
I am he that guideth mankind to worship my majesty.
I am he that pervadeth the high heavens.
I am the Sheik, the One, the only One.
I am he that by myself revealeth things.
I am he to whom the book of glad tidings came down
From my lord, who cleaveth the mountains.
I am he that placed Adam in paradise.
I am he who guided Ahmet my elect.
I am he to whom the lion of the desert came:
I rebuked him, and he became like stone.
I am he that shook the rock and made it tremble,
And sweet water flowed therefrom.
I am he to whom the Lord of heaven said:
Thou art the ruler, and governor of the universe.
The All-merciful has distinguished me with names,
And my seat and throne are the wide spread earth.
In the depth of my knowledge there is no God but me."

(*Badger, The Nestorians*, I., p. 114.)

It was at a very early period in Greece that original thought in the greater souls of some men ached for a nobler exposition of the Divine than the vulgar deities presented to them. Anaxagoras endeavoured to conceive of God as One—an infinite mind moved by its own mystic omnipotence. Antisthenes, while admitting that the gods of the people were many, saw the unity of the One in the natural world. Chrysippus spoke of God as a nature-power endowed with Divine reason. Zeno expressed the unity of the Divine and natural law. Zeus, even in Hesiod, passes from a regal to an universal deity, as in—"Zeus at his

awful pleasure looks from high, with all-discerning and all-knowing eye." Again, "The will of Jove, who wills the right, confounds the mighty, lends the feeble might." So, in like manner, Homer betimes drops the gods in the God.

The fragments of the Sibylline writings, and the Orphic hymns of uncertain age, express the same universal Deity. A Sibylline verse, recorded by Clements of Alexandria, is—

"There is one God, who sends rains, and winds, and earthquakes,
Thunderbolts, famines, plagues and dismal sorrows,
And snow and ice. But why detail particulars?
He reigns over heaven, He rules earth, He truly is."

Theophilus quotes from the Sibyl—

"There is one only uncreated God,
Who reigns alone—all-powerful, very great—
From whom is nothing hid. He sees all things,
Himself unseen by any mortal eye.
There is one God, who sends the winds, the rain,
The earthquakes, and the lightnings, and the plagues,
The famines, and the snow storms, and the ice,
And all the woes that visit our sad race.
Nor these alone; but all things else He gives,
Ruling omnipotent in heaven and earth,
And self-existent from eternity.
He made the heavens, with all their starry host,
The sun, the moon, likewise the fruitful earth,
With all the waves of ocean and the hills,
The fountains and the ever-flowing streams."

Among the Orphic verses which have been preserved, none are more expressive of the fulness of the Divine nature than the following:—

"Zeus is the first, Zeus is the last, Zeus the Thunderer,
Zeus is the head, Zeus is the middle, it is by Zeus all things are made.
Zeus is the male, Zeus is the immortal female.
Zeus is base both of the earth and the starry sky.
Zeus is the breath of the winds, Zeus is the jet of the unconquerable flame.
Zeus is the root of the sea, Zeus is the sun and the moon.
The whole of this universe is stretched out in the great body of Zeus."

"One might—
The great, the flaming heaven, was One Deity.
All things One being were, in whom
All these resolve, fire, water, and the earth."
"He is One self-proceeding, and from him alone all things proceed,
And in them He Himself exerts His activity.
No mortal beholds him, but he beholds all."

The Pythagorean doctrine, according to Clements, was, "God is One, and He is not, as some suppose, outside the frame of things, but within it, in all the entireness of His being. He is in the whole circle of existence, surveying all nature and blending in harmonious union the whole. The Author of all His own forces and works, the Giver of light in heaven, and Father of all. The mind and vital power of the whole world, the mover of all things."

Much literary acumen has been expended in resolving the nature of the God of Plato. As a metaphysical subtlety it may be taken as expressing the unreal aspect of the supernal entity. We do not consider that it delineates the spirit of Plato's thoughts, but is rather a concrete psychological theorem, whose very vagueness and latitudinarism removed it beyond priestly scepticism and placed it outside the range of the popular sentiments. Plato well knew that the practical mind of Socrates, leaving too narrow a margin between the intellectual deity and the vulgar gods, had thereby raised up a personally antagonistic feeling against himself, not only in the college of priests but in the public mind. Plato, though great as a philosopher, had little of the hero in his nature; he was no iconoclast, but looked over the whole herd of the vulgar gods as unworthy of serious consideration—he left them to perish of their own inertia.

The Demiurgos of Plato was rather a fabricator than a creator; though universal in its attributes, it did not embody all causes. Plato failed to find a place in his

system for moral evil, and his divinity was no unity, it was but a regal head under which every district was to have, not, as of old, its Divine tutelar feudal ruler, but a royal governor to take charge of the supernal interests. The great body of the gods of Plato were reduced to the same status as the Angels, Principalities and Powers of the Judaic and Zoroastrian systems. He enunciates the hopelessness of the task he had undertaken, when, in the Timaeus, he says, "to find the Father and maker of the universe is a work of difficulty, and, having found them, to declare them fully is impossible."

We need scarcely refer to the fact that Aristotle, like Plato, avoided the unpopular theme, and considered it unwise to break through the old traditionary beliefs. He, therefore, left what he considered well alone, though, as a philosopher, he could not but separate the Divine entity of thought and place it beyond the latitude of the mythical deities. It is much more pleasing and definite to investigate the aspirations of the poets, in which the heart speaks the deeper thoughts as they well up in its exalted manifestations. Thus Sophocles writes,—

> "One in truth, one is God,
> Who made both heaven and the far stretching earth,
> And ocean's blue wave, and the mighty wind.
> But many of us mortals, deceived in heart,
> Have set up for ourselves, to console in afflictions,
> Images of gods in stone, in wood, in brass,
> Or gold, or ivory—
> And appointing to those, sacrifices and vain festal assemblages,
> Are thus accustomed to practise religion."

Æschylus observes: "There is One that's free, One only Zeus"; and again,

> "Æther is Zeus, Zeus earth and Zeus heaven,
> The universe is Zeus, and all above."

There is not a more biting satire in Lucian's Dialogues

than that contained in Ion's address to the gods as given by Euripides.

"Is it right for you, who have given laws to mortals,
To be yourselves guilty of wrong?
And if—what will never take place—but I will state the supposition,
You Poseidon, and you Zeus, ruler of Heaven,
You will, in order to make recompense for your misdeeds,
Have to empty your temples."

On the universal attributes of *the* God Æschylus writes—

"Place God apart from mortals, and think not
That he is like thyself corporeal;
Thou knowest him not. Now he appears as fire,
Dread force, and water now, and now as gloom,
And in the beasts is dimly shadowed forth.
In wind, in cloud, in lightning, thunder, rain.
And minister to him the seas and rocks,
Each fountain and the waters, floods and streams;
The mountains tremble, and the earth, the vast
Abyss of sea and towering heights of hills,
When on them looks the sovereign's awful eye.
Almighty is the glory of God Most High."

Pindar asks, "What is God? The All-Law, universal King o'er mortals and immortals." On Pindar Bunsen observes (*God in History*, II., p. 155.) "The first great permanently historical thought which Pindar was the chief and first to engraft on the popular consciousness, was that "in human destinies Divine law rules, and this is the same law which the wise and pious man discovers in his own bosom." The second, "Human things have their origin and subsistence by virtue of the Divine element which resides in them." We conclude our Greek quotations with the Hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes, the Stoic—

"Greatest of gods, God with many names, God ever ruling and ruling all things.
Zeus, origin of nature, governing the universe by law,
Thou rulest in the common reason that goes through all,
And appears mingled in all things, great and small,
Which, filling all nature, is King of all existences.

Nor without Thee, O Deity, does anything happen in the world.
Thus through all nature is one great law,
Which only the wicked seek to disobey.
Zeus, thine offspring are we;
Do thou, Father, banish fell ignorance from our souls
And grant us wisdom."

In the long period from the Greek poets to the Roman historians and poets, the one great truth of the Divine ruling ever came to the fore. Some might question the Divine guidance, others cling to the antagonisms of many indifferent powers; it was often felt hard to realize whether the issue of an event was due to chance, to law, or to necessity. Many expressions of classic doubt of this nature have been selected by Gillett (*God in Human Thought*). Thus Demosthenes recognized but this, "Has not justice and truth for its basis but the will of the Deity? It is for man freely to discharge his duty, the result is with God, and each must accept the fortune assigned to him by the Deity." This indifference to the result led Ennius to doubt the Divine superintendence,—

"Yes! there are gods; but they no thought bestow
On human deeds, on mortal bliss or woe.
Else would such ills our wretched race assail,
Would the good suffer, would the bad prevail?"

In the same questioning spirit Lucretius observes: "Why are there so many thunderbolts wasted on the sea and the desert? Why does not Jupiter smite the wicked rather than his own temples and statues?" Horace also sees that the same destiny awaits all. "Piety will not arrest the advance of wrinkles. You ask vigour of nerve and frame to hold out to old age, but rich dishes baffle Jove." Juvenal rises to a more pious strain, Providence to him is right and truth. "If you seek good counsel leave the divinities to weigh out what is fitting. The gods impel those who, like Orestes, act as their own avengers. The anger of the gods is that it may be more effective. Never does nature speak

one thing and wisdom another. Man is more beloved by the gods than he is by himself."

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* VI., p. 22), some still maintained the old doctrine of chance, others that of destiny or fate, while a third party blended the doctrines of law, necessity and freewill into one plausible whole. He evidently had no conception of a Supreme Providence ruling the actions of all. Not so Seneca, out of the many aspects of the relations of the human and the Divine he evolved in his own soul the supremacy of god-rule. Discarding the Jupiter of the Capitol, the Jupiter of the priests, he speaks of "Our Jupiter, the supporter and ruler of all; the Soul and Spirit, the Lord and Creator of this world-structure to whom the name belongs. Will you call Him Fate? You will not err, for that He is on which all depends, the cause of causes. Will you call Him Providence? With justice, for He it is whose wisdom cares for the world, so that it moves on without confusion and fulfils its tasks. Will you call Him Nature? You will not err in this, for He it is from whom all spring and by whose breath we live. Will you call this World? You do not deceive yourself in this, for He is the all which you behold, distributing into its parts and maintaining itself by its own power. That light which now thou seest dimly informs us the gods are witness of all our actions, it commands us to make ourselves acceptable to them, to prepare ourselves for communion with them."

Born and bred up in the belief in many gods Seneca could not wholly shake off the influence of his earlier years, but the images of his boyhood to which he had been in the habit of addressing his devotions, now failed to control his will. Above them in the sky he had recognized the greater Jupiter of which he spake, and under the influence of this higher sentiment he wrote—"There is no need to lift your hands to heaven or to pay the ædile to admit you to the ear

of the image, that so your prayers may be heard,—the better God is near thee. He is with thee."

Nor was it only among the philosophers and educated classes that the unity of the godhead was affirmed even in the presence of the many gods. In the Octavius of Minucius Felix we note that the higher Divine leaven was permeating the souls of the people. The Roman Advocate tells us: "I hear the common people when they lift their hands to heaven say nothing else but, Oh! God, and God is great, and God is true, and if God shall permit. And they who speak of Jupiter as the chief are mistaken in the name, indeed, but they are in agreement about the unity of the power." This is important evidence as denoting the great change then taking place in the popular sentiment of the unity of the godhead. They had become ripe to accept the monotheistic theory, and long before the many gods were abolished the people had risen to the conception of the One Deity.

We have seen that Seneca, though conscious of the majesty of the Divine Unity, could not free his soul from the concept of many deities, so it was with others, even the Christian Origen, the enthusiastic defender of the young faith, was unable to cast aside his early mental trammels. He writes: "We know, moreover, that though there be what are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth (as there be gods many and lords many), but to us there is One God the Father, of whom all things are and we in him. We know that in the arrangement of the universe there are certain beings termed thrones, dominions, powers and principalities, and that we may rise to their likeness."

Passing by the mythological attributes of the new God of the first century we will pause but for a moment to note how much its better nature was in common affinity with the God of the Philosophers, Poets, and Prophets we have endeavoured to portray from their writings. It will be

observed that all the highest and best intellects have one common conception of a spiritual unitarian universal God. Among all He ever had the same great attributes of omniscience, omnipresence, and eternity. When the Divine rule passed from the many to the One, the general, not the special, attributes of humanity were attached to it. The individual gods might represent any character that men presented, no matter how base, brutal, or sensual; but in eliminating the One out of the many, they embodied all that was holiest, loveliest, most general and best in human feelings, human thoughts, and human aspirations, and, as far as was possible with their surroundings, such have ever been the enunciations of the most exalted human souls.

In conclusion, we can but recapitulate the principles that we have necessarily recognized in our study of the researches of the human mind to evolve the Deity, these demonstrate that co-ordinately with the principles of his social advancement have been the aspirations of Deity he was capable of evoking. Even the god-idea differentiated in sympathy with man's surroundings, and we now know that every stage of this advanced conception of God was due to a primary original thought in one man's mind which was unfolded to his fellows and worked into shape by his peers. More, whatever the nature of the exalted thought, it was not always possible for others to accept it, some could only repose on the lower manifestations of deity in accord with the tone of their mind-powers. Hence we still recognize in all countries the survival faiths in all the earlier grades of supernal manifestations. We trace two sources of the higher concepts of the Divine, one from man's inner consciousness of order, fitness and perfectibility, the other from the grandeur, harmony and unity of the natural world.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Modern Presentations of the Lower Supernal Powers.

Luck.—It is questionable whether any assumed form of faith at the present day claims such a numerous body of scrupulous devotees as the pseudo-psychic forms of luck. They are present allwhere, in all times, and among those professing every higher form of faith. We trace their beginnings with the simple accrediting of monitional powers to any phase or appearance in nature, and they evolve until they prepare or anticipate subsequent supernal manifestations as charm influences and charm objects. Few but those who have realized these multiple presentations can adequately judge of their extended influence. The worthy bishop, so scrupulously affirming his doctrinal beliefs; the learned judge, who retains a mental hold on the statutes at large, are equally influenced by days of luck and uncanny appearances. Many a statesman cannot forego what he considers the indications of luck; and the wily courtier courts every intimation that conveys to him such mystic sentiments.

Forms of luck enter into the everyday calculations of the professional man as well as the business man, and those devoted to pleasure; maybe they are more fully expressed by those devoted to games of chance. We do not in this category include those who pursue gaming as the business of their lives, and who study its forms as a recondite mental

system with mathematical precision, judging of probabilities with fulness of thought and distinct perceptions of chances and conditions, the same as distinguish the astute actuary. There are gamblers who have prepared themselves for the part by bestowing on its forms and moves the same mental and physical energies as others expend for the acquisition of academic or athletic honours, and they often end in reducing the chances of failure to a low percentage. For this purpose they cultivate concentration of energy, firmness of nerve, acuteness of perception, and a clear mental discrimination of the numbers or cards that have been presented, and, from such readiness of thought, been assured of everyone yet to be accounted for, aided by estimating the emotions expressed in the features of their opponents, and the nervous monitions of their hands and eyes. Of these scientific players and of the large class of tricksters we have nothing to say; our observations are limited to those gamblers who judge of motives, conditions, and forms of play by pseudo-psychic deductions from their own movements, the appearances in things, in days, hours, and natural conditions, and the accidents that may affect every human volition, the mystic deductions from which they attach to every chance in the games in which they take part.

We have given some of the modern forms of gamblers' luck-presentations, to these we add the following: One man bets on the number of his birth-days as denoting luck; a second on the number of stairs he ascends to his bedroom; another judges of the lucky number by the marks he can discern on the wall of the room. We read in the *Cornhill Magazine* (XXV., p. 712), that "there is scarcely a gambler who is not prepared to assert his faith in certain observances whereby he believes luck may be brought about. In an old book a player is advised if the luck has been against him to turn three times round with his chair,

for then the luck will infallibly change." Sir George Chetwynd cited the case of a Captain Batchelor, who though otherwise a shrewd and clear-headed person, brought himself to believe that to wear the same suit of clothes two days running at a race meeting, would be certain to bring the wearer ill-luck. So another, if successful in play, attached his fetish faith to the dress he then wore, and would after continue to wear the same dress regardless of the weather, until by successive losses he came to consider he had outworn the luck in the dress, and was induced thereby to try another suit of clothes. Like instances of French gamblers' occult luck are given in *Notes and Queries*, March 31st, 1888. "All heavy players believe in some kind of fetish. Some put faith in a ring, others in the pendants of a watch chain; some will only stake with their hats on or when chewing a toothpick. Others insist on wearing spectacles; some before entering the club walk the streets hoping to meet a hunchback and touch the hump."

Faith in the inevitable change of luck is general, and men continue playing and losing until all is lost, the fetish change of luck never accruing. Tacitus says of the old Germans, that when they had lost all their property, they staked their own persons, and then if unsuccessful, went into voluntary slavery. In modern times, such fatalism often ends in the workhouse or gaol. The Russian gamester is assured of being lucky if he has a portion of the rope with which a man has been hung. (*Daily Telegraph*, March 27th, 1890.)

At the present day, the general forms of luck are as varied as in the long past; mystic semblances and sounds, often in the same form of expression, prevail in most countries. There are black and white forms of luck; so special sounds and motions are uncanny; and nervous twitches or feelings may be associated with forms of good or ill-luck.

Many actions are luck influences, as throwing a piece of wood over the left shoulder or a bit of coal. So luck accrues from the class of things, animals, and persons one meets, their movements, colours, temperaments, age, appearance; if they are marked by any abnormality, squint, sneeze, are lame, ugly, or have any peculiarity in dress or movements. The lowest form of scape-goat we read of is at the present day attached to a form of luck. In China, according to Miss Cumming, ten thousand people, all over the empire, go out with their kites to the nearest hills or rising ground, then when high in mid-air cut the cords, that the kite as a scape-goat may sail away to the desert fields of air, carrying with it whatever ill-luck might have been in store for the family it represents. (*Wander. in China*, II., p. 129.)

In the *Popular Romances of the West of England*, R. Hunt writes of the pitmen: "If one meets or sees a woman, or only her draperies, in the middle of the night when he is going to the pit, he will probably return and go to bed. So seeing a little white animal was a warning not to descend the pit. The pitmen in the midland counties had a belief in aerial whistlings, warning them not to descend the pit" (p. 352). In like manner the fishermen dread to walk at night near those parts of the shore where there may have been wrecks. They say the souls of the drowned sailors haunt the spots; and the "calling of the dead" has been frequently heard, especially before the coming of storms. Many say they hail in their own names. (*Ibid.* p. 366.)

J. Harland, in his *Lancashire Folklore*, describes the sentiment of luck attached to odd numbers. He writes, "housewives sit hens on an odd number of eggs, we always bathe three times, our names are called over three times in the law courts. Three times three is the orthodox number of cheers, and we still hold that the seventh son of a

seventh son is an infallible physician" (p. 4). Still dreams go in Lancashire by the rule of contrary. Misfortune betokens prosperity, sickness in dreams marriage; then, to dream of marriage implies sorrow and misfortune, to see angels implies happiness, to be angry with a person he is your best friend. So, to dream of catching fish is unlucky, losing hair is loss of health, &c.

The moon's appearance has ever been attached to forms of luck. Burne, in the *Shropshire Folklore*, writes, "I was myself accustomed in my childhood on the first night of the new moon to curtsey three times, turning round between each curtsey, in the expectation of receiving a present before the next new moon. Some do it only for luck, others wish without speaking and the wish will be fulfilled; others at sight of the new moon turn over the money in their pockets and it will increase with the moon. Some look on the moon through a new silk handkerchief; this confuses the vision, and as many moons as they see denote the years that will pass before they marry" (p. 257).

According to W. Gregor, in the *Folklore of the North-East of Scotland*, there is at Glenavon, the stone of women, a large rock with a hollow; women sit in the hollow that it may induce a good delivery afterwards, and young unmarried women do the same for luck that it may bring them husbands (p. 42). Other forms of husband-luck are: sowing linseed, measuring a rick three times, washing her sleeve, then hanging it before a large fire, when her future husband would come and turn it. Another is to eat an apple before a looking-glass, each piece being stuck on a knife-point and put over her left shoulder, she at the same time combing her hair and looking on the glass, when she will see her future husband stretch his hand to seize a piece of the apple (p. 85).

Other forms of luck described by W. Gregor are asso-

ciated with the dairy; thus, milk boiling over into the fire lessened the produce thereof, unless counteracted by throwing salt on the fire. Wild animals must never touch milking utensils or the cows' udders would fester. A crooked sixpence, a cross of rowan wood or horse-shoe, was placed below the churn for luck (p. 193). So, a new boat was always launched to a flowing tide, the skipper's wife sowing barley for luck over the boat. For the same purpose the woman last married was marched round the boat by the skipper in the water. To have a white stone among the ballast was unlucky, or a stone bored by a pholas. For a fisherman going out in the morning to be asked where he is going brings him ill-luck; so it is unlucky when at sea to say kirk, minister, swine, salmon, &c. (p. 194).

The Rev. T. F. T. Dyer, in his *Domestic Folklore*, quotes various forms of luck. Thus, it is unlucky to carry a new-born child downstairs before upstairs; for good-luck it must be carried first in the arms of a maiden. It is unlucky to weigh a babe. If the first paring of the child's nails are buried under an ash-tree he will be a capital singer. It is also unlucky for a child to first use a spoon with its left hand.

Fetish forms of luck are found to be entertained at the present time by people in all countries; in some cases they are general, in others special. Thus, among the Chinese now it is unlucky for a bride to break the heel of her shoe going to her husband's house, it is ominous of bad luck. A bride putting on her wedding dress stands in a light shallow basket—this implies a placid life in her new home. After, her mother puts the basket over the oven's mouth, to stop adverse comments on her daughter. For four months after marriage a wife must not enter a house where a recent birth or death has taken place, or she and her husband will quarrel. If a bird drops excrement on a

person it is unlucky, and only repaired by begging a little rice from three persons having different surnames to his own. In Europe for thirteen to sit at table is unlucky, in China three is the unlucky number; and no person will marry if there are six years between their ages, as six is doubly unlucky. So, sneezing on New Year's day forebodes misfortune, unless the sneezer obtains a tortoise-like cake at houses having three different surnames. (*Popular Science Monthly*, XXXII. p. 796, &c.)

Betimes, in transmission, the forms of luck vary. Thus, in America, killing a ladybird causes a storm, a piece of silver put in the churn brings the butter, neither spade nor hoe may be taken in the house, it denotes ill-luck; this may be averted by taking them back the same way. Nails put in the form of a cross in the nest of a goose preserves them from thunder. In Transylvania, Wednesdays and Fridays are inauspicious days, Tuesdays and Thursdays lucky; so to the different hours of the day are attached influences favourable and unfavourable. It is lucky to die at the Feast of Epiphany; the soul goes straight to heaven, as the door thereof is open all that day. In like manner, it is lucky to be born on Easter Sunday while the bells are ringing, but not lucky to die that day. If a house is struck with lightning it is not allowed to be put out, because God lit the fire. A leaf of evergreen, laid in a plate of water on the last day of the year when the bells are ringing, will denote health, sickness, or death during the coming year, according as it is found green, spotted, or black on the following morning. (*Nineteenth Century*, XVIII. p. 132, &c.)

The Salish, of British Columbia, hold that certain herbs secure good luck; these are fastened to the doors of the house; so gamblers use the same to bring them good luck. (*Report Brit. Asso.* 1890.) The Montagnais, of Labrador, now hold that it is unlucky to spill the blood of the beaver,

as that would prevent the hunter from being successful in the hunt. Ralston, in his *Songs of the Russian People*, observes there are those who object to have their silhouettes taken, fearing, if they do so, they will die before the year is out; so if a man sees a white butterfly first in the spring, he is destined to die within a year.

Luck, it will be noted, is thus in its lowest manifestation, a mere assumption from the appearances in things; it then advances to a special inference therefrom in the soul of the onlooker, and in the more advanced stage it is necessary for the subjective person to seek for the intimations he expects. Thus forms of luck pass from the casual self-presented to inferences, and then to mystic principles requiring to be sought for, they then evolve into fetish charm-powers. These changes are still seen in progress.

Among the multiform expressions of luck, that of the influence of the stars still holds its ground, not only with the educated as well as the uneducated classes. Vulgar moon and star luck not only abound, but the student of the planets, and the houses in the heavens, still searches for mental and physical causes, and the elements of human aspirations in the stars. Each planet now not only defines the nature and fortune of the individual, at whose birth it is in the ascendant, but each rules over certain plants and animals, fish, birds, and metals. As each planet passes through each of the houses in the heavens their results vary. Every position has a special influence on the life of man or woman, and induces death under special modes. All such human conditions and results are the blind results of the unseeing planets. More, under the influence of the assumed luck presentations on his own members, on the lines on his hands, and the contour of his features, even the discoloured markings on his body, man is assumed to be the victim of a destiny over which he has no choice. So we need not study the cortical centres, or form abstruse calculations on the influence of education, habit, and ex-

ternals in moulding the attributes of a man's mind. Are they not woven into the texture of his skin? And there are still men and women who find the seat of thought in the lower thumb, and of will in the upper, the line of the heart, and the line of the head across the palm, and the influence of the chief planets indexed in the fingers. The line of life courses along the hand, and whether a human being will die in infancy, or live to a hundred years of age, depends on the markings attached to this mystic line. It matters not what you eat, or what you drink, or how you are clothed; you may expose yourself to disease or deadly conditions; but if in these lines the fates assign you a hundred years of life you will live that time, and if only a few years, it matters not however prudent, holy and careful you may be, you will die young.

As there are affinities in the heavens, so the mystic mongers find affinities in the moles on the human body; these sympathize in pairs, define character, express luck and ill-luck, and denote the purpose of the life of their possessor.

Charms and Spells.—It has been said that the faith in charms and spells is dying out, that belief has been converted into a habit or emotion and yet the secret application of the spell, the prevalent use of charms, the nervous expression of the features, the twitching of the eyes and various forms of tremor intimate that faith in the inexplicable powers still controls the human mind. The trust in charm-help in the controlling powers contained in herb or animal or the disgusted blending of offensive substances, animal and vegetal, still continues. The ground is still cursed on which human blood has fallen. Horses and other animals are doctored with charms and the malignant in this country, as well as abroad, still concoct the treacherous spell, still seek for help in their evil designs from the mysterious powers in the natural world.

Hardwick, in his *Traditions and Superstitions*, writes:—

"In my youth, on Halloween, I have seen the hills throughout the country illuminated with sacred flames, and I can point out many a cairn of fire-broken stones, the high places of the votaries of Bel. Nor at this day are his mysteries silenced; with a burning wisp of straw at the point of a fork the farmer encircles his field to protect the coming crop from noxious weeds, so the old wife refuses to sit the cackling hen after sunset. A farmer lately sacrificed a live calf in the fire to counteract the influences of his unknown enemies, and a calf was thus sacrificed at Pontreath for the purpose of removing a disease from the horses and cows. In another case a live lamb was burnt to save the flock from spells which had been cast upon them" (pp. 31-39).

In the *Somerset County Gazette* (July 9th, 1891) was the case of a man, presuming he was bewitched or overlooked, scratching the head of the person he suspected, to draw blood and thus counteract the spell. The Chairman of the Court said the belief was very prevalent. Charmed wells and waters are still common. The holy well at North Molton was visited on Ascension morning, 1882. The first to bathe was cured, others carried the water away to use it for healing purposes. (*Folklore Record*, V. p. 160.)

The Rev. T. F. T. Dyer records many of the mystic charm influences that affect plants such as the virtue induced by sowing parsley seed on Good Friday, the charmed results that accrue from sprinkling flowers in the river on Holy Thursday, the elder and pimpernel talismans against witchcraft. Cork keeps off cramp. Lycopodium cures diseased eyes. He also illustrates the present faith in the bone shave, a knuckle bone in the pocket, charms to stay bleeding, cure sprains, &c. Dew from the grave of the last young man buried applied before sunshine, and a common snake rubbed over the parts. So, rain falling on Holy Thursday was a charm for sore eyes.

To cure whooping cough we are instructed to eat a roasted mouse.

Sundry miscellaneous charms and spells still in use are recorded in the *Folklore Record*. Thus a charm of the dried leaves of vervain worn round the mother's neck cures her sickly child; leaning against the bellows a cure for rheumatism; the same also by having three, five or seven knots in the pocket. A paw cut from a live mole or a caterpillar in a box carried in the pocket cure various complaints. Leland, in his *Gipsy Sorcery*, writes: "In the year 1880, in one of the principal churches in Philadelphia, blessed candles were sold to the congregation under guarantee that the purchase of one would preserve its possessor for one year against all diseases of the throat (p. 42).

Sundry charms are recorded in the later volumes of *Notes and Queries*. Thus in the number for January 24th, 1891, we have the case of a farmer and a lady receiving lucky bags that were to bring them fowls, potatoes, and money; the charm was salt in the bag, but it would only keep productive as long as it was worn in secrecy. Another (dated May 30th, 1891) cures jaundice by the urine of the sick person being suspended in a bottle over the fire, and the disease then passed away as it dried up. Milk of a red cow a charm to cure consumption (March 28th, 1891). A man turns his vest inside out as a charm to prevent his being led astray (April 19th, 1890). To cure convulsions they are to be charmed away by rubbing the palm with a raw onion (January 11th, 1890). The rope that had been used to hang a man was applied for to cure a sick boy at Chicago (August 30th, 1890).

In the *Folklore Journal* we have the following modern cases of charms and spells still in vogue. In 1883 a horse was burnt at St. Ives to drive away an evil spell (V. p. 195). In 1865 that of a calf burnt to cure horses and cows. (*Ibid.*)

In 1879 fits are reported as being cured by wearing the leg of a toad suspended in a bag round the neck (V. p. 206). Several cases are quoted of the touch of a dead man's hand curing sundry complaints, still more effective if the hand of a dead relative. (*Ibid.*) In another the hands of children are not washed until they are a year old or they would die poor (V. p. 208). A child cured of a cough by a piece of a donkey's ear being placed in a bag strung on its neck (V. p. 210). In 1883 a child with the whooping cough was passed from a man to a woman nine times under the belly of a donkey as a charm cure (V. p. 211). Pins have a charm influence on the dead, and in no case may the shroud be pinned; this had inadvertently been done and the ghost of the deceased haunted her relatives. To remedy this the body, lying in the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Birmingham, was in March, 1886, taken up, the pins removed, the shroud being then stitched and the happy ghost could lie untortured in her grave (V. p. 162).

Extremes it is said may always meet, so the later spiritual charm is but an old-spell deception in a new form. Miss G. Houghton, in her *Chronicles of the Photographs of Spiritual Beings*, writes—"My invisible counsellors agreed to my having an experimental seance. Mr. E. T. Bennett accordingly found enough sediment in the various jugs of rain-water to make a fair amount of deposit in a large wash-hand basin, round which we stood—a circle of seven, our fingers resting on the edge. I was then impressed to stir the water briskly with my fingers, and we watched it gradually settle down until it certainly assumed the appearance of some small faces; but only one was really clear, and that, which was the likeness of my brother Warren, was on the slope of the basin just in front of me. In consequence of the position it could only be distinctly seen by myself; but judge of our surprise when we felt the basin being gently moved round under our fingers to exhibit the picture

to each person in succession" (p. 249). We have no doubt that Miss Houghton had a family likeness to her brother, and thus the charm reflection may be easily explained.

In the *Journal of American Folklore* we find the same charm of a dead man's hand illustrated as we have seen still obtains in this country (I. p. 216). Stone amulets are still used by the Indians as a protection from witches; one represented the side of an old man's head, another a grouse eating a worm. The holes in the amulet are used to put in the particles picked from the teeth that witches may not get them to bring destruction on the person. Some charms are used as a protection from evil by detecting and conquering hostile beings; these are carved to represent the spirits, they move obedient to the commands of the shaman, and give him information of his enemies (I. p. 217).

Ralston describes the Russian charm amulets as consisting of herbs, roots, embers, salt, bats' wings and heads, and the skins of snakes, which are made up in small packets and hung round the neck. Sometimes a spell is written on a piece of paper and attached to the pectoral cross. Sometimes the amulet is a knotted thread; a skein of red wool wound round the arms and legs wards off agues and fevers; nine skeins round a child's neck preserves from scarlatina; a bag round the neck wards off the wolf; a padlock carried three times round a herd of horses, locking it each time, and saying, "I lock you from the grey wolves," preserves them from those ravenous animals (p. 389).

Various charms and spells are still in use in modern Transylvania. Thus, we read that a toad found in a cow byre must have been sent by a witch to steal the milk: it is to be stoned to death. The skull of a horse placed over the gate of the courtyard, or the bones of fallen animals buried under door-steps, are charms preserving from

ghosts. A cow gone astray will not be eaten by wolves if a pair of scissors are stuck in the rafters of the house. At the birth of a child each one present takes a stone and throws it behind, saying, "This into the jaws of Strigoi." The crowing of a black hen is ominous of death; so if a person is ill they counteract the charm influence by putting the hen in a sack and carry her thrice round the house. Roots dug up from the churchyard on Good Friday and given to the sick save from death. (*Nineteenth Century*, XVIII.)

Ellis, in his *Ewe Speaking Peoples*, shows that the charm is the anticipatory stage of the totem or tutelar deity. He writes: "Among the Ewe speaking people of the slave coast no suhman or individual totems of a spirit nature or individual tutelar deities are known; their place is taken by amulets, which owe their virtue by being consecrated to or belonging to the gods; they do not depend for power on an indwelling spirit. The suhman of the gold coast has offerings made to it; not so the amulet of the slave coast, it has neither prayers nor sacrifice. The priests of the gods manufacture the amulets and sell them at a high price. An amulet of the fire god preserves from fire; these are worn on neck or arm and tied to house or property" (p. 91). That these amulets have the same impersonal powers as amulets in other countries Ellis shows. Thus a dog beaten to death and hung in the market-place prevents disease. An amulet made of the teeth or claws of animals, especially of beasts of prey, protects from beasts of prey. Tibuli are charms used by thieves to render them invisible or to send the occupants of a house to sleep. The effigy of a man's head and trunk is fastened to a pole to protect the inhabitants of the house. A human tooth and a Popo head are worn as a Bo charm against sickness; the tail of a horse, cow or goat a preservative charm from bullets. They have one magic powder to open windows and doors;

another which, if thrown on the footsteps of an enemy, makes him mad; a third which neutralizes the action of the last, another that destroys the power of seeing. So magic unguents rubbed on the body of a man cause him to make love, lend money, and so forth. (*Ibid.* p. 93, &c.)

As further illustrating the development of personal supernals from impersonal, Mr. Ellis says that the possessor of a suhman can make any number of charms, either for his own use or for his neighbours, the efficacy of the suhman not being supposed to be the least impaired, no matter how often its nature or power is thus drawn upon to supply other objects. Supposing a man to have a charm which protects the house from thieves, and to have enjoyed a long immunity from theft, then others, attributing this immunity to the charm, will pay him to obtain from his suhman similar charms. The native idea is that there is a regular ascending scale of powers commencing with the charm and culminating with the deities in class one. (*Ibid.* p. 105.)

We may trace the same conversion of the lucky stone or stick to an amulet, and then to a fetish idol in other countries. The Greek gods and goddesses were originally only lucky tree trunks and stones. Such were the holy stones and asheras of the Semites, and the same process of primary god evolution is still progressing. In the *Cruise of the Marchesa* we read "the Papuan amulets worn slung round the neck were small sticks, about six inches long, carved at the upper end in a rough imitation of the human figure. One is guard in a land journey, another on a voyage; one wards off the evil designs of the dreaded Manuen, the malicious spirit; a fourth preserves them from sickness, and so on, until the wearer is carefully protected from each and all of the thousand natural shocks that flesh is heir to. But in order that they should be efficacious, he must be able in a certain measure to predict these

misfortunes, for the peculiar virtue of which the amulets are possessed is only exerted when they dangle between his shoulder blades, where it is not considered proper for him to habitually carry them" (II. p. 278).

Spell charms are in all parts of the world still constituted of portions of deadly parts of animals and plants, the refuse of living beings or materials associated with death. Thus in Murray's *Missions in Western Polynesia* the contents of the disease maker's bag are black earth, the chewings of the sacred leaf, human hair, fragments of female dress, leaves of the pandanus, sugar-cane, &c. (p. 89). The negroes in America use grave dirt, rusty nails, red flannel rags, pieces of briar root, snakes tooth, the tail of a rabbit, a toad's foot, and a dead man's hair. (*American Folklore Journal*, III. p. 284, &c.)

Mana, Supernal powers in Men.—At the present day like attributes of supernal control are presumed to be manifested, not only by the medicine-men but by the priests in all faiths, and by the divinely gifted in all faiths. Modern spiritualism is founded on this assumption, and every medium conceives that he or she has occult powers of no common order. The old mystics affirmed that they obtained these transcendental powers in dreams and trances through austerities and by the action of toxic ingredients. With some the power is presumed to enter them unconsciously and they know not that they are divinely endowed. Thus we are told that Mr. G. M. Stephens of South Australia, the healing medium, only six years ago discovered that he possessed the gift of healing. He found this out by a friend suffering from deafness by way of a joke asking him to give him back his hearing, on which he made some passes over him, since which his deafness disappeared. So from one experiment came another, until he had a crowd of patients. His process is sometimes to lay his hand on the part affected; sometimes he breathes into the eye, ear or

mouth of the patient, at others he banishes the disease by a word or gesture. He says he thinks he has been the means of healing 30,000 patients during the six years and a half he has attended them. (*Pall Mall Gazette*, January 12th, 1887.)

There is an essential difference in the nature of the mana employed nowadays and the old witch sorcerer or medicine mana of the past. Primarily spells and charms were used for evil influence; then came the time when the sorcerer was bought by payments of various kinds to withhold his sorcery and undo the baneful spell; later on we have the healing doctor, man or woman, as a distinct profession. The witch formerly was all evil, then she might by fear or gifts be induced to recall her incantations. The change has been noted even more fully by Hardwick in his *Traditions*. He writes that healing witches are more prominent nowadays than baneful ones. Margaret Gordon was a Scotch witch of this class. She firmly believed to her dying day that she possessed power to remove or avert the ills and ailments of both man and beast by means of various incantations, ceremonies and appliances as cuttings of rowan-tree, some of which she always carried about her. She would carefully place so many of these before and so many behind the beast she meant to benefit. Another of her charms was holy water from a holy well; this she sprinkled on the pathway of those she designed to help. She would go round the dwellings of those she wished to serve, carrying a long rod, at an early hour in the morning (p. 275).

From the vulgar common witch to the Rosicrucians seems a perilous leap, and yet Hartmann in the *Pronaos of the Temple* clearly intimates their affinity. He writes: "To these powers belongs the art of making oneself invisible, of leaving one's body at will and returning to it again, of projecting one's soul to a distant place, of prolonging phy-

sical life for a long period of time, of creating subjective illusions or objective realities," &c. (p. 50). Though so generally claimed, these supernal powers may not always be judiciously applied. Ralston writes that the Servians believe that the soul of a witch may leave her body while asleep and fly abroad in the shape of a butterfly. If, during its absence, her body be turned round so that the feet are placed where the head was before, the soul-butterfly will not be able to find the mouth and so will be sent out from the body, hence she will die. (*Songs Russian Peop.* p. 117.)

There were not only the higher mana powers resulting from induced physical conditions, or mental exertions, or external supernal action, but men might inherit mana powers as they inherit a tendency to moles, distorted teeth, abnormal hairs and thick lips. These special conformations may be racial or due to timal conditions at birth. Thus, persons born during twilight are endowed with the occult power of seeing spirits, those born feet first had the innate virtue of curing lumbago, rheumatism and sprains by rubbing or trampling on the affected part. A Scotch affirmation attaches to the possessor of this power the destiny of dying by hanging. The acquired mana possessed by a priest is still a matter of vulgar faith. According to the *Folklore Journal* "clergymen in Cornwall are still supposed to be able to drive out evil spirits. A woman asked one to walk round her reading some passages from the Bible, to exorcise the ghost of her dead sister which tormented her in the form of a fly" (V. p. 27). In the same publication we also note that in Sligo the common people believe that their priests can work miracles by prayers and charms, and when afflicted with illness they call on them for an office, and also the same for a cow, horse, or pig in a similar condition.

The manifestations of mana powers are at the present

day affirmed as the attribute of the priest by men in all stages of development. The modern savage, the village rustic and the spiritual enthusiast meet as on common ground in the mystic fields of the Divine presentations. These may vary in the idealisms in which they are presented, but all are founded on like transcendental forms of expression, and like supreme guiding and controlling mystic influences. We may follow them in a gradual series of spiritual claims from mere luck influences to the powers conceived as possessed by an abstract deity. To rehearse the occult and spiritual powers that of late years have been claimed by men were to run through the long series of spiritual enthusiasts which in all countries, civilized as well as barbarous, have excited the popular sentiments of the Divine, having become human. Not only the various forms of Christianity but Hindoo faith and Moslem Sufi-isms have their representative Divine enthusiasts. Holy books and sacred powers are as pregnant now as ever. Has not Sir A. Lyall shown us how at the present day a wild delusionist in India has progressed from being a mere half-mad local Rishi to become a new Avatar of Vishnu? Have not Mahdis risen of late years both among the Moslem-Negros of Gondala and the Wahabees in Arabia? Even the Indians in the United States and the tribes in the King country of New Zealand have betimes poured forth their inspired prophets to rouse the nations.

What Moses was to the Jews and Manco Capac to the Peruvians, had circumstances have continued favourable, might Motlume have been to the Bechuanas of South Africa. It was the advent of a more civilized, more powerful aggressive force that limited his power and contracted his advance. Like other great spiritual thinkers the main purpose of his life was crudely evolved when he was scarcely past boyhood. Among the South African tribes, from which he sprang, the period of puberty is

marked by that mystical semblance of manly purity, circumcision. As the process is there very crudely though effectively performed, the wound was a long time healing, during which probationary period the acolyte is separated, as unclean, from association with others. Thus Motlume passed four or five months in solitary abstention from human society in a wretched temporary cabin on the hill side. Need we wonder that he became a visionary, that the unsatisfied faculties in his soul, devoid of natural expression, found means to create a world of their own? Then he saw, or like other ecstatics believed he saw, the roof of his cabin open of itself and the tiny chamber fill with light until it seemed to the young Motlume that he was caught up to heaven where he saw many different people and nations. Then the inspiration came into his soul that he was divinely empowered to draw into one social unity all the scattered tribes and households of his race. After, he travelled from village to village, from tribe to tribe, inculcating the one great purpose of his mind. Not a village that he visited but he entered as a peacemaker; he settled their differences and aided them in all their requirements, entering into treaties of alliance with the heads of each village and recommending them to cultivate peace and good-fellowship. It pays better, he said, to fight the corn than whet the spear, and this without war or bloodshed. He became the acknowledged king of his race.

M. Arbousset, in his *Exploratory Tour of the Cape of Good Hope*, shows that beyond his ecstatic supernal concepts Motlume was an original thinker, and though born among fetish barbarians his mind compassed the great unity of the natural world. Amongst the sayings of his preserved by an admiring people are the following—"There is in heaven a powerful Being who hath created all things; nothing warrants me to believe that any of these things which I see

could create itself." "Conscience is the faithful monitor of man; she invariably shows him what is his duty. This inward guide takes us under her guidance when we leave the womb and she accompanies us to the entrance of the tomb." "O the vanity of everything! Everything passes swiftly, and I also pass away, but it is to go to rejoin my ancestors." Throughout the country his memory is everywhere honoured, and in the sacrifices offered to the dead he is never forgotten. In times of great scarcity they gather themselves together in some convenient place to call upon him and others of their gods for help (p. 268, &c.).

In general the mana power expressed is not of this exalted character they hold in the power of their doctors to lay spirits, hold converse with ghosts, to fight against the lightning and bring down rain. Some have learnt to control familiar spirits, and they fail not to sacrifice cattle and goats to the Amontongo to avert evil. Each tribe has its own fetish animal with whose mana the medicine-man is in association, he guides the dance and smells out the witch.

We quote the following as illustrating the popular belief in the low mana power held by the vulgar medicine-man at the present day. Rowley, in his *Religion of Africa*, writes—"If a man has an enemy he will go to a professor of witchcraft to get him bewitched. If a man is in trouble with any strange physical sensation, or meets with an accident or sustains any loss, he believes his enemy has caused it by witchcraft. If a man dies from any but the most obvious causes it is thought that his death has been brought about by the black art, and if a man suspects he is bewitched his fears will make such havoc in his constitution that he will probably die" (p. 129).

The shaman in British Columbia is said to need his headdress when curing the sick; to give it power they blow on it and sprinkle it with water poured over magic herbs. He sucks the body of a patient and is supposed to remove

a thong or feather from it; this he blows upon and it vanishes. If a woman or the shadow of a mourner has caused the disease, the shaman goes underground to consult his guardian spirit. He also brings the soul back to the body when it has left it. He goes in search of it, jumping over imaginary chasms until he meets and fights the soul and brings it back, and restores it to the sick man by placing it on the crown of his head. A shaman, if he hates any person, looks at him steadily and sends his soul underground; he can also bewitch an enemy by throwing a feather or thong at him, or by putting magic herb in his drink. To find game, he sends his soul out in search for them; then he tells the hunters to go to such a place to find the animals. If the ghost of the dead haunts its relations, the shaman is employed to appease it. (*Reports Brit. Assoc.* 1890, p. 645, &c.)

The mana power of the priests among the Salish is mostly employed to contest with impersonal sources of ill, though betimes he appeals to spirit power. In Siberia, however, the shaman is mainly employed to restrain ghost and spirit influences. Landells, in his *Through Siberia*, writes:—"The shamans, male or female, are regarded as powerful mediators between the people and the evil spirits. When a man falls sick, he is supposed to be attacked by an evil spirit, the same as Lenormant describes in his *Chaldean Magic*. With them, as in old Assyria, there is a distinct spirit for every disease, who must be propitiated in a particular manner. Eatables are offered to the idols, and then distributed, to be consumed by all present" (II., p. 234). In Alaska the medicine-priest, before he manifests his power, prepares himself by fasting, and he also uses a feather as an emetic. His performance begins with a song, the time beaten on a drum. Dressed in fancy costume, and a mask emblematic of the power he is assuming to represent, he rushes round the fire directing

his eyes to the opening in the roof. His movements gradually become convulsive; he stops, looks at the drum and utters loud cries; then the singing ceases, and all watch him. By changing the masks he comes *en rapport* with the spirit to which each mask is dedicated. (*S. Jackson, Alaska*, p. 102.)

Another extensive form of mana, still accredited, is that of the evil eye in Southern Europe; and in the East generally, more especially wherever the Moslem faith prevails, belief in the influence of the evil look is prevalent. It is said that "certain people have the power of killing others by a glance of the eye, others inflict injury by the eye. The Moslem sheiks profess to cure the evil eye and prevent its evil effects by writing mystic talismanic words on papers, which are to be worn. Others write the words on an egg, then strike the forehead of the evil-eyed with the egg. When a new house is built, they hang up an egg shell, or piece of alum, or a donkey's skull at the front door to keep off the evil eye." (*Syrian Home Life*, p. 92.)

Villier Stuart, in his *Adventures in Equatorial Forests*, tells us that the Jamaica Obeahmen bewitch the crops of an obnoxious neighbour for their clients, or safeguard those of the latter. There is no ailment they do not undertake to cure, no passion they are not ready to minister to. They have poisons for the vengeful, love-philtres for the amorous, potent spells for the jealous, the sure tip for the covetous. It is their part to supply the mystic talisman or the artful concoction. They know of deadly vegetables that kill and leave no trace of poison, of others that inflame the passions to madness, of others that plunge those to whom they are administered into a condition of dreamy indifference. Rags and bones, rosaries of blood-stained stones, magic mirrors, human hair, and dolls to be blind-folded or stuck full of pins, are their outward signs (p. 181).

CHAPTER XIX.

The Evolution of the Supernal in its Ontogenic and Phylogenic Aspects.

Out of the beauty, order, and variety in the natural world ever present to his senses, man has evolved a more marked, a transcendental kosmos, which encompasses and absorbs the real world of his senses, and ever according to his mental and moral status is the range and fullness of this supernal world.

At one time, among all men, the supernatural conditions predominated over the real and blended with all the phases of the natural world. Yet ever as men advanced in knowledge, ever as they made fuller researches into the conditions of things both objective and subjective, the phenomena of the natural world became more definite, whilst at the same time the assumptions of the supernatural passed away or became restricted to the higher concepts that define the origin, control, and destiny of all existences. From the early concept that the relations of all things in the material as well as the organic world were due to the interposition of various supernal powers and principles, men now recognize natural laws, special and universal, interacting on all things.

There was a time when all races of men, and even now there are some races of men to whom the present state of existence exhibits more of the supernatural than the

natural. Ghosts and spirits are more abundant than men, and in place of changes and growth being due to natural laws, they are ever the direct immediate actions of supernal powers or fetish principles. Not a day, not an hour, but they expect movements and responses to be manifested by the mysterious powers their ignorance has assumed, and they bend low in awe of the very objects their own hands have made and their own minds have symbolized. We cannot but note how gradually these assumptions have ceased to influence the advanced races of men. Ever the supernal becomes more restricted, more distant, more inapproachable. Ever its claims are cast off in the truer pretensions of law and order. No longer to them does the fetish combine one form of matter with another, but chemical affinities and quantities regulate the innumerable associations of atoms. There are no transformations but those due to the laws of growth and affinity, no creations but by organic evolution or the combinations of associative atoms. The ghosts have all been laid, the spirits have departed as they came, and the gods themselves are veiled by the unity, beauty, and continuity of the self-balanced laws of the natural world. The supernatural is all passing away, as the imbecility of the babe before the mental expanding powers and physical energies of the man.

Not that we affirm there is nothing beyond nature and man, or that they are the completeness and end of being—far from it. When man has completed a self-acting machine, and the conditions and materials are suitably arranged, he leaves it to fulfil its task, only attending to the due supply of materials. He may even combine several self-acting machines, so that the processes are all automatic, and there is nought for the man to do but start the raw material in due relations with the first machine and in the end store up the finished products. Had man the requisite capacity, all the intermediate infinite stages that intervene

between the finished product and its once more resolving into its elements and recombining as the raw material to produce, by the intervention of the machines, a new race of products, their permanent successional continuity would be equally amenable to human tact and volition.

In the universal scheme of nature we behold not only one, but an infinite series of like lines of continuous production and interchange ever going on; organic and material existences interchange, blend and progress. In these cycles of change there are no hitches, no breaks, no collisions, but such as indicate their many interactions and inter-relations. Yet we see not the power that co-ordinated these many manifestations. Nowhere does it present an actual guiding influence, in no action is it seen to interpose; more, not only do all the powers and personalities continue and recontinue their many cycles of change, but new cycles of change, new forms of existence, come into being to enlarge and evolve higher powers of action, nobler forms of being. So, instead of the many often antagonistic supernal powers and principles of the early races of men, we cannot present the nature or attributes of the one central supernity in which we realize all we and everything are, all we know, all we can ever comprehend. We do not say, we do not presume to imagine, what this transcendental power is, or seek to pierce the veil drawn between our nature and that of this source of all that is personal, all that is impersonal. Had this almighty power willed so, its being and nature would have been emblazoned on rock and cloud, on plant and animal; it would have grown up in the souls of all men, and been spiritually photographed in the contour and substance of their brains; even every grain of sand, every drop of water, would have been as knowing thereof.

There are no supernals; none are needed. Planets fulfil their courses, suns and stars revolve, the great sea and the firm land maintain their inter-relations, every river and

mountain, self-acting, work their own destinies without the apparent presence or consciousness of being influenced by any supernal power or principle. It is even so with the plant world, so with the animal world, and why is it not so in the human world? Is it not an unquestioned fact that as man advances the supernal, like the mirage it represents, glides away in the distant mist, and the time will come when the last gleam of the subjective supernal entities will permeate the soul of man like the unrecallable tones of a long-forgotten melody?

Our position is that now not a single supernal concept remains unquestioned; such sentiments are not necessary to humanity, they have long estranged man from man, they are not part of our nature or they would have been absolutely manifest in us and in all things. Such ideas have drawn men from their communal relations with one another, and have stayed the progress of their moral, social and intellectual development. Had the energies and resources of men, instead of being wasted on fetish objects in forms of worship and in supporting legions of medicine-men and priests, been devoted to the social culture in each community, man had been a higher, holier, and happier being, both in the past and in the present. Nor was it only loss of time, of substance and energy, which the supernal sentiments induced; they, more than any other cause, tended to blast the human soul with strange aberrations. When the fetish fear, that supernal ideas have instilled into the human mind, is converted into intellectual self-reliance, then we may naturally expect the development of a higher humanity.

In the retentive powers in the human mind we have the essential source of the supernatural. Perception alone could never have founded any classes of subjective existences. It is the capacity of retaining the impressions presented to the perceptive powers, that enables the human

mind to compare, compound, and classify the images of things, and more, reobserve them unsubstantially in dreams and illusions. Out of these the ideal world of supernals has been evolved, vague powers and principles, wild and distorted images of ghosts, monsters and compound phantasies. We can follow the origin of the supernal in two lines of evolvement—in the phylogeny of the race and in the life of the individual. Though widely distinct, these two phases of evolution work on the same lines, and, as in organic growth, the mind of the child evolves as has the mind of the race.

We can conceive, that first with savage man as now with the child, that all appearances present to the senses, wakeful or sleeping, were considered of the same *genre*—all were real. They have no conception of the unsubstantial nature of the images in dreams presented to the mental powers, nor can they separate the active personality from the insensate objects seen in the dream state. With them the tree, the mountain, the weapon, the river, and the sky, and every other object present in the dream are realities; they have the same self-consciousness as the real objects present to their waking senses. The young child and the low-class savage never separate the two sets of perceptions into distinct classes, they are alike substantial entities; as yet the supernal idea is only nascent, a supernal world is not yet conceived in their minds.

In the course of a limited number of experiences by a child, we may note a change in its concepts of things; it separates the subjective states from the objective, it recognizes will and power, and ascribes the double states, it becomes conscious of in its own personality to every object about it, or which is presented to its mind. These have the same ethical attributes as itself, as well as physical, and they denote a double nature. So it is with the savage; as he advances he separates the nature of the

two entities in every object into distinct classes, and the one is always losing its substantiality until the concrete is more or less drawn out of its nature, and the spiritual theory is evolved.

If all children and all races of men were constituted of like elements in the same proportions, what we might postulate of one would represent all, but the impulses in their natures vary in the elements of the attributes as well as in intensity, and we may not affirm of any two men or children a like subjective and objective mental affirmation. We know that men differ in the nature of their supernal concepts, and though there are no races of men devoid of some supernal concepts, we may err as Herbert Spencer has in the case of the chief of the Latooki tribe on the banks of the Upper Nile, in accepting his advanced agnostic opinions as the standard of his race when we read they hold the same fetish concepts as mark other African races.

There are men now, there have been men in all ages, who have never bowed the knee to Baal. Men who could never realize in their minds any subjective existences, and who are as incapable of conceiving of such ideas when presented to them as are the partially developed capacities of untaught deaf mutes, they have no self-evolutions of supernal ideas.

We have to remember that the conception of supernal ideas is a progressive evolvement, that they begin in the child as well as in the race in the crudest ideas of *outre* and uncanny objects advancing progressively to higher forms as the mental powers become more full and expressive. This can only arise when the emotions and mental manifestations become developed. Hence before the social concept of love was entertained there could be no expression of Divine love, and until the child or man knew what fear was, fear as an influencing medium could not

have existed. So with wonder and with hope, the chief source of supernal concepts. Now it is a determined fact that there is a period in the development of a child's mind when it first begins to entertain the sentiments of wonder, of fear, of love, and of hope. The child primarily has no concept of wonder; a harsh sound as well as a harsh touch may excite pain; but when all objects and states of being are alike, vague and new, there is no room for the apprehension of wonder that can only arise when the average character of the impressions are settled in the mind, and it is again excited by the interposition of other experiences that it cannot resolve into any of the accepted associations. So it is with fear: the child at first has no personal fear, the clenched fist may be brought down to its eyes, but it will not flinch; so it knows not the burning power of fire and therefore dreads it not; it is indifferent to all physical presentations that might excite dread, whether of falling from heights, threatening features, or sounds or colours. How, then, can it conceive of *ultra* causes of fear, the terrors of the unseen, the unknown?

Wonder itself is a growth product, it arises as the result of many unexplainable thoughts and actions. The moon to the young child is only a bright object its hand would grasp, and that and the sun and the stars to the savage are but sparks or torches of fire borne through the sky by men of a nature akin to their own. These are too commonplace to excite wonder, and wonder as connected with them to the low class savage is an unknown, unconsidered quantity, as well as with the child. Even when the man or child has built up the ghost fear, it only possesses the attributes of which it has become cognizant in its fellows, and so it is with the whole cycle of supernal concepts.

Reverence as the expression of wonder and fear, and afterwards of love and hope, implies a long cycle of development, whether in the man or the child. We may in each

case follow the growth of the sentiment to its special individual evolvements. Fear is the result of wonder; that which cannot be comprehended is feared, for it has now learned that the power to injure may be present and yet not apparent; hence the fear of thunder, of volcanic action, of the mystery of disease and death, and the savage soul remits them to the active volitions of the unknown supernal powers, its failure to solve their origin evolves. So with the child; the babe has no reverence, no wonder, no fear. Later on when it can somewhat comprehend the distinctions of powers, it is a Tom Thumb defying the giants even as the savage battles with the mental ghost its own mind has created. Reverence is very slowly evolved in the mind of a child, it counts years before that in it becomes instinctive. It may before this be coerced and through pain forced to submit to might, but there is no moral respect, it has as yet no moral attribute, its thoughts are all for self, and externals exist only for its gratification. So it is with the savage; he may submit to force in time, learn policy and expediency, but the voluntary withdrawal of a desire, the abnegation of self, he can never achieve; to him the world and all that exists in it are but to gratify his organic and mental powers.

We only know of the supernal through human thought. The dog, the bird, the elephant may dream, but the dream leaves no result in their sensoriums. Man only has faith; he only sees a supernatural existence, out of humanity there is no God; nay, with man the sentiment of a universal Deity is but, as it were, of yesterday. The united balance of physical action that now pervades the kosmos had persisted through untold periods of time before man existed there were no temples, no prayers, no rites, no ghosts or gods. Then the sun shone and the tides flowed as now; life came and went, and came again, and the Ichthyosaur and the Dinosaur were the princes of

the earth; days, years, and cycles passed without the presence of charm or spell, of sacrifice, or fetish, or god-power being feared.

With some men the age of Avatars and bleeding Madonnas is not yet over. The gods still descend on the earth: the witch reigns triumphant, the pious pour out their prayers, and the Chinese maidens still address letters to high heaven. Still men build up schemes of the god-heads, still rehearse the doings in heaven, and still recount with dramatic effect the military might or dogmatic discourses of the gods. Is heaven so far off that the many voices of humanity cannot reach it? Are the gods so preoccupied that they fail to note the vain aspirations of men, that no universal announcement in signs that could not be misinterpreted has appealed to and commanded the ready assent of all beings having the same perceptive powers, the same mental endowments? Or may it not be that the gods are jealous gods, that, like Eastern potentates, they enwrap their persons in mystery and leave the questions of life and death, of time and eternity—like Pandora's casket—as an unsolvable legacy to humanity? We may note that there is no necessary connection between the natural impulses of the human soul and any special supernal concepts. These may be the wild dreams of some visionary enthusiast, or the crafty plot of some bold deceiver; and yet the mental power that enabled them to influence others, and the capacity in the many to readily respond to such aspirations, may be inherent qualities in man's nature. No religious doctrine had been promulgated or special faith had origin unless there were persistent in the general human mind impulses and emotions with which it assimilated.

The bases on which all supernal concepts are founded are the sentiments of Wonder, Fear, Hope, and Love, and these severally, according as they are evolved, give

character to the supernal concepts to which they become attached. Under the general aspects of nature there is a quiet accord between the mind of man and the phenomena of the universe; the sun shines and the river flows, and the manifestations of animal and vegetal life are passively yet harmoniously associated; but when the terrific force of the wild tornado seems as it were to overpower life; when the upheaving volcano belches forth the lava stream; or when the unseen plague conquers the stalwart arm or blasts the active brain, when it seems that some foe that cannot be grasped, some enemy whom no weapon can reach is present, or when Death, the great invisible one, strikes down the mighty, then a terror, great because incomprehensible, stands between man and nature, and, as if personal existencies, he calls them sorcery, disease, and death.

The sense of wonder thus originating in man progresses to other evolvements, it learns to appreciate the might and majesty of nature, the glories of the heavens, each and every orb responsive to its own inner forces. So with the mountains bathed with blue vapour, their summits covered with snow; the great ocean laving the shores of the green land, and the living waters leaping from rock to rock or sweeping over the broad landscape. Ever these forces blend the sentiment of fear with their might of power too vast for human origin, too great for human conception. These presentations induce the idea of states of being beyond human power, and more than mortal—unseen forces over-riding and ruling the seen, in the presence of which man is but the plaything of the invisible and as helpless as a withered leaf in a storm.

Again, in the pleasing succession of day and night and of the seasons, and more the varying results of human actions, the migrations of animals, and the growth of vegetation, induce hope, and with hope is evolved a sense

of benefits received; thus the ever-varying advantages presented blend the sentiment of the supernal with all the relations man has with nature as well as with his fellow-beings. Ignorant of the nature or form of the power that thus controls the purpose of his being, according to the prevailing mode of the association of externals, with his mental expressions are the objects to which he attaches this sentiment of a mysterious influencing power. It may be a feather, a leaf, an animal, or stone, whose animistic influence is pregnant with knowledge and power, whether natural or supernatural. It may retain the records of past events or symbolize the results of actions and events, either nascent or unconceived. The most common or trifling object endowed with this mysterious force may be a preservative talisman or charm, or the instrument of secret and mysterious disease or death. Thus have arisen the world of supernal natures and powers, those silent, secret, uncontrollable forces outside, yet ruling the natural. Men define these powers by many names—now it is fate or destiny, second sight, the evil eye, may-be the power of divination, affirming of omens or talisman's charms and luck; it takes the form of chance, of spiritual influence, it is manifest in possession, in the power of the exorcist or the unseen actions of will throughout the intercourse of humanity.

There is yet another and later evolved sentiment of the supernal that materially aids in the higher development of the mystic in nature, that of love and esteem. These influences were late in evolvement, whether in the life of the child or in the phylogeny of the race. The child at first, like the savage, accepts benefits as if they were its natural rights, and the savage, by his assumptions, evinces that he has a general right to all he beholds, and it is a long time before he advances so as to appreciate the sentiments of benevolence and self-denial, and conceive of sin and

mercy. So Love had its birth in the home affections, in the desire of the child for the mother's breast, in its clinging to her in danger, real or apparent, and in its relations to the father for protection and support; its fuller character is evolved in the world of interchanging associations that ensue from affectionate general social intercourse.

That the mental expressions of supernal influence arise as we have stated is seen in the fact, that all the lowest races of men only recognize supernal influence in the powers and objects that excite terror, and which are only to be rendered innoxious to them by abject submission, and the fetish, the ghost, the spirit-powers presented in their active states are always evil. The first idealization of goodness is the protective influence of the tribal hero, the chieftain ghosts, in devoting their supernal powers to the support of the tribe, both living and dead; this is followed by the evolution of the family into the goodness of ancestral spirits. So, in like manner, when the nature-god or the hero-god became a tutelar deity, the first stage in the generation of an universal benevolent god—the god of hunting, of agriculture, of abundance—was attained. Necessarily, with the sentiment of goodness came the obligation of worship and duty, and with these those of sin and mercy.

Out of these supernal natures and conditions men have evolved the world of mysterious beings and powers with supernal ideas of the most varied character. It is in the history and attributes of this supernal world, in its like and yet unlike conceptions, that we detect the various influences of supernal powers. We consider it judicious to show that the capacity to originate new supernal ideas still remains with man, and that new spiritual media have been introduced in certain forms of Mesmerism, Animal Magnetism, Hypnotism and Psychic manifestations. Of course, until signs and letters were invented no verbal commands or

written communications could have come from the gods. Now, however, with the general diffusion of artistic proclivities, the spiritual world has caught the infatuation, and not only do phantoms give evidence of their proficiency in drawing flowers, they are even so favourably disposed as to transmit to us the features of those they affirm as now dwelling in spirit land. In like manner, the modern Psychist is favoured with the spirit performance of mortal symphonies, and a sound shorthand, or telepathy, is transmitted by raps.

Men at all times can but use in their Divine inter-relations the interactions that are common among their fellows in their own times; they never, like the inventor, anticipate after-developed powers. In early times they were content to read supernal mysteries through a fetish intermediary, or in the mystic movements of animals; even in the accidental or ritualistic apposition of any objects, may-be signs and manifestations in the skies. So, under the influence of physical discoveries in modern times spiritual manifestations unknown to the old mystic-mongers have prevailed. The affirmations of animal magnetism and psychic forces have induced polar influences; telepathy and psychic machines in this age of machinery have been invented, through which, it has been affirmed, spirit natures are brought into co-ordination with human thought, as by the odometer of Dr. Mayo and magneometer of Mr. Rutter. Not only have the spirits drawn spiritual lines and curves, but the forms of entities under the table on slates, or have guided supple human fingers, as the board-school mistress guides the infant's hand to its pot-hooks and hangers, to express spirit-thought and draw spirit-faces. We cannot help noting that judicious apparitions uniformly embody the local, social, religious and moral characteristics, and are always fashioned in accord with local prejudices. Thus, the Satan of Luther was the vulgar devil of the Middle

Ages; and whilst the Roman apparition assumed the toga, that of the time of Louis XIV. came arrayed in furbelows and fardingales. Even electricity has been employed by the spirits, and a Grove's battery and a coil of wire, according to Mr. Varley, have done duty for the seven-leagued boots of our childhood.

It is more than probable that many supernal ideas have been derived from the vagaries of the insane; and that new supernal concepts may be thus introduced, will be seen in the following incident quoted in Hammond's *Treatise on Insanity*. A gentleman while lying in his bed and listening to the ticking of his clock gradually associated certain words with the sound of the ticking. This, a common form of illusion, is illustrated in the case of Dick Whittington; it is also general in the name of many bird and animal cries. But in the gentleman's case the illusion passed beyond ordinary insonance associations. Heard at first only in bed and from a special clock, it seemed to accompany him everywhere, and it always seemed to speak in appropriate phrases and in harmony with his purposed intents. At dinner-time it seemed to say, "Eat no soup, drink no wine," or "Eat your soup and drink some wine." Even then he found that if he closed his ear the monitory sounds ceased. For a long time this gentleman resisted accepting any of these illusions as facts, but afterwards they influenced his mind to the extent of regarding them as guides, though he tried to conceal the impression they had produced on his mind. When asked, for instance, whether he was going to the theatre that evening, he would reply in a *nonchalant* manner to the effect that he had not thought about it, and then after a little while when he thought the matter forgotten, he would saunter towards where the clock stood, and taking its ticks for his oracle, would shortly after give his answer according to the words thus conveyed to his mind. Eventually there was no concealment of his

concepts of the oracular responses of the clocks; he put them in every room, and professed to be governed altogether by the directions they gave him—not, as he said, because the ticks were real words, but because there was probably some influence, spiritual or other, that caused them to seem like words (p. 297). Had this gentleman have lived among a people where fetish concepts were possible, he might have evolved a new form of occult influence, clock monitions, or oracles, or if endowed with ghost-spirit influences, he might have accepted these presentations as from a guardian spirit, or expressing the watchful care of his ancestral ghosts. The incident shows that a form of spiritual guardianship may be associated with the inventive products of modern times.

We have thus manifest that there is a phylogenic evolvement of supernal ideas, and that each type of human progress has its own series of supernal attributes and beings. So in like manner there is an ontogenetic development of spiritual influences in the mind of the individual man, and that the forms that prevailed among savage races have a like primary output in the mind of the child. We quote the following as illustrating the output of supernal phases in the mind of a child.

We read in *Mind* (XI. p. 149) that Mr. E. M. Stevens endeavoured to follow the evolution of the sentiment of the supernatural in the mind of his child. For this purpose from birth he had the greatest amount of cautious supervision exercised to prevent any idea of a supernatural character being conveyed to it; he desired to determine that it was able to evolve such concepts naturally through the growth of its intelligence. In this instance the crowing of a cock was inferred to have called up the latent sentiment in the form of a supernal fear. We should premise that the child had been used to fowls, and that the crowing of the cock under ordinary conditions would by it not have been

noted. But one evening after having been put to bed, when twenty-two months old, he was aroused from his sleep by the crowing of a cock, and crying as in fear he ascribed it to "cocky." From that time forward cocky was a continuous impression on his mind, and on entering a room his first thought was about the presence of cocky. Thereafter even in daylight the conception of the bird was that of something fetish, a power somewhat analogous to that of a totem animal over the mind of a savage, and he exhibited the same preliminary desire to conciliate as the savage does his totem. He kissed his hand to cocky as a sign of deference, he threw it a toy as an offering, and when unwell, like the savage, he considered that cocky was the cause of his pain; he was possessed and said cocky was in his stomach, and afterwards when he had the headache, that cocky was in his head. Still more the vague dread of the supernal power that cocky was inferred to express, was manifested in cocky under mother's bed. On another occasion when in a great temper his concept of the supernal passed into the higher form of nature personification, and as the sun was shining on him through the window, he first angrily told the sun not to look at him; after, in an imploring tone, he said, "Please, sun, not to look at poor Henry," and this was repeated several times during his fit of crying.

Now we cannot but note how remarkably apposite was the evolution of the child's sentiments regarding supernal forces with those of the savage. We have first the vague idea presented of an unknown mysterious power which is attached to a living fetish. To conciliate it there is the expression of courteous amity; this advances to the more prominent concept of purchasing its goodwill by an offering. Then we have the truly savage concept of pain and disease, resulting from the malevolent action of this mysterious being. All these are phases in the evolution of supernal ideas among all savage races. In the last output

of the supernal concepts of the child, we have the origin of the almost universal sun deification. It is a living being looking down with commanding power on all below. It is presumed to note wrong action now present in the child's mind, which, from the self-regard savagely expressed in defying it, ends in supplication and in prayer to the better principles it conceives to exist in the tutelar nature godhead. So clearly are these supernal evolutions in the child's mind in harmony with the history of the unknown supernal attributes in all developing races, that we must hold that they demonstrate that the mind of the child and the man work in unison.

That children have no innate concepts of supernals is strikingly manifest in the experience of those having defective sense powers; such rarely express any sentiments implying the existence of such powers; and when they do so, it is the result of some educational process. In the Abstract of the Transactions of the Anthropological Society of Washington, U.S., Mr. Ballard, then a teacher in the Columbia Institute for the Deaf and Dumb, gave his experiences on that question. His parents had endeavoured to give him some idea of the Supreme Being, and of a future life. He had pondered the matter over, and had endeavoured to conceive the origin of things. He imagined that men and animals sprang from decayed trees, and that the sun and moon were brilliant plates endowed with mysterious power. Alarmed by thunder, he imagined a great man in the sky (p. 75). Spencer quotes like facts. Kitto, in *Lost Senses*, describes an American lady, deaf and dumb, who said that the idea that the world had a Creator never occurred to her. Rev. S. Smith writes: "It has not been found in a single instance that a deaf mute has any concept of a Supreme Being." (*Ecclesiastical Institutions*, p. 672.)

Darwin conceived that fear in children was instinctive;

some have maintained that the fear of falling is instinctive, but the only facts bearing on the subject are those instances in which the first expression of fear by a child is noted, and the circumstance that caused it. It is a common observation that a young child accepts at first every impression its perceptive powers reveal as in all respects real and natural. Perez says: "The child, like the savage, not only accepts what it sees, but it has every attribute that it seems to possess; the doll lives, and has the same living nature as itself. It knows so little of the distinction between the spiritual and material, that to it all semblances, even life itself, is material. What it knows of duty and doing are as much properties of its toys, the chairs, floor, and stairs, as they are of itself and companions. They may not answer its questions, but it accepts silence as assent, and it considers they are as conscious of a punishment as it is. Its little soul has no failure in belief, no doubt, no conception of the incongruous. As it will place its toys anyhow, and accepts any quality that they seem to possess, so it accepts any tale that is told to it. The savage who accepts at once his medicine-man's assertion that he had climbed into the sky, is akin to the child who gives full credence to the adventures of Jack up the bean-stalk; the one no more than the other conceives the impossibility of the feat."

In these sentiments we have the general origin of the supernal concept. In the case of Mr. Stevens's child, that was first evolved by the untimely crowing of a cock, hence the crow became its general concept of the uncanny. In another case, given by James Sully, the barking of a dog raised the same sentiment, and bow-wow symbolized anything occult or supernal. He writes: "A child of mine first showed very decided and strong fear, amounting to childish terror, at dogs; after one of these animals, which had secretly entered the room with its mistress, and

ensconced himself under the table, and then suddenly ran towards the child barking. Bow-wow remained for months after the type of anything new and disconcerting. When hearing a strange sound he would run to his mother and hide his face, exclaiming, 'Bow-wow.'" (*Mind* VII. p. 419.) Perez also ascribes a child's first concept of uncanny fear to sounds. "A child of three and a half months, in the midst of the alarm of the house on fire, and surrounded by flames and tottering walls, showed neither astonishment nor fear. But the sounds of the bugles of the firemen and the engine made him tremble and cry. I have never seen a child at this age startled by lightning, however vivid, but I have seen many terrified by the sound of thunder." (*First Three Years of Childhood*, p. 64.) The implication these facts convey is that the ear and not the eye is the most general source of the mysterious, hence we can understand why deaf mutes rarely express fetish ideas.

In this way we may explain Darwin's theory of instinctive fear as an inherited susceptibility, which is only actively educed by sound vibrations of a harsh character. With wild animals the sense of hearing, as a protective warning agency, is most acute; buried in the bush or jungle, hid in the cave or burrow, the eye is almost powerless; it is to the acuteness of its hearing that the animal most depends for safety.

Of the general concept that separates the natural from the supernal, the child exhibits at first no manifestation; all that we designate as weird and fetish it accepts as the natural adjuncts of things, and no mysterious power may be presented but it accepts as simply natural. Perez remarks: "We may boldly assert that the sense of religion exists no more in the intelligence of a little child than does the supernatural in nature. If you want to persuade a child that he was born under a cabbage, that Hop-o'-my-Thumb had seven-leagued boots, that the sky is peopled

with angels, that under the earth there are howling demons, you have only to look as if you believed it, and they will be convinced." (*Ibid.* p. 85.)

Of the primary deductions in the mind of a child, as with the savage, that all things have the power of life and thought like themselves, added to their material characteristics, we have a pleasing exemplification in *Longman's Magazine*, February, 1890. In an article therein Miss Ingelow recalls her fetish childish reminiscences. She says: "I had a habit of attributing intelligence to not only all living creatures, but even to stones and manufactured articles. I used to feel how dull it must be for the pebbles of the causeway to be obliged to lie still and only see what was round about. When I walked out with a little basket for flowers, I used sometimes to pick up a pebble or two and carry them round to have a change."

Professor Stanley Hall, in the *Princeton Review*, describes children's ideas as being of the same character as those of the lowest savages. Thus the sun went down into the ground behind the houses and got out of the water in the morning. Forty-eight per cent. he found thought it goes on rolls, or flies, or is blown, or walks, or God puts it up out of sight—takes it to heaven—puts it to bed—even takes its clothes off, and it lies under the trees. So lightning was God putting out His finger—or opening a door—or turning the gas on quickly—or striking matches—or throwing stones and iron for sparks—setting paper on fire—light going out of the sky, and stars falling. Of rain they say God keeps it in a big cistern, with rows of buckets—or a big tub runs over—or it falls through a sieve—or He lifts it out with a dipper having holes. Of the origin of babies, they say God drops them down, or they are let down a wooden ladder—they fly down, and then, like the ants, lose their wings—or grow in cabbages.

Fiske in his work, *The Idea of God*, describes his early

concept of heaven. When five years of age he writes: "I imagined a narrow office just over the zenith, with a tall standing desk running lengthwise, upon which lay several open ledgers, bound in coarse leather. There was no roof over this office, and the walls rose scarcely five feet from the floor, so that a person standing at the desk could look out upon the whole world. There were two persons at the desk, and one of them, a tall slender man, with aquiline features, wearing spectacles, with a pen in his hand; the other was an attendant angel. Both were diligently watching the deeds of men and recording them in the ledgers" (p. 116).

The first deduction in the mind of the savage, as of the child, is to accept all phenomena as real, then it conceives there is a double nature in everything, a material substance and an inner consciousness capable of existing separately in the third stage. This state was manifest in the mysterious fear of cocky or bow-wow in any place, and by the savage in the ghostly theory of possession and in the concepts of the supernal powers manifested by the totems. How these mental concepts arise may be seen in the following. Gill, in his *Gems from Coral Islands*, writes: "When Davida landed he brought with him a pig. Having never before seen any animal larger than a rat, the people looked on this pig with emotions of awe; they believed it to be a representative of some invisible power. The teacher did all he could to convince them that it was only an animal, but they were determined to do it honour. They clothed it in white bark, sacred cloth, and took it in triumph to the principal temple, where they fastened it to the pedestal of one of their gods. For some time the beast resisted such honour and made attempts to get at large. For two months her degraded votaries brought her daily offerings of the best fruits of the land, and presented to her the homage of worship" (p. 77).

O. C. Stone, in his work, *A Few Months in New Guinea*, gives an incident exhibiting the same concept of ghost manifestation: "A few years ago they had no idea of any land existing but their own, and when, at rare intervals, the sails of some distant ship were seen on the horizon, they believed them to be a spirit or *vaoha* floating over the surface of the deep" (p. 96).

Thus, in following the evolution of supernal ideas in the child and the same series in the progressive development of the race, and recognizing in both cases their transient character, we can only classify them with the mock suns, the desert mirages, and more, the delusive tints which impart evanescent semblances of glory and beauty, and wonder to the sea, the clouds, and the mountains at sunset.

Our task is done, and we end as we began, and as all men have ever been, in the presence of the ever-varying and, as we now know, ever-evolving system of nature, but of the power that co-ordinates, or the master key that rewinds the vast universe, we ever have, and as far as we can now judge, ever shall remain in ignorance. Every form of mind, every form of matter holds in the attributes of its being every element of knowledge conducive to its well-being as modes of power or modes of thought, and we may rest assured that had the All-containing entity deemed the absolute knowledge of its own attributes a part of its consequent relations with humanity, they had been as cognizable to human thought as the orb of the sun, or the varying changes of times and seasons. As it is, all that is beautiful and good and true in the attributes of Divinity, are ever applicable to the inter-relations of men. The highest form of Divinity we can ever know is human goodness.

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